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VOYAGES AND TRAVELS  
IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;  
MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

*DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.*

---

BY JOHN PINKERTON,  
AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

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ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

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A  
GENERAL COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

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*A TOUR IN SCOTLAND, 1769.*

BY THOMAS PENNANT, ESQ.

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DEDICATION,

TO SIR ROGER MOSTYN, BART. OF MOSTYN, FLINTSHIRE.

Dear Sir,

**A** GENTLEMAN well known to the political world in the beginning of the present century made the tour of Europe, and before he reached Abbeville discovered that in order to see a country to best advantage it was infinitely preferable to travel by day than by night.

I cannot help making this applicable to myself, who, after publishing three volumes of the Zoology of Great Britain, found out that to be able to speak with more precision of the subjects I treated of, it was far more prudent to visit the whole than part of my country: struck therefore with the reflection of having never seen Scotland, I instantly ordered my baggage to be got ready, and in a reasonable time found myself on the banks of the Tweed.

As soon as I communicated to you my resolution, with your accustomed friendship you wished to hear from me: I could give but a partial performance of my promise, the attention of a traveller being so much taken up as to leave very little room for epistolary duties; and I flatter myself you will find this tardy execution of my engagement more satisfactory than the hasty accounts I could send you on my road. But this is far from being the sole motive of this address.

I have irresistible inducements of public and of a private nature: to you I owe a most free enjoyment of the little territories Providence had bestowed on me; for by a liberal and equal cession of fields, and meads and woods, you connected all the divided parts, and gave a full scope to all my improvements. Every view I take from



my window reminds me of my debt, and forbids my silence, causing the pleasing glow of gratitude to diffuse itself over the whole frame, instead of forcing up the imbittering sigh of *O si angulus ille* ! Now every scene I enjoy receives new charms, for I mingle with the visible beauties, the more pleasing idea of owing them to you, the worthy neighbour and firm friend, who are happy in the calm and domestic paths of life with abilities superior to ostentation, and goodness content with its own reward : with a sound judgment and honest heart you worthily discharge the senatorial trust reposed in you, whose unprejudiced vote aids to still the madness of the people, or aims to check the presumption of the minister. My happiness in being from your earliest life your neighbour, makes me confident in my observation ; your increasing and discerning band of friends discovers and confirms the justice of it : may the reasons that attract and bind us to you ever remain, is the most grateful wish that can be thought of, by,

Dear Sir, &c.

THOMAS PENNANT.

Downing, October 20th, 1771.

ON Monday the 26th of June, take my departure from Chester, a city without parallel for the singular structure of the four principal streets, which are as if excavated out of the earth, and sunk many feet beneath the surface ; the carriages drive far beneath the level of the kitchens, on a line with ranges of shops, over which on each side of the streets passengers walk from end to end, in galleries open in front, secure from wet or heat. The back courts of all these houses are level with the ground, but to go into any of these four streets it is necessary to descend a flight of several steps.

The Cathedral is an ancient structure, very ragged on the outside, from the nature of the red friable stone,\* with which it is built : the tabernacle work in the choir is very neat ; but the beauty and elegant simplicity of a very antique gothic chapter-house, is what merits a visit from every traveller.

The Hypocaust near the Feathers Inn, is one of the remains of the Romans†, it being well known that this place was a principal station. Among many antiquities found here, none is more singular than the rude sculpture of the Dea Armigera Minerva, with her bird and her altar, on the face of a rock in a small field near the Welch end of the bridge.

The castle is a decaying pile. The walls of the city, the only complete specimens of ancient fortifications, are kept in excellent order, being the principal walk of the inhabitants : the views from the several parts are very fine ; the mountains of Flintshire, the hills of Broxton, and the insulated rock of Beeston, form the ruder part of the scenery ; a rich flat forms the softer view, and the prospect up the river towards Boughton recalls in some degree the idea of the Thames and Richmond hill.

Passed through Tarvin, a small village ; in the church-yard is an epitaph in memory of Mr. John Thomafen, an excellent penman, but particularly famous for his exact and elegant imitation of the Greek character.

Delamere, which Leland calls a faire and large forest, with plenty of redde deere and falow, is now a black and dreary waste ; it feeds a few rabbets, and a few black Terns‡ skim over the splashes that water some part of it.

\* *Saxum arenarium friabile rubrum. Da Costa, Fossils. I. 139.*

† This city was the Deva and Devana of Antonine, and the station of the Legio vicesima victrix.

‡ Br. Zool. II. No. 256.



A few miles from this heath lies Northwich, a small town, long famous for its rock salt, and brine pits. Some years ago I visited one of the mines; the stratum of salt lies about forty yards deep; that which I saw was hol'owed into the form of a temple. I descended through a dome, and found the roof supported by rows of pillars, about two yards thick, and several in height; the whole was illuminated with numbers of candles, and made a most magnificent and glittering appearance. Above the salt is a bed of whitish clay \*, used in making the Liverpool earthen-ware; and in the same place is also dug a good deal of the gypsum, or plaister stone. The fossil salt is generally yellow, and semi-pellucid, sometimes debased with a dull greenish earth, and is often found, but in small quantities, quite clear and colourless.

The road from this place to Macclesfield is through a flat, rich, but unpleasant country. That town is in a very flourishing state; is possessed of a great manufacture of mohair and twist buttons; has between twenty and thirty silk mills, and a very considerable copper smelting house, and brass work.

Here lived in great hospitality, at his manor-house†, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, a most powerful peer, the sad instrument of the ambition of Richard III. He was at once rewarded by that monarch ‡ with a grant of fifty castles and manors; but, struck with remorse at being accessory to so many crimes, fell from his allegiance, and by a just retribution, suffered on a scaffold by the mere fiat of his unfeeling master.

In the church is the sepulchral chapel, and the magnificent monuments of the family of the Savages. In this part of the church had been a chauntry of secular priests, founded about 1508 by Thomas Savage, archbishop of York ||, who directed that his heart should be deposited here. On a brass plate on the wall is this comfortable advertisement of the price of remission of sins in the other life; it was to be wished that the expence of obtaining so extensive a charter from his holiness in this world had likewise been added.

These are the words:

“The Pdon for saying of 5 *Pater noster* and 5 *aves* and a creed is 26 thousand yerres and 26 dayes of pardon.”

In the chapel belonging to the Leghs of Lime is another singular inscription and its history:

Here lyeth the body of Perkin a Legh  
That for King Richard the death did die,  
Betrayed for righteousness,  
And the bones of Sir Peers his sonne  
That with King Henrie the fift did wonne  
in Paris.

“This Perkin served king Edward the third and the black Prince his sonne in all their warres in France and was at the battel of Cressie and had Lyme given him for that service; and after their deathes served king Richard the second, and left him not in his troubles, but was taken with him, and beheaded at Chester by king Henrie the fourthe. And the sayd Sir Peers his sonne served king Henrie and was slaine at the battel of Agencourt.

\* *Argilla cœrulea-cinerea.* Da Costa, *Fossils.* I. 48.

† Dugdale's *Baronage.* I. 163.

‡ King's *Vale Royal* 86.

|| Tanner, *Notitia Monast.* 1744. 66.



' In their memorie Sir Peter Legh of Lyme knight descended from them finding the sayd ould verses written upon a stone in this Chappel did reedifie this place *An<sup>o</sup> Dni 1620.*'

After leaving this town, the country almost instantly changes and becomes very mountainous and barren, at least on the surface; but the bowels compensate for the external sterility; by yielding sufficiently quantity of coal for the use of the neighbouring parts of Cheshire, and for the burning of lime: vast quantity is made near Buxton, and being carried to all parts for the purposes of agriculture, is become a considerable article of commerce.

The celebrated warm bath of Buxton \* is seated in a bottom, amidst these hills, in a most cheerless spot, and would be little frequented, did not Hygeia often reside here, and dispense to her votaries the chief blessings of life, ease, and health. With joy and gratitude I this moment reflect on the efficacious qualities of the waters; I recollect with rapture the return of spirits, the flight of pain, and re-animation of my long, long-crippled rheumatic limbs. But how unfortunate is it, that what Providence designed for the general good, should be rendered only a partial one, and denied to all, except the opulent; or I may say to the (comparatively) few that can get admittance into the house where these waters are imprisoned? There are other springs (Camden says nine) very near that in the Hall, and in all probability of equal virtue. I was informed that the late Duke of Devonshire, not long before his death, had ordered some of these to be inclosed and formed into baths. It is to be hoped that his successor will not fail adopting so useful and humane a plan; that he will form it on the most enlarged system, that they may open not solely to those whom misused wealth hath rendered invalids, but to the poor cripple, whom honest labour hath made a burthen to himself and his country; and to the soldier and sailor, who by hard service have lost the use of those very limbs which once were active in our defence. The honour resulting from such a foundation would be as great, as the satisfaction arising from a consciousness of so benevolent a work, would be unspeakable. The charms of dissipation would then lose their force; and every human luxury would appear to him insipid, who had it in his power thus to lay open these fountains of health, and to be able to exult in such pathetic and comfortable strains as these: "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me it gave witness to me;

"Because I had delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him.

"The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.

"I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame."

After leaving Buxton, passed through Middleton dale, a deep narrow chasm between two vast cliffs, which extend on each side near a mile in length: this road is very singular, but the rocks are in general too naked to be beautiful. At the end is the small village of Stoney Middleton; here the prospect opens, and at Barfley-bridge exhibits a pretty view of a small but fertile vale, watered by the Derwent, and terminated by Chatfworth and its plantations. Arrived and lay at

Chesterfield, an ugly town. In this place is a great manufacture of worsted stockings, and another of a brown earthen-ware, much of which is sent into Holland, the country which, within less than half a century ago, supplied not only these kingdoms but half of

\* The Romans, who were remarkably fond of warm baths, did not overlook these agreeable waters: they had a bath, inclosed with a brick wall, adjacent to the present St. Anne's well, which Dr. Short, in his Essay on Mineral Waters, says was razed in 1709.



Europe with that commodity. The clay is found near the town, over the basf or \* cherty stratum, above the coal. The steeple of Chesterfield church is a spire covered with lead, but by a violent wind strangely bent, in which state it remains. In the church are some fine monuments of the Foljambes of Walton.

At this place may be said to have expired the war of the barons in the reign of Henry III. After the battle of Evesham, Robert Earl Ferrers, and Baldwin Wake Baron of Chesterfield, attempted once more to make head against the royal power. They rendezvoused here; but were suddenly surpris'd by the royalists; Ferrers was taken, and Wake fled. The estate of the first was forfeited: the fortunes of the last were restored, after certain mulcts. By the marriage of a sister of one of his descendants with Edmund of Woodstock, this place and Bakewell became the property of his daughter, the fair maid of Kent, widow of the Black Prince, and were part of her jointure on his decease.

June 27. On the road side, about three miles from the town, are several pits of iron-stone about nine or ten feet deep. The stratum lies above the coal, and is two feet thick. I was informed that the adventurers pay ten pounds per annum to the lord of the soil for liberty of raising it; that the labourers have six shillings per load for getting it: each load is about twenty strikes or bushels, which yields a ton of metal. Coal in these parts is very cheap, a ton and a half being sold for five shillings.

Changed horses at Workop and Tuxford. In the south aisle of the church at Tuxford, beneath a flowery arch, is a very rude relief of St. Lawrence placed on the grid-iron. By him is a fellow with a bellows blowing the fire, and the executioner going to turn him. The zealous Fox in his Martyrology has this very thought, and makes the martyr say in the midst of his sufferings, "This side is now roasted; turn me, O tyrant great!" Crossed the Trent at Dunham-ferry, where it is broad, but shallow: the spring tides flow here, and rise about two feet, but the common tides never reach this place. Dunham had been a manor belonging to Edward† the Confessor, and yielded him thirty pounds, and six sectaries of honey, valuable when mead was the delicious beverage of the times. From hence pass along the Foss-Dyke, or the canal opened by Henry I. ‡, to form a communication between the Trent and the Witham. It was opened § in the year 1121, and extends from Lincoln to Torkesey; its length is eleven miles three quarters, the breadth between dike and dike at the top is about sixty feet, at bottom twenty-two: vessels from fifteen to thirty-five tons navigate this canal, and by its means a considerable trade in coals, timber, corn, and wool, is carried on. In former times, the persons who had landed property on either side were obliged to scower it whenever it was choaked up, and accordingly we find presentments were made by juries in several succeeding reigns for that purpose. Reach

Lincoln, an ancient but ill-built city, much fallen away from its former extent. It lies partly on a plain, partly on a very steep hill, on whose summit are the cathedral and the ruins of the castle. The first is a vast pile of Gothic architecture; within of matchless beauty and magnificence: the ornaments are excessively rich, and in the finest Gothic taste; the pillars light, the centre lofty, and of a surprising grandeur. The windows at the N. and S. ends are very ancient, but very elegant; one represents a leaf

\* Or slinty.

† Thoroton's Nottinghamsh. 388.

‡ Dugdale on embanking, 167.

§ I make use of this word, as Dr. Stukeley conjectures this canal to have been originally a Roman work; and that another of the same kind (called the Carl-dike) communicated with it, by means of the Witham, which began a little below Washenbro', three miles from Lincoln, and was continued through the fens as far as Peterborough. Stukeley's Carausius, 129 & seq. B. 2. Ejust. Account of Richard of Cirencester, 50.



with its fibres, the other consists of a number of small circles. There are two other ancient windows on each side the great isle: the others, as I recollect, are modern. This church was, till of late years, much out of repair, but has just been restored in a manner that does credit to the chapter.

The prospect from this eminence is very extensive, but very barren of objects; a vast flat as far as the eye can reach, consisting of plains not the most fertile, or of fens\* and moors: the last are far less extensive than they were, many being drained, and will soon become the best land in the country; but much still remains to be done. The fens near Revesby Abby †, eight miles beyond Horncastle, are of vast extent; but serve for little other purpose than the rearing great numbers of geese, which are the wealth of the fenmen.

During the breeding season, these birds are lodged in the same houses with the inhabitants, and even in their very bed-chambers: in every apartment are three rows of coarse wicker pens placed one above another; each bird has its separate lodge divided from the other, which it keeps possession of during the time of sitting. A person, called a Gozzard ‡, attends the flock, and twice a day drives the whole to water; then brings them back to their habitations, helping those that live in the upper stories to their nests, without ever misplacing a single bird.

The geese are plucked five times in the year; the first plucking is at Lady-Day, for feathers and quills, and the same is renewed, for feathers only, four times more between that and Michaelmas. The old geese submit quietly to the operation, but the young ones are very noisy and unruly. I once saw this performed, and observed that goslings of six weeks old were not spared; for their tails were plucked, as I was told, to habituate them early to what they were to come to. If the season proves cold, numbers of geese die by this barbarous custom §.

Vast numbers are driven annually to London, to supply the markets; among them, all the superannuated geese and ganders (called here Cagmags) which serve to fatigue the jaws of the good citizens, who are so unfortunate as to meet with them.

The fen called the West Fen, is the place where the ruffs and reeves resort to in the greatest numbers ¶; and many other sorts of water-fowl, which do not require the shelter of reeds or rushes, migrate here to breed; for this fen is very bare, having been imperfectly drained by narrow canals, which intersect it for great numbers of miles. These the inhabitants navigate in most diminutive shallow boats; they are, in fact, the roads of the country.

The East Fen is quite in a state of nature, and gives a specimen of the country before the introduction of drainage: it is a vast tract of morafs, intermixed with numbers of lakes from half a mile to two or three miles in circuit, communicating with each other by narrow reedy straits: they are very shallow, none are above four or five feet in depth; but abound with fish, such as pike, perch, ruff, bream, tench, rud, dace, roach, burbot, sticklebacks, and eels.

\* The fens, naked as they now appear, were once well wooded. Oaks have been found buried in them, which were sixteen yards long, and five in circumference; fir-trees from thirty to thirty-five yards, and a foot or eighteen inches square. These trees had not the mark of the ax, but appeared as if burnt down by fire applied to their lower parts. Acorns and small nuts have also been found in great quantities in the same places. Dugdale on embanking, 141.

† Revesby Abby was founded 1142 by W. de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, for Cistercian monks, and granted by H. VIII. an. 30. to Ch. Duke of Suffolk. The founder turning monk was buried here. Tanner, 263.

‡ i. e. Goose herd.

§ It was also practised by the ancients. *Candidorum alterum vestigal in plumâ. Velluntur quibusdam locis bis anno.* Plinii, lib. x. c. 22.

¶ Br. Zool. II. No. 192.



It is observable, that once in seven or eight years, immense shoals of sticklebacks appear in the Welland below Spalding, and attempt coming up the river in form of a vast column. They are supposed to be the collected multitudes washed out of the fens by the floods of several years, and carried into some deep hole; when over-charged with numbers, they are obliged to attempt a change of place. They move up the river in such quantities as to enable a man, who was employed in taking them, to earn, for a considerable time, four shillings a day, by selling them at a halfpenny per bushel. <sup>stickleback</sup> They were used to manure land, and attempts have been made to get oil from them. The fen is covered with reeds, the harvest of the neighbouring inhabitants, who mow them annually; for they prove a much better thatch than straw, and not only cottages, but many very good houses are covered with them. Stares, which during winter resort in myriads to roost in the reeds, are very destructive, by breaking them down, by the vast numbers that perch on them. The people are therefore very diligent in their attempts to drive them away, and are at great expence in powder to free themselves of these troublesome guests. <sup>reeds</sup> I have seen a stock of reeds harvested and stacked worth two or three hundred pounds; which was the property of a single farmer.

The birds which inhabit the different fens are very numerous: I never met with a finer field for the zoologist to range in. Besides the common wild-duck, of which an account is given in another place \*, wild geese, garganies, pochards, shovelers, and teal breed here. I have seen in the east fen a small flock of the tufted ducks; but they seemed to make it only a baiting-place. The pewit gulls and black terns abound; the last in vast flocks almost deafen one with their clamors: a few of the great terns, or tickets, are seen among them. I saw several of the great crested grebes on the East Fen, called there gaunts, and met with one of their floating nests with eggs in it. The lesser crested grebe, the black and dusky grebe, and the little grebe, are also inhabitants of the fens; together with coots, water-hens, spotted water-hens, water-rails, ruffs, redshanks, lapwings or wipes, red breasted godwits and whimbrels. The godwits breed near Washenbrough; the whimbrels only appear about a fortnight in May near Spalding, and then quit the country. Opposite to Fosdyke Wash, during summer, are great numbers of avosettas, called there yelpers, from their cry. They hover over the sportsman's head like the lapwing, and fly with their necks and legs extended.

Knots are taken in nets along the shores near Fosdyke in great numbers during winter; but they disappear in the spring.

The short-eared owl, Br. Zool. I. No. 66. visits the neighbourhood of Washenbrough along with the woodcocks, and probably performs its migrations with those birds, for it is observed to quit the country at the same time: I have also received specimens of them from the Danish dominions, one of the retreats of the woodcock. This owl is not observed in this country to perch on trees, but conceals itself in long old grass; if disturbed, takes a short flight, lights again, and keeps staring about, during which time its horns are very visible. The farmers are fond of the arrival of these birds, as they clear the fields of mice, and will even fly in search of prey during day, provided the weather is cloudy and misty.

But the greatest curiosity in these parts is the vast heronry at Cressi-hall, six miles from Spalding. The herons resort there in February to repair their nests, settle there in the spring to breed, and quit the place during winter. They are numerous as rooks, and their nests so crowded together, that myself, and the company that was with me,

\* Br. Zool. II. No. 279. In general, to avoid repetition, the reader is referred to the British Zoology, for a more particular account of animals mentioned in this Tour.



counted not less than eighty in one spreading oak. I here had an opportunity of detecting my own mistake, and that of other ornithologists, in making two species of herons; for I found that the crested heron was only the male of the other: it made a most beautiful appearance with its snowy neck and long crest streaming with the wind. The family who owned this place was of the same name with these birds, which seems to be the principal inducement for preserving them.

In the time of Michael Drayton,

Here stalked the stately crane, as though he march'd in war.

But at present this bird is quite unknown in our island; but every other species enumerated by that observant poet still are found in this fenny tract, or its neighbourhood.

June 28. Visited Spalding, a place very much resembling, in form, neatness, and situation, a Dutch town: the river Welland passes through one of the streets, a canal is cut through another, and trees are planted on each side. The church is large, and the steeple a spire. The churches in general, throughout this low tract, are very handsome; all are built of stone, which must have been brought from places very remote, along temporary canals; for, in many instances, the quarries lie at least twenty miles distant. But the edifices were built in zealous ages, when the benedictions or maledictions of the church made the people conquer every difficulty that might obstruct these pious foundations. The abby of Crowland, seated in the midst of a shaking fen \*, is a curious monument of the insuperable zeal of the times it was erected in; as the beautiful tower of Boston church, visible from all parts, is a magnificent specimen of a fine gothic taste.

June 29. Passed near the site of Swineshead abby, of which there are not the least remains. In the walls of a farm-house built out of the ruins, you are shewn the figure of a knight Templar, and told it was the monk who poisoned King John; a fact denied by our best historians. This abby was founded in 1134, by Robert de Greslei, and filled with Cistercian monks.

Returned through Lincoln; went out of town under the Newport-gate, a curious Roman work; passed over part of the heath; changed horses at Spittle, and at Glanford-bridge; dined at the ferry-house on the banks of the Humber; and, after a passage of about five miles, with a brisk gale, landed at Hull, and reached that night Burton-Constable, the seat of Mr. Constable, in that part of Yorkshire called Holderness; a rich flat country, but excellent for producing large cattle, and a good breed of horses, whose prices are near doubled since the French have grown so fond of the English kind.

Made an excursion to Hornsea, a small town on the coast, remarkable only for its mere, a piece of water about two miles long, and one broad, famous for its pike and eels; it is divided from the sea by a very narrow bank, so is in much danger of being some time or other lost.

The cliffs on the coast of Holderness are high, and composed of clay which falls down in vast fragments. Quantity of amber is washed out of it by the tides, which the country people pick up and sell: it is found sometimes in large masses, but I never

\* This monastery was founded by Ethelbald, king of Mercia, A. D. 716. The ground being too marshy to admit a weighty building of stone, he made a foundation by driving into the ground vast piles of oak; and caused more compact earth to be brought in boats nine miles off to lay on them, and form a more sound foundation.



saw any so pure and clear as that from the Baltic. It is usually of a pale yellow colour within, and prettily clouded; the outside covered with a thin coarse coat.

July 2. After riding some miles over a flat grazing country, passed through the village of Skipsey, once under the protection of a castle founded by Drugon or Drugan, a valiant Flandrian, who came over at the time of the conquest. The Conqueror gave him in marriage one of his near relations; and as a portion made him lord of Holderness. Drugon by some unlucky accident killed his spouse; but, having his wits about him, hastened to the King, and informing his Majesty, that his lady and he had a great desire to visit their native country, requested a sum of money for that purpose: the Conqueror immediately supplied the wants of Drugon; who had scarcely embarked, when advice was brought from Skipsey of the death of the lady: pursuit was instantly made but in vain; the artful Flandrian evaded all attempts to bring him to justice\*.

Near this village is a considerable camp; but I passed too hastily to determine of what nation.

A few miles farther is Burlington Quay, a small town close to the sea. There is a design of building a pier, for the protection of shipping; at present there is only a large wooden quay, which projects into the water, from which the place takes its name. In February 1642, Henrietta, the spirited consort of Charles I. landed here with arms and ammunition from Holland. Batten, a parliament admiral, had in vain tried to intercept Her Majesty; but coming soon after into the bay, brutally fired for two hours at the house where she lay, forcing her to take shelter, half-dressed, in the fields. Nor parliament nor admiral were ashamed of this unmanly deed; but their historian, the moderate Whitelock, seems to blush for both, by omitting all mention of the affair. From hence is a fine view of the white cliffs of Flamborough-head, which extends far to the east, and forms one side of the *Gabrantvicorum sinus portuosus* of Ptolemy, a name derived from the British Gyfr, on account of the number of goats found there, according to the conjecture of Camden. Perhaps, *Ευλιμνίος*, the epithet which Ptolemy adds to the bay, is still preserved in Sureby, or Sure-bay †, a village a little north of Burlington Quay. That the Romans had a naval station here, is more strongly confirmed by the road called the Roman-ridge, and the dikes which go by Malton to York, are visible in many places, and ended here ‡.

A mile from hence is the town of Burlington. The body of the church is large, but the steeple, by some accident, has been destroyed; near it is a large gateway, with a noble Gothic arch, the remains of a priory of black canons, founded by Walter de Gant, in the beginning of the reign of Henry I. In that of Richard II. in the year 1388, the canons got liberty of inclosing their house with strong walls, to defend them from the attacks of pirates. I cannot help mentioning a proof of the manners of the clergy in early times, by relating a complaint of the prior to Innocent III. against the archdeacon of Richmond, who calling at his house with ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks, devoured in one hour, more provision than would have lasted the monks a long time. The grievance was redressed. William Wode, the last prior, was executed for rebellion in 1537. At that time, according to Speed, the revenue was 682l. 13s. 9d. according to Dugdale, 547l. 6s. 1d.

This coast of the kingdom is very unfavourable to trees, for, except some woods in the neighbourhood of Burton-Constable, there is a vast nakedness from the Humber, *huc*

\* MS. at Burton-Constable.

† Camden, II. 899.

‡ Drake's Hist. York. 34. Consult also his map of the Roman roads in Yorkshire.



as far as the extremity of Caithness, with a very few exceptions, which shall be noted in their proper places.

July 3. Went to Flamborough-head. This was the Fleamburg of the Saxons, possibly from the lights made on it to direct the landing of Ida, who, in 547, joined his countrymen in these parts with a large reinforcement from Germany; and founded the kingdom of Northumberland. In the time of Edward the Confessor, Flamborough was one of the manors of Harold\*, Earl of the west Saxons, afterwards King of England. On his death, the Conqueror gave it to Hugh Lupus, who, in perpetual alms, bestowed it on the monastery of Whitby†.

The town is on the north side; consists of about one hundred and fifty small houses, entirely inhabited by fishermen, few of whom, as is said, die in their beds, but meet their fate in the element they are so conversant in. Put myself under the direction of William Camidge, Cicerone of the place, who conducted me to a little creek at that time covered with fish, a fleet of cobbles having just put in. Went in one of those little boats to view the Head, coasting it for upwards of two miles. The cliffs are of a tremendous height, and amazing grandeur; beneath are several vast caverns, some closed at the end, others are pervious, formed with a natural arch, giving a romantic passage to the boat, different from that we entered. In some places the rocks are insulated, are of a pyramidal figure, and soar up to a vast height: the bases of most are solid, but in some pierced through, and arched; the colour of all these rocks is white, from the dung of the innumerable flocks of migratory birds, which quite cover the face of them, filling every little projection, every hole that will give them leave to rest; multitudes were swimming about, others swarmed in the air, and almost stunned us with the variety of their croaks and screams. I observed among them corvorants, shags in small flocks, guillemots, a few black guillemots very shy and wild, auks, puffins, kittiwakes‡, and herring gulls. Landed at the same place, but before our return to Flamborough, visited Robin Leith's hole, a vast cavern, to which there is a narrow passage from the land side; it suddenly rises to a great height; the roof is finely arched, and the bottom is for a considerable way, formed in broad steps, resembling a great but easy staircase; the mouth opens to the sea, and gives light to the whole.

Lay at Hunmandby, a small village above Filey Bay, round which are some plantations that thrive tolerably well, and ought to be an encouragement to gentlemen to attempt covering these naked hills.

Filey-brig is a ledge of rocks running far into the sea, and often fatal to shipping. The bay is sandy, and affords vast quantities of fine fish, such as turbot, soles, &c. which during summer approach the shore, and are easily taken in a common seine or dragging-net.

July 4. Set out for Scarborough; passed near the site of Flixton, a hospital founded in the time of Athelstan, to give shelter to travellers from the wolves, that they should not be devoured by them§; so that in those days this bare tract must have been covered with wood, for those ravenous animals ever inhabit large forests. These hospitia are not unfrequent among the Alps; are either appendages to religious houses, or supported by voluntary subscriptions. On the spot where Flixton stood is a farmhouse, to this day called the Spital-house. Reach

Scarborough, a town once strongly guarded by a castle, built on the top of a vast cliff, by William le Gros, Earl of Yorkshire, Albemarle, and Horderness, in the reign

\* Dugdale, Baron. I. 20.

† Dugdale, Monast. I. 73.

‡ Called here Petrels. Br. Zool. No. 250.

§ Camden, Brit. II. 902.



of Stephen. After the refumption of this, as well as other crown lands alienated by that prince, Henry II. rebuilt the fortrefs, then grown ruinous, with greater strength and magnificence, inclofing a vaft area. From this time it was confidered as the key of this important county, and none but perfons of the firft rank were entrusted with the custody. Its confequence may be evinced from this circumftance; that when King John had granted to his fubjects the magna charta, and placed the government in the hands of twenty-five barons, the governor of this caftle was to be approved by them, and to receive his orders from them.

In 1312, Edward II. in his retreat out of the north before his rebellious nobility, left here, as in a place of the greateft fecurity, his minion Peers Gaveltou. It was infantly befieged, and taken by Aymer de Valence, Earl of Penbroke; and the insolent favourite, in a fhort time after, fell a victim to the refentment of the Earl of Warwick.

In the reign of Richard II. in 1378, its trade received great injury from a combined fleet of Scots, French, and Spaniards, under the conduct of one Mercer, who entered the harbour, and carried off feveral fhips. The insult was infantly revenged by Philpot, a gallant alderman of London, who fitted out a fleet at his own charge, purfued the enemy, and not only retook their prizes, but made himfelf mafter of the whole fleet.

Richard III. added ftrength to the place by building a bulwark near the fhore at the fouth-eaft end of the town; and he alfo began to wall in the town\*.

In the religious rebellion, ftyled the pilgrimage of grace, in the time of Henry VIII. the leader, Robert Ask, in 1536, layed clofe fieve to the caftle; but was obliged to defift, after its governor Sir Ralph Ewers and his garrifon were reduced for twenty days to live on bread and water†.

In 1557, Thomas Stafford, fecond fon of Lord Stafford, with only thirty-two perfons, came from France, and furprized the fortrefs. It appears that they were encouraged to the attempt by Henry II. It was, probably, only the prelude to an invafion. Stafford publifhed a manifefto againft the Queen; and ftyled himfelf Protector of England: but the Earl of Westmoreland, collecting fome forces, (in two days) put an end to his dignity‡.

At the beginning of the civil wars, the parliament committed this caftle to the care of Sir Hugh Cholmley, who foon after revolted to the King. He maintained the place with great fpirit for two years. In 1644, he was vigoroufly befieged by Sir John Meldrum, from February till the middle of May, when Sir John, in attempting to repel a fally, received a mortal wound. Sir Hugh kept poffeffion of it till July 1645, when he furrendered it on terms to Sir Matthew Boynton§. It is at prefent a large ruin. In the caftle yard are barracks for about a hundred and fifty men, at prefent untenanted by foldiery.

In this town were three religious houfes and a hofpital. The grey friers, or Francifcans, began a houfe here about 1240, which was enlarged by Edward II. and Roger Molendarius. The black friers, or Dominicans, had another before the 13th of Edward I. whether founded by Sir Adam Say, or Henry Earl of Northumberland, is doubtful. The white friers, or Carmelites, were eftablifhed here in 1319, by Edward II. and the Ciftertians had in the reign of King John a cell in this town dependent on a houfe in France, to which was given the church of St. Mary, and certain lands, till the fuppreffion of the alien priories in the reign of Edward IV.

\* Leland's Itin. I. 62.

† Herbert's Henry VIII.

‡ Rapin, II. 46.

§ Whitelock, 83. 133. 146, 147. 163.



Leland\* describes this church as very magnificent; with two towers at the west end, and a great one in the centre. It was probably demolished in the civil wars, when Sir John Meldrum forced the royalists into the castle; for it lay too near that fortress to be suffered to remain entire, to give shelter to the enemy. The present church (the only one in the town) rose from the ruins of the former.

The town is large, built in form of a crescent, on the sides of a steep hill; from whence the name, which shews it to have existed in Saxon times, Scareburg, or the Burg on a scar or cliff. Beneath the south side of the castle, is a large stone pier (another is now building) which shelters the shipping belonging to the place. It is absolutely without trade, yet has above ten thousand inhabitants, mostly sailors, and owns above three hundred sail of ships, which are hired out for freight. In time of war government seldom has less than a hundred in pay.

In 1359, the shipping of this place was very inconsiderable; for to the naval armament of that year made by Edward III. Scarborough contributed only one ship and sixteen mariners; when the following northern ports sent the numbers here recited:

Newcastle	-	-	17 ships, 314 mariners.
Barton on the Humber	3	30	
Grimsbay	-	11	171
Boston	-	17	361
Hull	-	16	382†

The range of buildings on the cliff commands a fine view of the castle, town, and of innumerable shipping that are perpetually passing backward and forward on their voyages. The spa‡ lies at the foot of one the hills, S. of the town; this and the great convenience of sea-bathing, occasion a vast resort of company during summer; it is at that time a place of great gaiety, for with numbers health is the pretence, but dissipation the end.

The shore is a fine hard sand, and during low water is the place where the company amuse themselves with riding. This is also the fish market; for every day the cobbles, or little fishing boats, are drawn on shore here, and lie in rows, often quite loaded with variety of the best fish. It is superfluous to repeat what has been before mentioned of the methods of fishing, being amply described, Vol. III. of the British Zoology; yet it will be far from impertinent to point out the peculiar advantages of these seas, and the additional benefit this town might experience, by the augmentation of its fisheries. For this account; and for numberless civilities I think myself much indebted to Mr. Travis, surgeon, who communicated to me the following remarks:

“Scarborough is situated at the bottom of a bay, formed by Whitby rock on the North, and Flamborough Head on the South: the town is seated directly opposite to the centre of the W. end of the Dogger bank; which end (according to Hammond's chart of the North Sea) lies S. and by W., and N. and by E.; but by a line drawn from Tinmouth castle, would lead about N. W. and S. E. Though the Dogger bank is therefore but twelve leagues from Flamborough Head, yet it is sixteen and a half from Scarborough, twenty-three from Whitby, and thirty-six from Tinmouth castle. The N. side of the bank stretches off E. N. E. between thirty and forty leagues, until it almost joins to the Long-Bank, and Jutt's Riff.

\* Itin. I. 62.

† MS. Hist. of Hull, in Lord Shelburne's library.

‡ The waters are impregnated with a purgative salt (glauber's), a small quantity of common salt, and of steel. There are two wells, the farthest from the town is more purgative, and its taste more bitter; the other is more chalybeate, and its taste more brisk and pungent. D. H.



“ It is to be remarked, that the fishermen seldom find any cod, ling, or other round fish upon the Dogger bank itself, but upon the sloping edges and hollows contiguous to it. The top of the bank is covered with a barren shifting sand, which affords them no subsistence; and the water on it, from its shallowness, is continually so agitated and broken, as to allow them no time to rest. The flat fish do not suffer the same inconvenience there; for when disturbed by the motion of the sea, they shelter themselves in the sand, and find variety of suitable food. It is true, the Dutch fish upon the Dogger bank; but it is also true they take little except soles, skates, thornbacks, plaice, &c. It is in the hollows between the Dogger and the Well-bank, that the cod are taken which supply London market. *Dogger bank*

“ The shore, except at the entrance of Scarborough pier, and some few other places, is composed of covered rocks, which abound with lobsters and crabs, and many other shell fish, (no oysters;) thence, after a space covered with clean sand, extending in different places from one to five or six miles, the bottom, all the way to the edge of the Dogger bank, is a scar; in some places very rugged, rocky, and cavernous; in others smooth, and overgrown with a variety of submarine plants, mosses, corallines, &c. \* Some parts again are spread with sand and shells; others, for many leagues in length, with soft mud and ooze, furnished by the discharge of the Tees and Humber.

“ Upon an attentive review of the whole, it may be clearly inferred, that the shore along the coast on the one hand, with the edges of the Dogger bank on the other, like the sides of a decoy, give a direction towards our fishing grounds to the mighty shoals of cod, and other fish, which are well known to come annually from the Northern Ocean into our seas; and secondly, that the great variety of fishing grounds near Scarborough, extending upwards of sixteen leagues from the shore, afford secure retreats and plenty of proper food for all the various kinds of fish, and also suitable places for each kind to deposit their spawn in.

“ The fishery at Scarborough only employs 105 men, and brings in about 5250l. per annum, a trifle to what it would produce, was there a canal from thence to Leeds and Manchester; it is probable it would then produce above ten times that sum, employ some thousands of men, give a comfortable and cheap subsistence to our manufacturers, keep the markets moderately reasonable, enable our manufacturing towns to undersell our rivals, and prevent the hands, as is too often the case, raising insurrections, in every year of scarcity, natural or artificial.”

In addition to the above I add an extract of a letter from Mr. Travis, dated Dec. 21, 1784, which flings more light on this interesting subject. The fishery is now on its decline. The profits of smuggling having tempted most of the owners of cobbles to quit their business, the number here is reduced from thirty-five cobbles to seven. At Robin Hood's bay from forty-five to seventeen, and in the same proportion along the coast. At Scarborough are only fishermen to the number mentioned; those serve a regular apprenticeship, for it is a particular trade, and the ablest sailors will not venture in a coble in the stream of the tide, where the best fish only are taken.

The claim to the tithe of fish is a great discouragement; the present worthy owner, Sir Charles Hotham Thompson, does not demand it, but as the right has been confirmed by the courts of law, no one dare venture to trust to what a successor may do. The cobbles are not owned by the fishers, but hired from the ale-house keepers at one shilling and six-pence per week, for the fear of the tithes prevents people of substance from

\* I met with on the shores near Scarborough, small fragments of the true red coral.



engaging and fitting out large vessels, with which alone a national fishery can be carried on.

At present the Dutch engross all our lampreys for baits, and once a fortnight a vessel sails from the Humber with a cargo to Holland. Thus the Dutch supply Holland, Germany, and even London itself, with cargoes of excellent fish. I refer the readers to my *Arctic Zoology*, Suppl. p. 20., or *Introduction*, Ed. 2d. p. lxxix. for an account of this valuable fishery; and of a very unjust attempt made by a selfish few to exclude the Dutch from supplying our markets from their own coasts.

*spawn* On discoursing with some very intelligent fishermen, I was informed of a very singular phenomenon they annually observe about the spawning of fish\*. At the distance of four or five leagues from shore, during the month of July and August, it is remarked, that at the depth of six or seven fathom from the surface, the water appears to be saturated with a thick jelly, filled with the ova of fish, which reaches ten or twelve fathoms deeper: this is known by its adhering to the ropes the cobbles anchor with, when they are fishing; for they find the first six or seven fathom of rope free from spawn, the next ten or twelve covered with slimy matter, the remainder again free to the bottom. They suppose this gelatinous stuff to supply the new-born fry with food, and that it is also a protection to the spawn, as being disagreeable to the larger fish to swim in.

There is great variety of fish brought on shore. Besides those described as British fish, were two species of rays: the whip-ray has also been taken here, and another species of weever; but these are subjects, more proper to be referred to a fauna, than an itinerary, for a minute description.

The following is a proof of the vast quantity of fish that may be taken on this coast. On April 11, 1776, were taken in one tide, by one coble, 37 cods, 36 lings, 45 holibuts, 3 turbot, besides a large quantity of skates and small fish; which were sold for seven pounds.

*alum* July 10th left Scarborough, and passed over large moors to Robin Hood's bay. On my road, observed the vast mountains of alum stone, from which that salt is thus extracted: It is first calcined in great heaps, which continue burning by its own phlogiston, after being well set on fire by coals, for six, ten, or fourteen months, according to the size of the heap, some being equal to a small hill. It is then thrown into pits and steeped in water, to extract all the saline particles. The liquor is then run into other pits, where the vitriolic salts are precipitated by the addition of a solution of the sal sodæ, prepared from kelp; or by the volatile alkali of stale urine. The superfluous water being then evaporated duly by boiling in large furnaces, the liquor is set to cool; and lastly, is poured into large casks, to crystallize.

The alum works in this country are of some antiquity: they were first discovered by Sir Thomas Chaloner, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who observing the trees tinged with an unusual colour, made him suspicious of its being owing to some mineral in the neighbourhood. He found out that the strata abounded with an aluminous salt.

*anathema* At that time the English being strangers to the method of managing it, there is a tradition that Sir Thomas was obliged to seduce some workmen from the Pope's alum-works near Rome, then the greatest in Europe. If one may judge from the curse which his holiness thundered out against Sir Thomas and the fugitives, he certainly was not a little enraged; for he cursed by the very form that Ernulphus† has left us, and not varied a tittle from that most comprehensive of imprecations.

\* Mr. Osbeck observed the same in S. Lat. 35, 36, in his return from China. The seamen call it the flowering of the water. Vol. II. 72.

† Vide Tristram Shandy.



The first pits were near Gisborough, the seat of the Chaloners, who still flourish there, notwithstanding his holiness's anathema. The works were so valuable as to be deemed a royal mine. Sir Paul Pindar, who rented them, payed annually to the King 12,500*l.*, to the Earl of Mulgrave 1640*l.*, to Sir William Pennyman 600*l.*; kept 800 workmen in pay, and sold his alum at 26*l.* per ton. But this monopoly was destroyed on the death of Charles I. and the right restored to the proprietors.

In these alum rocks are frequently found cornua ammonis, and other fossils, lodged in a stony nodule. Jet is sometimes met with in thin flat pieces, externally of the appearance of wood. According to Solinus, Britain was famous for this fossil \*.

The sands near Robin Hood's village, were covered with fish of several kinds, and with people who met the cobbles in order to purchase their cargo: the place seemed as if a great fish fair had been held there; some were carrying off their bargains, others busied in curing the fish: and a little out at sea was a fleet of cobbles and five-men boats, and others, arriving to discharge the capture of the preceding tides †. There are 36 of the first belonging to this little place. The houses here make a grotesque appearance, are scattered over the face of a steep cliff in a very strange manner, and fill every projecting ledge, one above another, in the same manner as those of the peasants in the rocky parts of China. Sand's End, Runwick, and Staithes, three other fishing towns on this coast, are (as I am told) built in the same manner. built up

The country through this day's journey was hilly, the coast high. Reach

Whitby, called by the Saxons, Streaneshalch, or the bay of the light-house, a large town oddly situated between two hills, with a narrow channel running through the middle, extending about a mile farther up the vale, where it widens, and forms a bay. The two parts of the town are joined by a good draw-bridge, for the convenience of letting the shipping pass. From this are often taken the viviparous Blenny, whose back-bone is as green as that of the sea needle. The river that forms this harbour is the Esk, but its waters are very inconsiderable when the tide is out. Here is a pretty brisk trade in ship-building; but except that, a small manufacture of sail-cloth, and the hiring of ships, as at Scarborough, like that town, it has scarce any commerce. It is computed, there are about 270 ships belonging to this place. Of late, an attempt has been made to have a share in the Greenland fishery; four ships were sent out, and had very good success. There are very good dry docks towards the end of the harbour; and at the mouth a most beautiful pier. At this place is the first salmon-fishery on the coast.

In 1394 prodigious shoals of herrings appeared off this port, which occasioned a vast resort of foreigners, who bought up, cured the fish, and exported them to the great injury of the natives. To prevent which, the King issued a proclamation, directed to the bailiffs of St. Hilda's church, requiring them to put a stop to those practices ‡.

On the hill above the S. side of the town is a fine ruin of St. Hilda's church. The site was given to that saint by Oswy, King of Northumberland, about A. D. 657; possibly in consequence of a vow he made to found half a dozen monasteries, and make his daughter a nun, should heaven favour his arms. At this place was held, before King Oswy, the celebrated controversy about the proper season for keeping of Easter. Archbishop Colman supported one opinion from the traditions, which the Britons had of the example of St. John the Evangelist; and Wilfrid, on the contrary, drew his ar-

\* *Gagates hic plurimus optimusque est lapis: si decorem requiras, nigro gemmeus: si naturam aquâ ardet, oleo distinguitur: si potestatem attritu calefactus applicita detinet, atque succinum.* C. xxii.

† From hence the fish are carried in machines to Derby, Litchfield, Birmingham, and Worcester: the towns which lie beyond the last are supplied from the West of England.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, VII. 788.



guments from the practice of St. Peter, on whom the catholic church was founded, and to whom were committed the keys of heaven. Oswy demanded of Colman, whether this was true? who confessed it was. "Then," says His Majesty, "I will never contradict the porter of heaven, lest I suffer by his resentment, when I apply for admission \*." St. Hilda founded a convent here for men and women, dedicated it to St. Peter, and became the first abbess †. This establishment was ruined by the excursions of the Danes; but after the conquest, was rebuilt, and filled with Benedictines, by William de Percy, to whom the lordship was given by Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, nephew to the conqueror. In less enlightened times it was believed that not a wild goose dared to fly over this holy ground, and if it ventured, was sure to fall precipitate, and perish in the attempt.

Went about two miles along the shore, then turned up into the country, a black and dreary moor; observed on the right a vast artificial mount, or tumulus, called Freeburgh Hill.

At the end of this moor, about three miles from Gisborough, is a beautiful view over the remaining part of Yorkshire, towards Durham, Hartlepool, and the mouth of the Tees, which meanders through a very rich tract. The country instantly assumes a new face; the road lies between most delightful hills, finely wooded, and the little vales between them very fertile: on some of the hills are the marks of the first alum works, which were discovered by Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Gisborough, a small town, pleasantly situated in a vale surrounded at some distance hills, and open on the east to the sea, which is about five miles distant. It is certainly a delightful spot; but I cannot see the reason why Camden compares it to Puteoli. Here was once a priory of the canons of the order of St. Austin, founded by Robert de Brus, 1129, after the dissolution granted by Edward VI. to the Chaloners: a very beautiful east window of the church is still remaining. This priory was also embattled or fortified in 1375, by permission of Edward III. Its revenue, according to Speed, was 712l. 6s. 6d.; according to Dugdale, 628l. 3s. 4d. The town has at present a good manufacture of fail-cloth.

The country continues very fine quite to the banks of the Tees, a considerable river, which divides Yorkshire from the bishoprick of Durham. After travelling 109 miles in a straight line through the first, enter Durham, crossing the river on a very handsome bridge of five arches, the battlements neatly pannelled with stone; and reach

Stockton, lying on the Tees in form of a crescent: a handsome town; a corporation by prescription, governed by a mayor, recorder, and six aldermen; and is one of the four ward towns of the county. The principal street is remarkably fine, being 165 feet broad; and several lesser streets run into it at right angles. In the middle of the great street are neat shambles, a town-house, and large assembly-room. There is besides a large square, in which is a handsome Doric column thirty-three feet high. About a century ago, according to Anderson, it had scarce a house that was not made of clay and thatch; but is now a flourishing place, having rose on the decay of trade at Yarm. Its manufacture is a small one of fail-cloth; and great quantities of corn, and lead (from the mineral parts of the country) are sent off from hence by commission. As the river does not admit of large vessels as high as the town, those commodities are sent down to be shipped about three miles lower. The port is a member of that of Newcastle, and has its custom house and proper officers. The town lies at the distance of six miles from the bar; and the tide flows above eight miles above the bridge.

\* Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25.

† Osway was properly the founder.



Stockton was anciently a chapelry belonging to Norton, which by length of time became ruinous, and too small for the increasing inhabitants. In 1710, a new church was begun by subscription; in 1712, it was consecrated by bishop Crew; and, in 1713, the place, by act of parliament, was made a distinct parish from Norton.

In 1721, a charity-school was begun by voluntary subscription, which succeeded so well as to maintain at present a master, mistress, and forty boys and girls.

On the west side of the town stood the castle, founded (as some say) by King Stephen; according to others, by John. It is reported to have been a strong and elegant building, having been the summer residence of the bishop of Durham. Tradition says, that King John was entertained here by bishop Poitiers; and at this place signed the charter of Newcastle. Bishop Farnham died here, in 1257. Bishop Kellow improved and made great additions to the castle; and here bishop Morton took refuge when he fled from the Scots, in the beginning of the troubles of Charles I. It was sold by order of parliament, in 164-, for 6165l., demolished, and the materials disposed of: what remained, is at present converted into a barn. The demesne lands belong to the bishop, and are set for 600l. a year.

In 1762, an act passed for building a bridge across the Tees, to form a communication with Cleveland, which was finished in April 1769. Its breadth is eighteen feet, that of the middle arch seventy-two, three inches; the two next sixty; the two others forty-four. The expence of building it was eight thousand pounds.

The salmon fishery is neglected here, for none are taken but what is necessary to supply the country. Smelts come up the river in the winter-time.

Norton, before mentioned, lies on the way to Durham, at a small distance from Stockton. Here had been an ancient collegiate church, founded before the year 1227\*, for eight prebendaries, or portionists, in the patronage of the bishops of Durham. The country from the Tees to Durham is flat, very fertile, and much inclosed. Towards the west is a fine view of its highlands. These hills are part of that vast ridge which commences in the north, and deeply divide this portion of the kingdom; and on that account are called by Camden the Appenines of England.

The approach to Durham is romantic, through a deep hollow, clothed on each side with wood. The city is pretty large, but the buildings old. Part are on a plain, part on the side of a hill. The abbey, or cathedral, and the castle, where the bishop lives, when he resides here, are on the summit of a cliff, whose foot is washed on two sides by the river Were. The walks on the opposite banks are very beautiful, and well kept. They are cut through the wood, impend over the river, and receive a venerable improvement from the castle and ancient cathedral, which soar above.

The last is very old†; plain without, and supported within by massy pillars, deeply engraved with lozenge-like figures, and zig-zag furrows: others are plain. The skreen to the choir is wood covered with a coarse carving. The choir neat, but without ornament.

The chapter-house seems very ancient, and is in the form of a theatre. The cloisters large and handsome. All the monuments are defaced, except that of bishop Hatfield. The prebendal houses are very pleasantly situated, and have a fine view backwards.

There are two handsome bridges over the Were to the walks; and a third covered with houses, which join the two parts of the town. This river produces salmon, trout, roach, dace, minnow, loche, bulhead, sticklebacks, lamprey, the lesser lamprey, eels, smelt, and samlet. The last, before they go off to spawn, are observed to be covered

\* Tanner 115.

† Begun in 1093, by bishop William de Carilepho.



with a white slime : they are called here rack-riders, because they appear in winter, or bad weather : rack, in the English of Shakespeare's days, signifying the driving of the clouds by tempests, a word still retained here.

That which is now a horse, even with a thought  
The rack dissolves, and makes it indistinct  
As water is in water.

ANTONY and CLEOPATRA, ACT IV.

There is no inconsiderable manufacture at Durham of shalloons, tammies, stripes, and callemancoes. I had heard on my road many complaints of the ecclesiastical government this country is subject to ; but from the general face of the country, it seems to thrive wonderfully under it.

July 21. Saw Coken, the seat of Mr. Car ; a most romantic situation, layed out with great judgment : the walks are very extensive, principally along the sides or at the bottom of deep dells, bounded with vast precipices, finely wooded ; and many parts of the rocks are planted with vines, which I was told bore well, but late. The river Were winds along the hollows, and forms two very fine reaches at the place where you enter these walks. Its waters are very clear, and its bottom a solid rock. The view towards the ruins of Finchal-abbey is remarkably great ; and the walk beneath the cliff has a magnificent solemnity, a fit retreat for its monastic inhabitants. This was once called the Desert, and was the rude scene of the austerities of St. Godric, who carried them to the most senseless extravagance \*. A sober mind may even at present be affected with horror, at the prospects from the summits of the cliffs into a darksome and stupendous chasm, rendered still more tremendous by the roaring of the waters over its distant bottom.

Passed through Chester-le-Street, a small town, near which is Lumley-castle, the seat of the Earl of Scarborough. The tract from Durham to Newcastle was very beautiful ; the risings gentle, and prettily wooded, and the views agreeable ; that on the borders remarkably fine, there being, from an eminence not far from the capital of Northumberland, an extensive view of a rich country, watered by the coal Tyne. Go through Gateshead, cross the bridge, and enter

Newcastle, a large town, divided from the former by the river, and both sides very steep : the lower parts very dirty and disagreeable. The sides of the river are inhabited by keelmen and their families, a mutinous race ; for which reason this town is always garrisoned : in the upper parts are several handsome well-built streets.

The great business of the place is the coal trade. The collieries lie at different distances, from five to eighteen miles from the river ; and the coal is brought down in waggons along rail roads, and discharged from covered buildings at the edge of the

\* St. Godric was born at Walpole, in Norfolk, and being an itinerant merchant, got acquainted with St. Cuthbert at Farn island. He made three pilgrimages to Jerusalem ; at length was warned by a vision to settle in the desert of Finchal. He lived an hermitical life there during 63 years, and practised unheard-of austerities : he wore an iron shirt next his skin day and night, and wore out three : he mingled ashes with the flour he made his bread of ; and, lest it should then be too good, kept it three or four months before he ventured to eat it. In winter, as well as summer, he passed whole nights, up to his chin in water, at his devotions. Like St. Antony, he was often hunted by fiends in various shapes ; sometimes in form of beautiful damsels, so was visited with evil concupiscence, which he cured by rolling naked among thorns and briars : his body grew ulcerated ; but, to increase his pain, he poured salt into the wounds : wrought many miracles, and died 1170. Britannia sacra, 304. About ten years after his decease, a Benedictine priory of thirteen monks was founded there in his honour, by Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham.



water into the keels or boats that are to convey it on shipboard. These boats are strong, clumsy, and round, will carry about 25 tons each; sometimes are navigated with a square sail, but generally are worked with two vast oars. No ships of large burthen come up as high as Newcastle, but are obliged to lie at Shields, a few miles down the river, where stage-coaches go thrice every day for the conveniency of passengers. This country is most remarkably populous; Newcastle with Gateshead contains near 30,000 inhabitants; and there are at least 400 sail of ships belonging to that town and its port. The effect of the vast commerce of this place is very apparent for many miles round; the country is finely cultivated, and bears a most thriving and opulent aspect.

July 13. Left Newcastle; the country in general flat; passed by a large stone column with three dials on the capital, with several scripture texts on the sides, here called Pigg's Folly, from the founder.

A few miles further is Stannington-bridge, a pleasant village. Morpeth, a small town with a neat town-house, and a tower for the bell near it. Some attempt was made a few years ago to introduce the Manchester manufacture, but without success. Camden informs us, that the inhabitants reduced their town to ashes, on the approach of King John, A. D. 1216, out of pure hatred to their monarch, in order that he might not find any shelter there. But the Chronicle of Melros, p. 190, assigns a more rational cause, by saying that the barons of the country destroyed both their own towns and the standing corn, in order to distress the king then on his march to punish their revolt.

The castle was seated on a small eminence. The remains are little more than the gateway tower. This fortress was built by William Lord Graystock, in the year 1358. It appears to have been entire in the days of Leland, and at that time in the possession of Lord Dacres\*, who derived his right from his marriage with Elizabeth Baroness of Graystock; and in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was conveyed into the family of the present Earl of Carlisle, by the marriage of a daughter of Thomas Lord Dacres with Lord William Howard of Naworth†.

Between Morpeth and Felton, on the right side of the road, stands Cockle Tower, an ancient border-house of the larger size, fortified as the sad necessity of the times required. Mr. Grose tells us, that in the time of Edward I. it belonged to the Bertrams of Mitford, persons of much property in this county.

This place gave birth to William Turner, as Dr. Fuller expresses it, an excellent Latinist, Græcian, orator, and poet; he might have added polemic divine, champion and sufferer in the protestant cause, physician and naturalist. His botanic writings are among the first we had, and certainly the best of them; and his criticisms on the birds of Aristotle and Pliny are very judicious. He was the first who flung any light on those subjects in our island; therefore claims from a naturalist this tribute to his memory‡.

Felton, a pleasant village on the Coquet, which, some few miles lower, discharges itself into the sea, opposite to a small isle of the same name, remarkable for the multitudes of water-fowl that resort there to breed. At Felton, the barons of Northumberland did homage to Alexander II. King of Scotland, in 1216, in the reign of King John§. Coquet island was a place of arms for the royal party in the time of Charles I., but was taken by the Scots, in 1643, with much booty of ammunition and cattle.

Near Felton, I had a distant view of Warkworth castle, in old times the seat of the Claverings, by descent from Roger Fitz-Richard, to whom it was granted by Henry II. || Mr. Grose's elegant design of it makes me regret I did not take a nearer view.

\* Leland Itin. vii. 62.

† Wallis, ii. 299.

‡ He was born in the reign of Henry VIII. died in 1563.

§ Wallis, ii. 356.

|| Idem, 351.



At Alnwick, a small town, the traveller is disappointed with the situation of the environs of the castle, the residence of the Percies, the ancient Earls of Northumberland. You look in vain for any marks of the grandeur of the feudal age; for trophies won by a family eminent in our annals for military prowess and deeds of chivalry; for halls hung with helms and hauberks, or with the spoils of the chase; for extensive forests and venerable oaks. You look in vain for the helmet on the tower, the ancient signal of hospitality to the traveller, or the grey-headed porter to conduct him to the hall of entertainment. The numerous train, whose countenances gave welcome to him on his way, are now no more; and instead of the disinterested usher of the old times, he is attended by a valet eager to receive the fees of admittance.

There is a vast grandeur in the appearance of the outside of the castle; the towers magnificent, but injured by the numbers of rude statues crowded on the battlements. The apartments are large, and lately finished in the Gothic style with a most incompatible elegance. The gardens are equally inconsistent; trim to the highest degree, and more adapted to a villa near London, than the ancient seat of a great baron. In a word; nothing, excepting the numbers of unindustrious poor that swarm at the gate, excites any one idea of its former circumstances.

William Tyfon, a noble Saxon, baron of Alnwick, fell on the side of Harold at the battle of Hastings. The conqueror bestowed his daughter and fortune on Ivo de Vesci. In 1310, a natural son of one of his descendants was left under the guardianship of Antony Beke, bishop of Durham, who betrayed his trust, and sold this barony to Henry Lord Percy. The castle underwent two memorable sieges. In 1093, by Malcolm III. of Scotland, who, with his son Edward, lost their lives before it; and in 1174, William I., after a fruitless siege, was defeated and taken prisoner near the same place.

The abby lay a little north of the town: nothing is left but the fine square gateway. It was founded by Eustace Fitz-John, in 1147, for Premonstratensian canons\*, and at the dissolution supported thirteen, whose revenues were about 190*l.* a year.

A stage further is Belford, the seat of Abraham Dixon, Esq., a modern house; the front has a most beautiful simplicity in it: the grounds improved as far as the art of husbandry can reach; the plantations large and flourishing: a new and neat town, instead of the former wretched cottages; and an industrious race, instead of an idle poor, at present fill the estate.

On an eminence on the sea-coast, about four miles from Belford, is the very ancient castle of Bamborough, founded by Ida, first king of the Northumbrians, A. D. 548. It was called by the Saxons, Bebbanburh †, in honour of Bebba, Ida's queen. It was at first surrounded with a wooden fence, and afterwards with a wall. It had been of great strength; the hill it is founded on is excessively steep on all sides, and accessible only by flights of steps on the south-east. The ruins are still considerable, but many of them now filled with sand, caught up by the winds which rage here with great violence, and carried to very distant places. The remains of a great hall are very singular; it had been warmed by two fire-places of a vast size, and from the top of every window run a flue, like that of a chimney, which reached the summits of the battlements. These flues seem designed as so many supernumerary chimneys, to give vent to the smoke that the immense fires of those hospitable times filled the rooms with: halls smoky, but filled with good cheer, were in those days thought no inconvenience. Thus my brave countryman Howel ap Rys, when his enemies had fired his house about his ears, told his people to rise and defend themselves like men: "For shame, for he had knowne there as greate a sinoaké in that hall upon a Christmas even ‡."

\* Tanner, 933.

† Saxon Chr. 19.

‡ Hist. Gwedir family, 118.

Bamborough,

Bamborough village is now very inconsiderable. It once was a royal borough, and sent two members : it was even honoured with the name of a shire, which gave name to a large tract extending southward. It had also three religious foundations : a house of friers preachers founded by Henry III., a cell of canons regular, of St. Austin, and a hospital.

This castle, and the manor belonging to it, was once the property of the Forsters ; but (on the forfeiture of Thomas Forster, Esq. in 1715) purchased by Lord Crew, bishop of Durham, and with other considerable estates, left vested in trustees, to be applied to unconfined charitable uses. Three of these trustees are a majority : one of them makes this place his residence, and blesses the coast by his judicious and humane application of the prelate's generous bequest. He has repaired and rendered habitable the great Norman square tower : the part reserved for himself and family is a large hall and a few smaller apartments ; but the rest of the spacious edifice is allotted for purposes which make the heart to glow with joy when thought of. The upper part is an ample granary, from whence corn is dispensed to the poor without distinction, even in the dearest time, at the rate of four shillings a bushel ; and the distressed, for many miles round, often experience the conveniency of this benefaction. *Charity*

Other apartments are fitted up for the reception of shipwrecked sailors ; and bedding is provided for thirty, should such a number happen to be cast on shore at the same time. A constant patrol is kept every stormy night along this tempestuous coast for above eight miles, the length of the manor, by which means numbers of lives have been preserved. Many poor wretches are often found on the shore in a state of insensibility ; but by timely relief are soon brought to themselves.

It often happens, that ships strike in such a manner on the rocks as to be capable of relief, in case numbers of people could be suddenly assembled : for that purpose a cannon \* is fixed on the top of the tower, which is fired once, if the accident happens in such a quarter ; twice, if in another ; and thrice, if in such a place. By these signals the country people are directed to the spot they are to fly to ; and by this means frequently preserve not only the crew ; but even the vessel ; for machines of different kinds are always in readiness to heave ships out of their perilous situation.

In a word, all the schemes of this worthy trustee have a humane and useful tendency : he seems as if selected from his brethren for the same purposes as Spenser tells us the first of his seven beadsmen in the house of holiness was.

The first of them, that eldest was and best,  
Of all the house had charge and government,  
As guardian and steward of the rest :  
His office was to give entertainment  
And lodging unto all that came and went :  
Not unto such as could him feast againe  
And doubly quite for that he on them spent ;  
But such as want of harbour did constrain ;  
Those, for God's sake, his dewty was to entertaine †.

Opposite to Bamborough lie the Farn islands, which form two groupes of little isles and rocks to the number of seventeen, but at low water the points of others appear above the surface ; they are all distinguished by particular names. The nearest isle to the shore is that called the House Island, which lies exactly one mile sixty-eight chains from the coast : the most distant is about seven or eight miles. They are rented for 16l. per

\* Once belonging to a Dutch frigate of forty guns ; which, with all the crew, was lost opposite to the castle about sixty years ago.

† The Rev. Thomas Sharpe, B. D.



annum: their produce is kelp, some few feathers, and a few seals, which the tenant watches and shoots for the sake of the oil and skins. Some of them yield a little grass, and serve to feed a cow, or two, which the people are desperate enough to transport over in their little boats.

July 15. Visited these islands in a coble, a safe but seemingly hazardous species of boat, long, narrow, and flat-bottomed, which is capable of going through a high sea, dancing like a cork on the summits of the waves.

Touched at the rock called the Meg, whitened with the dung of corvorants which almost covered it; their nests were large, made of tang, and excessively foetid.

Rowed next to the Pinnacles, an island in the farthest groupe; so called from some vast columnar rocks at the south end, even at their sides, and flat at their tops, and entirely covered with guillemots and shags: the fowlers pass from one to the other of these columns by means of a narrow board, which they place from top to top, forming a narrow bridge, over such a horrid gap that the very sight of it strikes one with horror.

Eider birds

Landed at a small island, where we found the female eider ducks\* at that time sitting: the lower part of their nests was made of sea-plants; the upper part was formed of the down which they pull off their own breasts, in which the eggs were surrounded and warmly bedded: in some were three, in others five eggs, of a large size, and pale olive colour, as smooth and glossy as if varnished over. The nests are built on the beach, among the loose pebbles, not far from the water. The ducks sit very close, nor will they rise till you almost tread on them. The drakes separate themselves from the females during the breeding season. We robbed a few of their nests of the down, and after carefully separating it from the tang, found that the down of one nest weighed only three quarters of an ounce, but was so elastic as to fill the crown of the largest hat. The people of this country call these St. Cuthbert's ducks, from the saint of the islands †.

Besides these birds, I observed the following: puffins, here called tom noddies, auks, here skouts, guillemots, black guillemots, little auks, shiel ducks, shags, corvorants, black and white gulls, brown and white gulls, herring gulls, which I was told fed sometimes on eggs of other birds, common gulls, here annets, kittiwakes or tarrocks, pewit gulls, great terns, sea pies, sea larks, here brokets, jackdaws which breed in rabbit-holes, rock pigeons, rock larks.

The terns were so numerous, that in some places it was difficult to tread without crushing some of the eggs.

The last isle I visited was the House Island, the sequestered spot where St. Cuthbert passed the two last years of his life. Here was afterwards established a priory of Benedictines for six or eight monks subordinate to Durham. A square tower, the remains of a church, and some other buildings, are to be seen there still; and a stone coffin, which, it is pretended, was that of St. Cuthbert. At the north end of the isle is a deep chasm, from the top to the bottom of the rock, communicating to the sea, through which, in tempestuous weather, the water is forced with vast violence and noise, and forms a fine *jet d'eau* of sixty feet high: it is called by the inhabitants of the opposite coast the Churn.

Reached shore through a most turbulent rippling, occasioned by the fierce current of the tides between the islands and the coast.

\* Vide Br. Zool. ii. No. 271. I have been informed that they also breed on Inch-Colm, in the Firth of Forth.

† I must here acknowledge my obligations to Joseph Banks, Esq. who, previous to his circumnavigation, liberally permitted my artist to take copies of his valuable collection of Zoologic drawings; amongst others, those of the eider ducks.

July 17. Pursued my journey northward. Saw at a distance the Cheviot hills; on which, I was informed, the green plovers breed; and that, during winter, flocks innumerable of the great bramblings, or snow-flakes, appear; the most southern place of their migration in large companies.

The country almost woodless, there being but one wood of any consequence between Bedford and Berwick. Saw on the left another antient tower, which shewed the character of the times, when it was unhappily necessary, on these borders, for every house to be a fortress.

On the right, had a view of the sea, and, not remote from the land of Lindesfarn, or Holy Island, once an episcopal seat, afterwards translated to Durham. On it are the ruins of a castle and a church. Mr. Grose has given an entertaining and ample history of the place: and has informed me, that the ruins are fine remains of the Saxon masonry architecture. Its first bishop was Aidan in 635. In some parts of the island are abundance of entrochi, which are called by the country people St. Cuthbert's beads.

After a few miles riding, have a full view of Berwick, and the river Tweed winding westward for a considerable way up the country; but its banks are without any particular charms\*, being almost woodless. The river is broad, and has over it a bridge of sixteen very handsome arches, especially two next the town.

Berwick is fortified in the modern way; but is much contracted in its extent to what it was formerly; the old castle and works now lying at some distance beyond the present ramparts. The barracks are large, and consist of a center and two wings. On the cession of this place, as one of the securities for the payment of the ransom of William I. of Scotland, (according to the Polychronicon of Durham, quoted by Camden) the castle (now a ruin) was built by Henry II. That politic prince knew the importance of this key to the two kingdoms. I imagine it had been little understood before the reign of his illustrious prisoner: for about seventy years preceding, Edgar, one of his predecessors, had presented this place, with the lands of Coldingham, to the abby of Durham†. From the time of its cession to the Scots by Richard I. it for near three centuries became an object of contention between the two nations; but in 1482, the last year of Edward IV., was finally wrested from Scotland. By a convention between Edward VI. and the Queen Regent‡, it was declared a free town, if so it could be called, while the garrison and castle remained in the power of the English. James I. of England confirmed to it the privileges granted to it by Edward IV. It remained a place independent of both kingdoms, under its proper jurisdiction, till 1747, when the legislature annexed it to England. The lands belonging to it, or what are called Berwick Bounds, are about 8000 acres.

The religious had five convents, all founded by the Scottish monarchs. Here were Mathurines, Dominicans, and Franciscans, and two nunneries, one of Benedictines, another of Cistercians§. The church was built by Cromwell, and, according to the spirit of the builder, without a steeple. Even in Northumberland, (towards the borders) the steeples grow less and less, and as it were forewarned the traveller that he was speedily to take leave of episcopacy. The town-house has a large and handsome modern tower to it: the streets in general are narrow and bad, except that in which the town-house stands.

Abundance of wool is exported from this town: eggs in vast abundance collected through all the country, almost as far as Carlisle: they are packed up in

\* The beautiful banks of the Tweed verify the old song from Melros to Coldstream.

† Anderson's Diplom. No. IV.

‡ Rymer. XV. 265.

§ Keith, 243. 270. 274. 280. 281.



boxes, with the thick end downwards, and are sent to London for the use of sugar refiners.

The salmon fisheries here are very considerable, and likewise bring in vast sums; they lie on each side the river, and are all private property, except those belonging to the dean and chapter of Durham, which, in rent and tythe of fish, bring in 450l. per ann. for all the other fisheries are liable to tythe. The common rents of those are 50l. a year, for which tenants have as much shore as serves to launch out and draw their nets on shore: the limits of each are staked; and I observed that the fishers never failed going as near as possible to their neighbour's limits. One man goes off in a small flat-bottomed boat, square at one end, and taking as large a circuit as his net admits, brings it on shore at the extremity of his boundary, where others assist in landing it. The best fishery is on the south side\*: very fine salmon trout are often taken here, which come up to spawn from the sea, and return in the same manner as the salmon do. The chief import is timber from Norway and the Baltic.

Almost immediately on leaving Berwick, enter

#### SCOTLAND,

in the shire of Merch, or Mers†. A little way from Berwick, on the west, is Halydon-hill, famous for the overthrow of the Scots under the regent Douglas by Edward II. on the attempt of the former to raise the siege of the town. A cruel action blasted the laurels of the conqueror: Seton, the deputy governor‡, stipulated to surrender in fifteen days, if not relieved in that time, and gave his son as hostage for the performance. The time elapsed; Seton refused to execute the agreement, and with a Roman unfeelingness beheld the unhappy youth hung before the walls.

The entrance into Scotland has a very unpromising look; for it wanted, for some miles, the cultivation of the parts more distant from England: but the borders were necessarily neglected; for, till the accession of James VI. and even long after, the national enmity was kept up, and the borders of both countries discouraged from improvements by the barbarous inroads of each nation. This inattention to agriculture continued till lately; but on reaching the small village of Eytown, the scene was greatly altered; the wretched cottages, or rather hovels of the country, were vanishing; good comfortable houses arise in their stead; the lands are inclosing, and yield very good barley, oats, and clover; the banks are planting: I speak in the present tense; for there is still a mixture of the old negligence left amidst the recent improvements, which look like the works of a new colony, in a wretched impoverished country.

Soon after the country relapses; no arable land is seen; but for four or five miles succeeds the black joyless heathy moor of Coldingham: happily, this is the whole specimen that remains of the many miles, which, not many years ago, were in the same dreary unprofitable state. Near this was the convent of that name immortalized by the heroism of its nuns; who, to preserve themselves inviolate from the Danes, cut off their lips and noses; and thus rendering themselves objects of horror, were, in 870, with their abbess Ebba, burnt in the monastery by the disappointed savages. In 1216, it was burnt again by King John, in an inroad little less cruel.

\* For a fuller account of this fishery, vide British Zoology, III. No. 153. To it may also be added, that in the middle of the river, not a mile west of the town, is a large stone, on which a man is placed, to observe what is called the reck of the salmon coming up.

† Boethius says, that in his time bustards were found in this county; but they are now extirpated: but the historian calls them gústardes. Desc. Scot. 7.

‡ Keith, the governor, having a little before left the place, in order to excite Archibald Douglas, regent of Scotland, to attempt to raise the siege.

This



This nunnery was the oldest in Scotland. For in this place the virgin-wife Etheldreda took the veil in 670: but by the antient name, Coludum\*, it should seem that it had before been inhabited by the religious called Culdees. After its destruction by the Danes, it lay deserted till the year 1098, when Edgar founded on its site a priory of Benedictines, in honour of St. Cuthbert; and bestowed it on the monks of Durham, with all lands, waters, wrecks, &c. †:

At the end of the moor came at once in sight of the Firth of Forth, the Boderia of Ptolemy ‡; a most extensive prospect of the great arm of the sea, of the rich country of East Lothian, the Bass Isle; and at a distance the isle of May, the coast of the county of Fife, and the country as far as Montrose.

After going down a long descent, dine at Old Cambus, at a mean house in a poor village; where I believe the lord of the soil is often execrated by the weary traveller, for not enabling the tenant to furnish more comfortable accommodations in so considerable a thoroughfare. I have been told by an anonymous correspondent §, that the proper name of this place is Alt Camus, or the place where a rivulet falls into a bay. He also added, that a good inn has, of late years, been built about a mile eastward of the place.

The country becomes now extremely fine; bounded at a distance, on one side, by hills, on the other, by the sea: the intervening space is as rich a tract of corn land as I ever saw; for East Lothian is the Northamptonshire of North Britain: the land is in many places manured with sea tang; but I was informed, that the barley produced from it is much lighter than barley from other manure.

On the side of the hills, on the left, is Sir John Hall's, of Dunglas; a fine situation, with beautiful plantations. Pass by Broxmouth, a large house of the Duke of Roxburgh, in a low spot, with great woods surrounding it. Reach

Dunbar: the chief street broad and handsome; the houses built of stone; as is the case with most of the towns in Scotland. There are some ships sent annually from this place to Greenland, and the exports of corn are pretty considerable. The harbour is safe but small; its entrance narrow, and bounded by two rocks. Between the harbour and the castle is a very surprising stratum of stone, in some respects resembling that of the Giant's Causeway in Ireland: it consists of great columns of a red grit stone, either triangular, quadrangular, pentangular, or hexangular; their diameter from one to two feet, their length at low water thirty, dipping or inclining a little to the south.

They are jointed, but not so regularly, or so plainly, as those that form the Giant's Causeway. The surface of several that had been torn off, appear as a pavement of numbers of convex ends, probably answering to the concave bottoms of other joints once incumbent on them. The space between the columns was filled with thin septa of red and white sparry matter, and veins of the same pervaded the columns transversely. This range of columns faces the north, with a point to the east, and extends in front about two hundred yards. The breadth is inconsiderable: the rest of the rock degenerates into shapeless masses of the same sort of stone, irregularly divided by thick septa. This rock is called by the people of Dunbar, the Isle.

\* Bede, lib. iv. c. 19.

† Anderson's Dipl. No. IV.

‡ Bodotria of Tacitus, who describes the two Firths of Clyde and Forth, and the intervening isthmus, with much propriety; speaking of the fourth summer Agricola had passed in Britain, and how convenient he found this narrow tract for shutting out the enemy by his fortresses, he says, *Nam, Glota (Firth of Clyde) et Bodotria, diversi maris aestu per immensum reveli, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur.* Vit. Agr.

§ Sent to me by post, without date of time or place.



Opposite are the ruins of the castle, seated on a rock above the sea; underneath one part is a vast cavern, composed of a black and red stone, which gives it a most infernal appearance; a fit representation of the pit of Acheron, and wanted only to be peopled with witches to make the scene complete; it appears to have been the dungeon, there being a formed passage from above, where the poor prisoners might have been let down, according to the barbarous custom of war in early days. There are in some parts, where the rock did not close, the remains of walls, for the openings are only natural fissures; but the founders of the castle taking advantage of this cavity, adding a little art to it, rendered it a most complete and secure prison.

On the other side are two natural arches, through which the tide flowed; under one was a fragment of wall, where there seems to have been a portal for the admission of men or provisions from sea: through which it is probable that Alexander Ramsay, in a stormy night, reinforced the garrison, in spite of the fleet which lay before the place, when closely besieged by the English, in 1337, and gallantly defended for nineteen weeks by that heroine Black Agnes, Countess of March\*.

Through one of these arches was a most picturesque view of the Bass Isle, with the sun setting in full splendor; through the other, of the May island, gilt by its beams.

Over the ruins of a window were the three legs, or arms of the Isle of Man, a lion rampant, and a St. Andrew's cross.

In the church is the magnificent monument of Sir George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, the worthiest and best Scotch minister of James VI. till he chose his favourites for their personal, instead of their intellectual accomplishments: moderate, prudent, and successful in the management of the Scotch affairs: and, as Spotswood remarks, "a man of deep wit, few words, and in His Majesty's service no less faithful than fortunate: the most difficult affairs he compassed without any noise; and never returned when he was employed without the work performed that he was sent to do:" to his honor, he recommended the temperate, firm, and honest Abbot to the see of Canterbury, and by his assistance gave peace to the church of Scotland, too soon interrupted by their deaths. Dunbar's merit is evident; for the weaknesses and the infamy of his master's reign did not commence during the period of his power.

The monument is a large and beautiful structure of marble, decorated with arms, figures, and fluted pillars. The Earl is represented in armour, kneeling, with a cloak hanging loosely on him. The inscription imports no more than his titles and the day of his death, January 29th, 1610.

Near this town were fought two battles fatal to the Scots. The first in 1296; when the Earls of Surrey and Warwick, generals of Edward I. defeated the army of Baliol, took the castle, and delivered the nobility they found in it to the English monarch, who with his usual cruelty, devoted them all to death.

The other was the celebrated victory of Cromwell, in 1650; when the covenanting army chose rather to fight under the direction of the ministers than the command of their generals: and the event was correspondent. These false prophets gave the troops assurance of victory; and many of them fell in the fight with the lying spirit in their mouths. Cromwell had the appearance of enthusiasm; they the reality; for when the

\* Buchanan, lib. ix. c. 25. The English were obliged to desist from their enterprise. Agnes was eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Randal, of Stradown, Earl of Murray, and nephew to Robert Bruce. She was called Black Agnes, says Robert Lindsay, because she was black-skinned.



artful usurper saw their troops descend from the heights from whence they might without a blow have starved the whole English army, he, with a well-founded confidence, exclaimed, *THE LORD HATH DELIVERED THEM INTO OUR HANDS.* Cromwell at that instant was in the situation of Hannibal before the battle of Cannæ. The exultation of the Carthaginian was the same, delivered indeed by his historian with greater eloquence\*.

But the castle has been the scene of very different transactions. In 1567 it was in possession of the infamous Earl Bothwell, who here committed the simulated outrage on the person of the fair Mary Stuart; she certainly seems to have had foreknowledge of the violence; and the affront she sustained was but a *pignus direptum male pertinaci*. Here also the Earl retreated, after being given up by his mistress at the capitulation of Carberry-hill; and from hence he took his departure for his long, but merited misery.

In this town was a convent of Mathurines, founded by Patrick Earl of Dunbar and March, in 1218; and another of Carmelites or white friars, in 1263.

July 18. Rode within sight of Tantallon castle, now a wretched ruin; once the seat of the powerful Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, which for some time resisted all the efforts of James V. to subdue it.

A little further, about a mile from the shore, lies the Bass Island, or rather rock, of a most stupendous height; on the south side the top appears of a conic shape, but the other overhangs the sea in a most tremendous manner. The castle, which was once the state prison of Scotland, is now neglected: it lies close to the edge of the precipice, facing the little village of Castleton; where I took boat, in order to visit this singular spot; but the weather proved unfavourable; the wind blew so fresh, and the waves ran so high, that it was impossible to attempt landing; for even in calmer weather it cannot be done without hazard, there being a steep rock to ascend, and commonly a great swell, which often removes the boat, while you are scaling the precipice; so, in case of a false step, there is the chance of falling into a water almost unfathomable.

My anonymous friend tells me that this rock has the appearance of being volcanic, and that it consists of two masses cast up together, but so irregularly joined, that he knew a person who some years ago had actually crept through the passage which ran from north to south.

Various sorts of water fowl repair annually to this rock to breed; but none in greater numbers than the gannets, or Soland geese, multitudes of which were then sitting on their nests near the sloping part of the isle, and others flying over our boat: it is not permitted to shoot at them, the place being farmed principally on account of the profit arising from the sale of the young of these birds, and of the kittiwake, a species of gull, so called from its cry. The first are sold at Edinburgh † for twenty-pence apiece, and served up roasted a little before dinner. This is the only kind of provision whose price has not been advanced; for we learn from Mr. Ray, that it was equally dear above a century ago ‡. It is unnecessary to say more of this singular bird, as it has been very fully treated of in the second volume of the British Zoology.

With much difficulty landed at North Berwick, three miles distant from Castleton, the place we intended to return to. The first is a small town pleasantly seated near a

\* Polybius, lib. iii. c. 23.

† SOLAN GOOSE.—There is to be sold by John Watson, jun. at his stand at the Poultry, Edinburgh, all lawful days in the week, wind and weather serving, good and fresh Solan geese. Any who have occasion for the same may have them at reasonable rates.

Aug. 5. 1768.

EDINBURGH ADVERTISER.

‡ Ray's Itineraries, 192.



high conic hill, partly planted with trees: it is seen at a great distance, and is called North Berwick Law: a name given to several other high hills in this part of the island.

Pas through Abberladies and Preston Pans: the last takes its name from its salt-pans, there being a considerable work of that article; also another of vitriol. Saw at a small distance the field of battle, or rather of carnage, known by the name of the battle of Preston Pans, where the rebels gave a lesson of severity, which was more than retaliated the following spring at Culloden. Observed, in this day's ride (I forget the spot) Seaton, the once princely seat of the Earl of Wintoun, now a ruin; judiciously left in that state, as a proper remembrance of the sad fate of those who engage in rebellious politics.

Pinkie and Carberry-hill lie a little west of the road, a few miles from Edinburgh; each of them famed in history. The first noted for the fatal overthrow of the Scots under their Regent, the Earl of Arran, on September the 10th, 1547, by the Protector, Duke of Somerset. Ten thousand Scots fell that day: and by this rough courtship, Mary Stuart, then in her minority, was frightened into the arms of the Dauphin of France, instead of sharing the crown of England with her amiable cousin Edward VI. Twenty years after, Carberry-hill proved a spot still more pregnant with misfortunes to this imprudent princess. Her army, in 1567, occupied the very camp possessed by the English before the battle of Pinkie. Here, with the profligate Bothwell, she hoped to make a stand against her insurgent nobles. Her forces, terrified with the badness of the cause, declined the fight. She surrendered to the confederates; while her husband, by the connivance of Morton and others, partakers of his crimes, retired, and escaped his merited punishment.

At Musselburgh, cross the Esk near its mouth. There are great marks of improvement on approaching the capital; the roads good, the country very populous, numbers of manufactures carried on, and the prospect embellished with gentlemen's seats. Reach

Edinburgh\*.—A city that possesses a boldness and grandeur of situation beyond any that I had ever seen. It is built on the edges and sides of a vast sloping rock, of a great and precipitous height at the upper extremity, and the sides declining very quick and steep into the plain. The view of the houses at a distance strikes the traveller with wonder; their own loftiness, improved by their almost aerial situation, gives them a look of magnificence not to be found in any other part of Great Britain. All these conspicuous buildings form the upper part of the great street, are of stone, and make a handsome appearance: they are generally six or seven stories high in front; but by reason of the declivity of the hill, much higher backward; one in particular, called Babel, had about twelve or thirteen stories, before the fire in 1700, but is now reduced to ten or eleven. Every house has a common staircase, and every story is the habitation of a separate family. The inconvenience of this particular structure need not be mentioned; notwithstanding the utmost attention, in the article of cleanliness, is in general observed. The common complaint of the streets of Edinburgh is now taken away, by the vigilance of the magistrates†, and their severity against any that offend in any gross degree‡. It must be observed, that this unfortunate species of architecture arose from the turbulence of the times in which it was in vogue: every body was desirous of getting as near

\* Known throughout the Highlands by the name Dun-edin.

† The streets are cleaned early every morning. Once the city paid for the cleaning; at present it is rented for four or five hundred pounds per annum.

‡ In the closes, or allies, the inhabitants are very apt to sling out their filth, &c. without regarding who passes; but the sufferer may call every inhabitant of the house it came from to account, and make them prove the delinquent, who is always punished with a heavy fine.



as possible to the protection of the castle; the houses were crowded together, and I may say, piled one upon another, merely on the principle of security.

The castle is ancient, but strong, placed on the summit of the hill, at the edge of a very deep precipice. Strangers are shewn a very small room in which Mary Queen of Scots was delivered of James VI.

From this fortress is a full view of the city and its environs; a strange prospect of rich country, with vast rocks and mountains intermixed. On the south and east are the meadows, or the public walks, Herriot's Hospital, part of the town overshadowed by the stupendous rocks of Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Craigs, the Pentland hills at a few miles distance, and at a still greater, those of Muirfoot, whose sides are covered with verdant turf.

To the north is a full view of the Firth of Forth, from Queen's Ferry to its mouth, with its southern banks covered with towns and villages. On the whole the prospect is singular, various, and fine.

The reservoir of water \* for supplying the city lies in the Castle-street, and is well worth seeing: the great cistern contains near two hundred and thirty tons of water, which is conveyed to the several conduits, that are disposed at proper distances in the principal streets; these are conveniences that few towns in North Britain are without.

On the south side of the High-street, is the Parliament Close, a small square, in which is the Parliament House, where the courts of justice are held. Below stairs is the Advocates' library founded by Sir George Mackenzie, and now contains above thirty thousand volumes, and several manuscripts: among the more curious are the four Evangelists, very legible, notwithstanding it is said to be several hundred years old.

St. Jerome's bible, wrote about the year 1100.

A Malabar book, written on leaves of plants.

A Turkish manuscript, illuminated in some parts like a missal. *Elogium in sultan Morad filium filii Soliman Turcici. Script. Constantinopoli. Anno Hegiræ, 992.*

Cartularies, or records of the monasteries, some very ancient.

A very large Bible, bound in four volumes; illustrated with scripture prints, by the first engravers, pasted in, and collected at a vast expence. There are besides great numbers of antiquities, not commonly shewn, except inquired after.

The Luckenbooth row, which contains the Tolbooth, or city prison; and the weighing-house, which brings in a revenue of 500*l. per annum*, stands in the middle of the High-street, and with the guard-house, contributes to spoil as fine a street as most in Europe, being in some parts eighty feet wide and finely built.

The exchange is a handsome modern building, in which is the custom-house: the first is of no use in its proper character; for the merchants always chuse standing in the open street, exposed to all kinds of weather.

The old cathedral is now called the New Church, and is divided into four places of worship; in one the Lords of the Sessions attend: there is also a throne and a canopy for his majesty should he visit this capital, and another for the Lord Commissioner. There is no music either in this or any other of the Scotch churches, for Peg still faints at the sound of an organ. This is the more surprising, as the Dutch, who have the same established religion, are extremely fond of that solemn instrument; and even in the great church of Geneva the psalmody is accompanied with an organ.

The part of the same called St. Giles's church has a large tower, oddly terminated with a sort of crown.

\* It is conveyed in pipes from the Pentland hills five miles distant.



On the front of a house in the Nether Bow, are two fine profile heads of a man and a woman, of Roman sculpture, supposed to be those of Severus and Julia: but, as appears from an inscription \* made by the person who put them into the wall, were mistaken for Adam and Eve.

Near the Trône church are the remains of the house, (now a tavern) where Mary Stuart was confined the night after the battle of Carberry.

At the end of the Cannongate-street stands Holy Rood palace, originally an abbey founded by David I. in 1128. The towers on the N. W. side were erected by James V. together with other buildings, for a royal residence: according to the editor of Camden, great part, except the towers above mentioned, were burnt by Cromwell; but the other towers, with the rest of this magnificent palace, as it now stands, were executed by Sir William Bruce, by the directions of Charles II.; within is a beautiful square, with piazzas on every side. It contains great numbers of fine apartments; some, that are called the King's, are in great disorder, the rest are granted to several of the nobility.

In the Earl of Breadalbane's, are some good portraits,

William Duke of Newcastle by Vandyck;

And by Sir Peter Lely, the Duke and Dutchess of Lauderdale, and Edward Earl of Jersey. There is besides a very good head of a boy by Morrillio, and some views of the fine scenes near his lordship's seat at Taymouth.

At Lord Dunmore's lodgings is a very large piece of Charles I. and his Queen going to ride, with the sky showering roses on them; a black holds a grey horse; the celebrated Jeffery Hudson † the dwarf with a spaniel in a string, and several other dogs sporting round: the queen is painted with a love-lock, and with browner hair and complexion, and younger, than I ever saw her drawn. It is a good piece, and was the work of Mytens, predecessor in fame to Vandyck. In the same place are two other good portraits of Charles II. and James VII.

The gallery of this palace takes up one side, and is filled with colossal portraits of the Kings of Scotland.

In the old towers are shewn the apartments where the murder of David Rizzo was committed.

That beautiful piece of Gothic architecture, the church, or chapel, of Holy-Rood Abbey, is now a ruin, the roof having fallen in, by a most scandalous neglect, notwithstanding money had been granted by government to preserve it entire. Beneath the ruins lie the bodies of James II. and James V. Henry Darnly, and several other persons of rank: and the inscriptions on several of their tombs are preserved by Maitland. A gentleman informed me, that some years ago he had seen the remains of the bodies, but in a very decayed state: the beards remained on some; and that the bones of Henry Darnly proved their owner by their great size, for he was said to be seven-feet high.

Near this palace is the Park, first inclosed by James V.; within are the vast rocks ‡, known by the names of Arthur's Seat and Salusbury's Craigs; their fronts exhibit a romantic and wild scene of broken rocks and vast precipices, which from some points seem to over-hang the lower parts of the city. Great columns of stone, from forty to fifty feet in length, and about three feet in diameter, regularly pentagonal, or hexagonal, hang down the face of some of these rocks almost perpendicularly, or with a

\* *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane.* Anno 1621. These heads are well engraven in Gordon's Itinerary, tab. iii.

† For a further account of this little hero consult Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, ii. p. 10.

‡ According to Maitland, their perpendicular height is 656 feet.



very slight dip, and form a strange appearance. Beneath this stratum is a quarry of free-stone. Considerable quantities of stone from the quarries have been cut and sent to London for paving the streets, its great hardness rendering it excellent for that purpose. Beneath these hills are some of the most beautiful walks about Edinburgh, commanding a fine prospect over several parts of the country.

On one side of the Park are the ruins of St. Anthony's chapel, once the resort of numberless votaries; and near it is a very plentiful spring.

The south part of the city has several things worth visiting. Herriot's Hospital is a fine old building, much too magnificent for the end proposed, that of educating poor children. It was founded by George Herriot, jeweller to James VI. who followed that monarch to London, and made a large fortune. There is a fine view of the castle, and the sloping part of the city, from the front: the gardens were once the resort of the gay; and there the Scotch poets often laid, in their comedies, the scenes of intrigue.

In the church-yard of the Grey Friars, is the monument of Sir George Mackenzie, a rotunda; with a multitude of other tombs. This is one of the few cemeteries to this populous city; and from it is a very fine view of the castle, and the lofty street that leads to that fortress.

The college is a mean building; it contains the houses of the Principal and a few of the Professors: the Principal's house is supposed to be on the site of that in which Henry Darnly was murdered, then belonging to the provost of the kirk of Field. The students of the university are dispersed over the town, and are about six hundred in number; but wear no academic habit. The students are liable to be called before the professors, who have power of rebuking or expelling them: I cannot learn that either is ever exerted; but, as they are for the most part volunteers for knowledge, few of them desert her standards. There are twenty-two professors of different sciences, most of whom read lectures: all the chairs are very ably filled; those in particular which relate to the study of medicine, as is evident from the number of ingenious physicians, elevés of this university, who prove the abilities of their masters. The Museum has for many years been neglected.

The royal infirmary is a spacious and handsome edifice, capable of containing two hundred patients. The operation-room is particularly convenient, the council-room elegant, with a good picture in it of Provost Drummond. From the cupola of this building is a fine prospect, and a full view of the city.

Not far from hence are about three acres of ground designed for a square, called George Square: a small portion is at present built, consisting of small but commodious houses, in the English fashion. Such is the spirit of improvement, that within these three years sixty thousand pounds have been expended in houses of the modern taste, and twenty thousand in the old.

Watson's hospital should not be forgot: a large good building, behind the Grey Friars church; an excellent institution for the educating and apprenticing the children of decayed merchants; who, after having served their time with credit, receive fifty pounds to set up with.

The meadows, or public walks, are well planted, and are very extensive: these are the mall of Edinburgh, as Comely Gardens are its Vauxhall.

The Cowgate is a long street, running parallel with the High-street, beneath the steep southern declivity of the city, and terminates in the Grass-market, where cattle are sold, and criminals executed. On several of the houses are small iron crosses, which, I was informed, denoted that they once belonged to the knights of St. John.



On the north side of the city lies the new town, which is planned with great judgment, and will prove a magnificent addition to Edinburgh; the houses in St. Andrew's Square cost from 1800l. to 2000l. each, and one or two 4000 or 5000l. They are all built in the modern style, and are free from the inconveniences attending the old city.

These improvements are connected to the city by a very beautiful bridge, whose highest arch is ninety-five feet high.

In the walk of this evening, I passed by a deep and wide hollow beneath Calton Hill, the place where those imaginary criminals, witches and forcerers, in less enlightened times, were burnt; and where, at festive seasons, the gay and gallant held their tilts and tournaments. At one of these, it is said that the Earl of Bothwell made the first impression on the susceptible heart of Mary Stuart, having galloped into the ring down the dangerous steep of the adjacent hill; for he seemed to think that

Women born to be control'd  
Stoop to the forward and the bold.

The desperate feats were the humour of the times of chivalry: Brantome relates, that the Duc de Nemours galloped down the steps of the Sainte Chappel at Paris, to the astonishment of the beholders. The men cultivated every exercise that could preserve or improve their bodily strength; the ladies, every art that tended to exalt their charms. Mary is reported to have used a bath of white wine; a custom strange, but not without precedent. Jaques du Fouilloux enraptured with a country girl, enumerating the arts which she scorned to use to improve her person, mentions this:

Point ne portoit de ce linge femelle  
Pour amoindrir son seing et sa mammelle.  
Vasquine nulle, ou aucun pelicon  
Elle ne portoit, ce n'estoit sa façon,  
Point ne prenoit vin blanc pour se baigner,  
Ne drogue encore pour four son corps allegier\*.

At a small walk's distance from Calton Hill, lies the new botanic garden †, consisting of five acres of ground, a green-house fifty feet long, two temperate rooms, each twelve feet, and two stoves, each twenty-eight feet: the ground rises to the north, and defends the plants from the cold winds: the soil a light sand, with a black earth on the surface. It is finely stocked with plants, whose arrangement and cultivation do much credit to my worthy friend Dr. Hope, professor of botany, who planned and executed the whole. It was begun in 1764, being founded by the munificence of His present Majesty, who granted fifteen hundred pounds for that purpose.

During this week's stay at Edinburgh, the prices of provisions were as follow:

Beef, from 5d. to 3½d.; Mutton, from 4d. to 3½d.; Veal, from 5d. to 3d.; Lamb, 2½d.; Bacon, 7d.; Butter, in summer, 8d. in winter, 1s.; Pigeons, per dozen, from 8d. to 5s.; Chickens, per pair, 8d. to 1s.; A fowl, 1s. 2d.; Green goose, 3s.; Fat goose, 2s. 6d.; Large turkey, 4s. or 5s.; Pig, 2s.; Coals, 5d. or 6d. per hundred delivered.

Many fine excursions may be made at a small distance from this city. Leith, a large town, about two miles north, lies on the Firth, is a flourishing place, and the port of Edinburgh. The town is dirty and ill built, and chiefly inhabited by sailors; but the

\* L'Adolescence de Jaques du Fouilloux, 88.

† The old botanic garden lies to the east of the new bridge: an account of it is to be seen in the Museum Balfourianum.



pier is very fine, and is a much frequented walk. The races were at this time on the sands, near low-water mark: considering their vicinity to a great city and populous country, the company was far from numerous; a proof that dissipation has not generally infected the manners of the North Britons.

Craigmillar castle is seated on a rocky eminence, about two miles south of Edinburgh; is square, and has towers at each corner. Some few apartments are yet inhabited; but the rest of this great pile is in ruins. Mary Stuart sometimes made this place her residence.

Newbottle, the seat of the Marquiss of Lothian, is a pleasant ride of a few miles from the capital. It was once a Cistercian abbey, founded by David I. in 1140; but, in 1591, was erected into a lordship, in favour of Sir Mark Ker, son of Sir Walter Ker, of Cessford. The house lies in a warm bottom, and, like most other of the houses of the Scotch nobility, resembles a French chateau, by having a village or little paltry town adjacent. The situation is very favourable to trees, as appears by the vast size of those near the house; and I was informed, that fruit ripens here within ten days as early as at Chelsea.

The Marquiss possesses a most valuable collection of portraits, many of them very fine, and almost all very instructive. A large half-length of Henry Darnly represents him tall, aukward and gauky, with a stupid, insipid countenance; most likely drawn after he had lost by intemperance and debauchery, those charms which captivated the heart of the amorous Mary.

A head of her mother, Marie de Guise; not less beautiful than her daughter.

A head of Madame Monpensier, and of several other illustrious persons, who graced the court of Lewis XIII.

Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, in one piece.

Some small portraits, studies of Vandyck; among which is one of William Earl of Pembroke, of whom Lord Clarendon gives so advantageous a character.

A beautiful half-length of Henrietta, Queen of Charles I. Her charms almost apologize for the compliances of the uxorious monarch.

His daughter, the Dutches of Orleans.

The wife of Philip the Bold, inscribed Marga Mala, Lodo Malo.

Head of Robert Car, Earl of Somerset; the countenance effeminate, small features, light flaxen or yellowish hair, and a very small beard: is an original of that worthless favourite, and proves that the figure given as his among the illustrious heads is erroneous, the last being represented as a robust black man. A print I have of him by Simon Piss is authentic: the plate is of octavo size, represents him in hair curled to the top; and in his robes, with the George pendent.

His father, Sir Robert Car of Fernihurst.

An Earl of Somerset; of whom I could get no account; handsome; with long light hair inclining to yellow: a head.

A full length of James I. by Jamefon. Another of Charles I. when young, in rich armour, black and gold: a capital piece.

Lady Tufton; a fine half-length.

Earl Morton, regent: half-length; a yellow beard.

A head of General Ruthven, Sir Patrick Ruthven, a favourite of Gustavus Adolphus; knighted in his majesty's tent in presence of the whole army at Darfaw in Prussia, on the 23d of September 1627. As potent in the campaigns of Bacchus as of Mars, and serviceable to his great master in both. He vanquished his enemies in the field; and by the strength of his head, and goodness of understanding, could in convivial

vivial hours extract from the ministers of unfriendly powers, secrets of the first importance. He passed afterwards into the service of Charles I. and behaved with the spirit and integrity that procured him the honours of Earl of Forth in Scotland, and afterwards Earl of Brentford in England. He died in a very advanced age in 1651.

Two very curious half-lengths on wood : one of a man with a long forked black beard ; his jacket flashed down in narrow stripes from top to bottom, and the stripes loose : the other with a black full beard ; the same sort of stripes, but drawn tight by a girdle.

The Doge of Venice, by Titian.

Three by Morillio ; boys and girls in low life.

A remarkable fine piece of our three first circum-navigators, Drake, Hawkins, and Candish ; half-length.

The heads of Mark Earl of Lothian, and his lady, by Sir Antonio More.

Mark Ker, prior of Newbottle, who, at the reformation, complied with the times, and got the estate of the abbey.

In the woods adjacent to this seat are some subterraneous apartments and passages cut out of the live rock : they seem to have been excavated by the ancient inhabitants of the country, either as receptacles for their provisions, or a retreat for themselves and families in time of war, in the same manner, as Tacitus relates, was customary with the old Germans\*.

Two or three miles distant from Newbottle is Dalkeith, a small town, adjoining to Dalkeith House, the seat of the Duke of Buccleugh : originally the property of the Douglasses ; and, when in form of a castle, of great strength ; and during the time of the regent Morton's retreat, styled the Lion's Den.

The portraits at Dalkeith are numerous, and some good ; among others, the First Duke of Richmond and his Dutchess.

The Dutchess of Cleveland.

Countess of Buccleugh, mother to the Dutchess of Monmouth, and Lady Eglington, her sister.

The Dutchess and her two sons : the Dutchess of York ; her hand remarkably fine : the Dutchess of Lenox.

Mrs. Lucy Waters, mother of the Duke of Monmouth, with his picture in her hand.

Dutchess of Cleveland and her son, an infant ; she in character of a Madonna : fine.

The Duke of Monmouth, in character of a young St. John.

Lord Strafford and his secretary ; a small study of Vandyck.

Henry VIII. and Queen Catherine, with the divorce in her hand ; two small pieces by Holbein. Anna Bullen, by the same, dressed in a black gown, large yellow netted sleeves, in a black cap, peaked behind.

Lady Jane Gray, with long hair, black and very thick ; not handsome ; but the virtues and the intellectual perfections of that suffering innocent, more than supplied the absence of personal charms.

A large spirited picture of the Duke of Monmouth on horseback. The same in armour. All his pictures have a handsome likeness of his father.

\* Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi, et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt : et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod querenda sunt. De Moribus Germanorum, c. 16.



Dutcheſs of Richmond, with a bow in her hand, by Sir Peter Lely.

A fine head of the late Duke of Ormond.

A beautiful head of Mary Stuart; the face ſharp, thin and young; yet has a like-  
neſs to ſome others of her pictures, done before miſfortunes had altered her; her dreſs  
a ſtrait gown, open at the top and reaching to her ears, a ſmall cap, and ſmall ruff,  
with a red roſe in her hand.

In this palace is a room entirely furniſhed by Charles II. on occaſion of the marri-  
age of Monmouth, with the heiſeſs of the houſe.

At Smeton, another ſeat of the Duke of Buccleugh, a mile diſtant from the fiſt, is  
a fine half-length of General Monk looking over his ſhoulder, with his back towards  
you; he reſided long at Dalkeith, when he commanded in Scotland.

Nell Gwinne looſely attired.

A fine marriage of St. Catherine, by Vandyck.

July 24. Left Edinburgh, and paſſed beneath the caſtle, whoſe height and ſtrength,  
in my then ſituation, appeared to great advantage. The country I paſſed through was  
well cultivated, the fields large, but moſtly incloſed with ſtone walls; for hedges are not  
yet become univerſal in this part of the kingdom: it is not a century ſince they were  
known here. Reach the

South-ferry, a ſmall village on the banks of the Firth, which ſuddenly is contracted  
to the breadth of two miles by the jutting out of the land on the north ſhore; but al-  
moſt inſtantly widens towards the weſt into a fine and extenſive bay. The proſpect on  
each ſide is very beautiful; a rich country, frequently diverſified with towns, villages,  
caſtles, and gentlemen's ſeats\*. There is beſide a vaſt view up and down the Firth,  
from its extremity, not remote from Stirling, to its mouth near May iſle; in all, about  
ſixty miles. To particularize the objects of this rich view: from the middle of the  
paſſage are ſeen the coaſts of Lothian and Fife; the iſles of Garvie and Inch-Colm; the  
town of Dumfermline; ſouth and north Queen's-ferries; and Burrowſtoneſs ſmoking  
at a diſtance from its numerous ſalt-pans and fire-engines. On the ſouth ſide are Hope-  
ton-houſe, Dundas caſtle, and many other gentlemen's ſeats; with Blackneſs caſtle.  
On the north ſide, Roſythe caſtle, Dunibryſſel, and at a diſtance, the caſtle and town of  
Brunt-iſland; with the road of Leith, often filled with ſhips, and a magnificent diſtant  
view of the caſtle of Edinburgh on the ſouth.

This ferry is alſo called Queen's-ferry, being the paſſage much uſed † by Margaret,  
queen to Malcolm III., and ſiſter to Edgar Etheling, her reſidence being at Dumferm-  
line. Croſs over in an excellent boat; obſerve midway the little iſle called Inſh-Garvey,  
with the ruin of a ſmall caſtle. An arctic gull flew near the boat, purſued by other  
gulls, as birds of prey are: this is the ſpecies that perſecutes and purſues the leſſer kinds,  
till they mute through fear, when it catches up their excrements ere they reach the  
water: the boatmen, on that account, ſtyled it the dirty aulin.

Landed in the ſhire of Fife ‡, at North-ferry, near which are the great granite quar-  
ries, which help to ſupply the ſtreets of London with paving ſtones; many ſhips then  
waiting near in order to take their lading. The granite lies in great perpendicular  
ſtacks; above which is a reddiſh earth filled with friable micaceous nodules. The gra-  
nite itſelf is very hard, and is all blaſted with gun-powder: the cutting into ſhape for

\* Such as Roſythe caſtle, Dumfermline town, Lord Murray's, Lord Hopetoun's, Captain Dundas's.

† Or, as others ſay, becauſe ſhe, her brother and ſiſter, fiſt landed there, after their eſcape from Wil-  
liam the Conqueror.

‡ Part of the ancient Caledonia.

paving costs two shillings and eight-pence per ton, and the freight to London seven shillings.

The country, as far as Kinross, is very fine, consisting of gentle risings; much corn, especially bear; but few trees, except about a gentleman's seat called Blair, where there are great and flourishing plantations. Near the road are the last collieries in Scotland, except the inconsiderable works in the county of Sutherland.

Kinross is a small town, seated in a large plain, bounded by mountains; the houses and trees are so intermixed, as to give it an agreeable appearance. It has some manufactures of linen and cutlery ware. At this time was a meeting of justices, on a singular occasion: a vagrant had been, not long before, ordered to be whipped; but such was the point of honour among the common people, that no one could be persuaded to go to Perth for the executioner, who lived there: to press, I may say, two men for that service was the cause of the meeting; so Mr. Boswell may rejoice to find the notion of honour prevail in as exalted a degree among his own countrymen, as among the virtuous Corsicans\*.

Not far from the town is the house of Kinross, built by the famous architect Sir William Bruce, for his own residence, and was the first good house of regular architecture in North Britain. It is a large, elegant, but plain building: the hall is fifty-two feet long; the grounds about it well planted; the fine lake adjacent; so that it is capable of being made as delightful a spot as any in North Britain.

Loch-Leven, a magnificent piece of water, very broad, but irregularly indented, is about twelve miles in circumference, and its greatest depth about twenty four fathoms: is finely bounded by mountains on one side; on the other by the plain of Kinross; and prettily embellished with several groves, most fortunately disposed. Some islands are dispersed in this great expanse of water; one of which is large enough to feed several head of cattle: but the most remarkable is that distinguished by the captivity of Mary Stuart, which stands almost in the middle of the lake. The castle still remains; consists of a square tower, a small yard with two round towers, a chapel, and the ruins of a building where, it is said, the unfortunate princess was lodged. In the square tower is a dungeon, with a vaulted room above, over which had been three other stories. Some trees are yet remaining on this little spot; probably coeval with Mary, under whose shade she may have sat, expecting her escape at length effected by the enamoured Douglas†. This castle had before been a royal residence, but not for captive monarchs; having been granted from the crown by Robert III. to Douglas, laird of Loch-Leven.

This castle underwent a siege in the year 1335, and the method attempted to reduce it was of the most singular kind. John of Sterling, with his army of Anglicised Scots, sat down before it; but finding from the situation that it was impossible to succeed in the common forms, he thought of this expedient. He stopped up the water of Leven, at its discharge from the lake, with a great dam, with stones, and every thing that would obstruct its course, hoping by that means to raise the waters so high as to drown the whole garrison. But the watchful governor, Alan de Vipont, took an opportunity of falling out in boats when the besiegers were off their guard, being intoxicated with celebrating St. George's day, and piercing the dam, released the pent-up waters, and formed a most destructive deluge on all the plain below; struck a panic into the ene-

\* Hist. Corsica, p. 285, of the first edition.

† Historians differ in respect to the cause that influenced him to assist in his sovereign's escape: some attribute it to his avarice, and think he was bribed with jewels, reserved by Mary; others, that he was touched by a more generous passion: the last opinion is the most natural, considering the charms of the queen, and the youth of her deliverer.



my's army, put them to flight, and returned to his castle laden with the spoils of the camp\*.

St. Serf's isle is noted for having been granted by Brudo, last king of the Picts, to St. Servan and the Culdees; a kind of priests among the first Christians of North Britain, who led a sort of monastic life in cells, and for a considerable time preserved a pure and uncorrupt religion: at length, in the reign of David I. were suppressed in favour of the church of Rome. The priory of Port-moak was on this isle, of which some small remains yet exist.

The fish of this lake are pike, small perch, fine eels, and most excellent trouts, the best and the reddest I ever saw; the largest about six pounds in weight. The fishermen gave me an account of a species they called the gally trout, which are only caught from October to January, are split, salted, and dried, for winter provision: by the description, they certainly were our char, only of a larger size than any we have in England or Wales, some being two feet and a half long. The birds that breed on the isles are her-<sup>chat</sup>ring gulls, pewit gulls, and great terns, called here pictarnes.

Lay at a good inn, a single house, about half a mile north of Kinross.

July 25. Made an excursion about seven miles west, to see the Rumbling Brig at Glen-Devon, in the parish of Muchart, a bridge of one arch, flung over a chasm worn by the river Devon, about eighty feet deep, very narrow, and horrible to look down; the bottom in many parts is covered with fragments; in others the waters are visible, gushing between the stones with great violence: the sides in many places project, and almost lock in each other; trees shoot out in various spots, and contribute to increase the gloom of the glen, while the ear is filled with the cawing of daws, the cooing of wood-pigeons, and the impetuous noise of the waters.

A mile lower down is the Cawdron Lin. Here the river, after a short fall, drops on rocks hollowed in a strange manner into large and deep cylindric cavities, open on one side, or formed into great circular cavities, like cauldrons†; from whence the name of the place. One in particular has the appearance of a vast brewing-vessel; and the water, by its great agitation, has acquired a yellow scum, exactly resembling the yeasty working of malt liquor. Just beneath this the water darts down about thirty feet in form of a great white sheet: the rocks below widen considerably, and their cliffy sides are fringed with wood. Beyond is a view of a fine meadowy vale, and the distant mountains near Stirling.

Two miles north is Castle Campbel, seated on a steep peninsulated rock between vast mountains, having to the south a boundless view through a deep glen shagged with brushwood; for the forests that once covered the country are now entirely destroyed. Formerly, from its darksome situation, this pile was called the castle of Gloom; and all the names of the adjacent places were suitable: it was seated in the parish of Dolor, <sup>hispid</sup> was bounded by the glens of Care, and washed by the birns of Sorrow. The lordship was purchased by the first Earl of Argyle. This castle, with the whole territory belonging to the whole family of Argyle, underwent all the calamities of civil war in 1645; for its rival, the Marquis of Montrose, carried fire and sword through the whole estate. The castle was ruined, and its magnificent reliques exist, as a monument of the horror of the times. No wonder then that the marquis experienced so woeful and ignominious a fate, when he fell into the power of so exasperated a chieftain.

\* Sibbald's Hist. of Fife and Kinross, 103.

† In Sweden, and the north of Germany, such holes as these are called Giants Pots. Kalm's Voy. 121. and Ph. Trans. abridg. V. 165.



Returned to my inn along the foot of the Ochil hills, whose sides were covered with a fine verdure, and fed great numbers of cattle and sheep. The country below full of oats, and in a very improving state: the houses of the common people decent, but mostly covered with fods; some were covered both with straw and fod. The inhabitants extremely civil, and never failed offering brandy or whey, when I stopt to make inquiries at any of their houses.

In the afternoon crossed a branch of the same hills, which yielded plenty of oats; descended into Strath-Earn, a beautiful vale, about thirty miles in length, full of rich meadows and corn-fields, divided by the river Earn, which serpentine finely through the middle, falling into the Tay, of which there is a fight at the east end of the vale. It is prettily diversified with groves of trees and gentlemen's houses; among which, towards the west end, is Castle Drummond, the forfeited seat of the Earl of Perth.

Dupplin\*, the residence of the Earl of Kinnoul, seated on the north side of the vale, on the edge of a steep glen. Only a single tower remains of the old castle, the rest being modernized. The south front commands a pleasing view of the vale: behind are plantations extending several miles in length; all flourish greatly, except those of ash. I remarked in the woods some very large chestnuts, horse-chestnuts, spruce and silver firs, cedar and arbor vitæ. Broad-leaved laburnum thrives in this country greatly, grows to a great size, and the wood is used in fineering.

Fruits succeed here very indifferently; even nonpareils require a wall: grapes, figs, and late peaches, will not ripen: the winters begin early, and end late, and are attended with very high winds. I was informed that labour is dear here, notwithstanding it is only eight-pence a day; the common people not being yet got into a method of working, so do very little for their wages. Notwithstanding this, improvements are carried on in these parts with great spirit both in planting and in agriculture. Lord Kinnoul planted last year not fewer than eighty thousand trees, besides Scotch firs; so provides future forests for the benefit of his successors, and the embellishment of his country. In respect to agriculture, there are difficulties to struggle with, for the country is without either coal or lime-stone; so that the lime is brought from the estate of the Earl of Elgin, near Dumfermline, who, I was told, drew a considerable revenue from the kilns.

In Dupplin are some very good pictures; a remarkable one of Luther, Bucer, and Catherine the nun, in the characters of musicians, by Giorgiani di Castel franco.

A fine head of a secular priest, by Titian. St. Nicholas blessing three children. Two of cattle, by Rosa di Tivoli. A head of Spenser. Rubens's head, by himself. A fine head of Butler, by Sir Peter Lely. Mrs. Tofts, in the character of St. Catherine, by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Sir George Haye, of Maginnis, in armour, 1640; done at Rome, by L. Ferdinand. Haye, Earl of Carlisle, in Charles I.'s time, young and very handsome. The second Earl of Kinnoul, by Vandyck. Chancellor Haye, by Mytens. A good portrait of lord treasurer Oxford, by Richardson; and a beautiful miniature of Sir John Earnly.

But the most remarkable is a head of the celebrated Countess of Desmond, whom the apologists for the usurper Richard III. bring in as an evidence against the received opinion of his deformity: she was daughter of the Fitzgeralds of Drumana†, in the county of Waterford, and married, in the reign of Edward IV., James fourteenth Earl of Desmond: was in England in the same reign, and danced at court with his brother Richard,

\* Near this place was fought the battle of Dupplin, 1332, between the English, under the command of Baliol, and the Scots. The last were defeated, and such a number of the name of Hay slain, that the family would have been extinct, had not several of their wives been left at home pregnant.

† Smith's Hist. of Cork, ii 36.



then Duke of Gloucester. She was then a widow, for Sir Walter Raleigh says she held her jointure from all the Earls of Desmond since that time \*. She lived to the age of some years above a hundred and forty, and died in the reign of James I. It appears that she retained her full vigour in a very advanced time of life; for the ruin of the house of Desmond reduced her to poverty, and obliged her to take a journey from Bristol to London, to solicit relief from the court, at a time she was above a hundred and forty †. She also twice or thrice renewed her teeth; for Lord Bacon assures us, in his Hist. of Life and Death, *ter per vices dentiisse*; and in his Natural History mentions that she did *dentire* twice or thrice, casting her old teeth, and others coming in their place ‡.

July 27. Ascended the hill of Moncrief; the prospect from thence is the glory of Scotland, and well merits the eulogia given it for the variety and richness of its views. On the south and west appear Strath-Earn, embellished with the feats of Lord Kinnoul, Lord Rollo, and of several other gentlemen; the Carfe, or rich plain of Gowrie; Stormont hills and the hill of Kinnoul, whose vast cliff is remarkable for its beautiful pebbles. The meanders of the Earn, which winds more than any river I at this time had seen, are most enlivening additions to the scene. The last turn it takes forms a fine peninsula prettily planted; and just beyond it joins the Tay §, whose æstuary lies full in view, the sea closing the prospect on this side.

To the north lies the town of Perth, with a view of part of its magnificent bridge; which, with the fine woods called Perth Parks, the vast plain of Strath-Tay, the winding of that noble river, its islands, and the grand boundary formed by the distant highlands, finish this matchless scene. The inhabitants of Perth are far from being blind to the beauties of their river; for with singular pleasure they relate the tradition of the Roman army, when it came in sight of the Tay, bursting into the exclamation of *Ecce Tiberim*.

On approaching the town are some pretty walks handsomely planted, and at a small distance, the remains of some works of Cromwell's, called Oliver's Mount.

Perth is large, and in general well-built; two of the streets are remarkably fine; in some of the lesser are yet a few wooden houses in the old style; but as they decay, the magistrates prohibit the rebuilding them in the old way. There is but one parish, which has three churches, besides meetings for separatists, who are very numerous. One church, which belonged to a monastery, is very ancient: not a vestige of the last is now to be seen; for the disciples of that rough apostle Knox made a general desolation of every edifice that had given shelter to the worshippers of the church of Rome; it being one of his maxims to pull down the nests, and then the rooks would fly away.

The flourishing state of Perth is owing to two accidents: the first, that of numbers of Cromwell's wounded officers and soldiers chusing to reside here, after he left the kingdom, who introduced a spirit of industry among the people; the other cause was the long continuance of the Earl of Mar's army here in 1715, which occasioned vast sums of money being spent in the place. But this town, as well as all Scotland, dates its prosperity from the year 1745, the government of this part of Great Britain having never been settled till a little after that time. The rebellion was a disorder violent in its operation, but salutary in its effects.

\* Raleigh's Hist. of the World. Book i. ch. 5. sect. 5.

† Sir W. Temple's Essay on Health and Long Life. Vide his Works, folio ed. i. 276.

‡ Cent. viii. sect. 755.

§ Taus, Taciti Vit. Agr.



The trade of Perth is considerable. It exports annually one hundred and fifty thousand pounds worth of linen to different places; from twenty-four to thirty thousand bolls of wheat and barley to London and Edinburgh, and about twelve or fourteen thousand pounds worth of cured salmon. That fish is taken there in vast abundance; three thousand have been caught in one morning, weighing one with another sixteen pounds; the whole capture, forty-eight thousand pounds. The fishery begins at St. Andrew's day, and ends August 26th, old style. The rents of the fisheries amount to three thousand pounds per annum.

I was informed that smelts come up this river in May and June.

There has been in these parts a very great fishery of pearl got out of the fresh-water muscles. From the year 1761 to 1764, 10,000l. worth were sent to London, and sold from 10s. to 1l. 16s. per ounce. I was told that a pearl had been taken there that weighed 33 grains. But this fishery is at present exhausted, from the avarice of the undertakers: it once extended as far as Loch-Tay.

Gowrie-house is shewn to all strangers; formerly the property and residence of the Earl of Gowrie, whose tragical end and mysterious conspiracy (if conspiracy there was) are still fresh in the minds of the people of Perth. At present the house is occupied by some companies of artillery. I was shewn the staircase where the unhappy nobleman was killed, the window the frightened monarch James roared out of, and that he escaped through, when he was saved from the fury of the populace, by baily Roy, a friend of Gowrie's, who was extremely beloved in the town.

From the little traditions preserved in the place, it seems as if Gowrie had not the least intent of murdering the king: on the day his majesty came to Perth, the earl was engaged to a wedding-dinner with the dean of guild: when the account of the king's design reached him he changed colour, on being taken so unprovided; but the dean forced him to accept the nuptial feast, which was sent over to the earl's house.

When the king fled, he passed by the seat of Sir William Moncrief, near Earn-bridge, who happening to be walking out at that time, heard from the mouth of his terrified majesty the whole relation; but the knight found it so marvellous and so disjointed, as plainly to tell the king, "that if it was a true story, it was a very strange one."

Gowrie was a most accomplished gentleman. After he had finished his studies, he held the professor of philosophy's chair for two years in one of the Italian universities.

Cross the Tay on a temporary bridge; the stone bridge, which is to consist of nine arches, being at this time unfinished: the largest arch is seventy-six feet wide; when complete, it promises to be a most magnificent structure. The river here is very violent, and admits of scarce any navigation above; but ships of one hundred and twenty tons burthen come up as high as the town; and if flat-bottomed, of even two hundred tons.

Scone lies about a mile and half higher up, on the east bank of the river. Here was once an abbey of great antiquity\*, which was burnt by the reforming zealots of Dundee. The present palace was begun by Earl Gowrie; but, on his death, being granted by James VI. to his favourite Sir David Murray of Gospatric, was completed by him; who, in gratitude to the King, has, in several parts of the house put up the royal arms. The house is built round two courts; the dining-room is large and handsome, has an ancient but magnificent chimney-piece, the king's arms, with this motto,

*Nobis hæc invicta miserrunt centum sex proavi.*

\* Founded by Alexander I. 1114, for canon regular of St. Augustin.

Beneath



Beneath are the Murray arms. In the drawing-room is some good old tapestry, with an excellent figure of Mercury. In a small bed-chamber is a medley scripture-piece in needle-work, with a border of animals, pretty well done; the work of Mary Stuart, during her confinement in Loch-Leven castle: but the house in general is in a manner unfurnished.

The gallery is about a hundred and fifty-five feet long; the top arched, divided into compartments, filled with paintings, in water-colours, of different sorts of huntings; and that Nimrod, James VI. and his train, appear in every piece.

Till the destruction of the abbey, the Kings of Scotland were crowned here, sitting in the famous wooden chair, which Edward I. transported to Westminster Abbey, much to the mortification of the Scots, who esteemed it as their palladium. Charles II. before the battle of Worcester, was crowned in the present chapel. The old Pretender resided at Scone for a considerable time in 1715, and his son made it a visit in 1745.

Re-passed the Tay at Bullion's boat; visited the field of Loncarty, celebrated for the great victory \* obtained by the Scots over the Danes, by means of the gallant peasant Hay, and his two sons, who, with no other weapons than the yokes which they snatched from their oxen then at plough, first put a stop to the flight of their countrymen, and afterwards led them on to conquest. The noble families of Hay descend from this rustic hero, and, in memory of the action, bear for their arms the instrument of their victory, with the allusive motto of *Sub jugo*. There are on the spot several tumuli, in which are frequently found bones deposited in loose stones, disposed in form of a coffin. Not remote is a spot which supplied me with far more agreeable ideas; a tract of ground, which in 1732 was a mere bog, but now converted into good meadows, and about fifty acres covered with linen; several other parts with building, and all the apparatus of the linen manufacture, extremely curious and worth seeing, carried on by the industrious family of the Sandimans: and in the bleachery are annually whitened four hundred thousand yards of linen, the manufacture of this family, and of Mr. Marshall and others from Perth.

The country is good, full of barley, oats, and flax in abundance; but, after a few miles travelling, is succeeded by a black heath. Ride through a beautiful plantation of pines, and, after descending an easy slope, the plain beneath suddenly contracts itself into a narrow glen. The prospect before me strongly marked the entrance into the Highlands, the hills that bounded it on each side being lofty and rude. On the left was Birnam wood, which seems never to have recovered the march which its ancestors made to Dunsinane: I was shewn at a great distance a high ridge of hills, where some remains of that famous fortress (Macbeth's castle) are said yet to exist.

The pass into the Highlands is awfully magnificent; high, craggy, and often naked mountains present themselves to view, approach very near each other, and in many parts are fringed with wood, overhanging and darkening the Tay, that rolls with great rapidity beneath. After some advance in this hollow, a most beautiful knoll, covered with pines, appears full in view; and soon after the town of Dunkeld, seated under and environed by crags, partly naked, partly wooded, with summits of a vast height. Lay at Inver †, a good inn on the west side of the river.

July 28. Crossed it in a boat, attended by a tame swan, which was perpetually soliciting our favors, by putting its neck over the sides of the ferry-boat. Land in the

\* In the time of Kenneth, who began his reign 976.

† Inver, a place where a lesser river runs into a greater; or a river into a lake or sea, as Abner signifies in the British.



Duke of Athol's gardens, which are extremely pleasing, washed by the river, and commanding from different parts of the walks, the most beautiful and picturesque views of wild and gloomy nature that can be conceived. Trees of all kinds grow here extremely well; and even so southern a shrub as Portugal laurel flourishes greatly. In the garden are the ruins of the cathedral, once a magnificent edifice, as appears by the beautiful round pillars still standing; but the choir is preserved, and at present used as a church. In the burial-place of the family is a large monument of the Marquis of Athol, hung with the arms of the numerous connections of the family.

On the other side of the river is a pleasing walk along the banks of the water of Bran \*, a great and rapid torrent, full of immense stones. On a rock at the end of the walk, is a neat building, impending over a most horrible chasm, into which the river precipitates itself with great noise and fury from a considerable height. The windows of the pavilion are formed of painted glass; some of the panes are red, which makes the water resemble a fiery cataract. About a mile further is another, Rumbling Brig, like, but inferior in grandeur, to that near Kinross.

The town of Dunkeld is small, and has a small linen manufacture. Much company resorts here in the summer months, for the benefit of drinking goats' milk and whey; I was informed here, that those animals will eat serpents; as it is well known that stags do.

After a ride of two miles along a narrow strait, amidst trees, and often in sight of the Tay, was driven by rain into a fisherman's hut, who entertained me with an account of his business: said he paid ten pounds per ann. for the liberty of two or three miles of the river; sold the first fish of the season at three-pence a pound; after that, got three shillings per fish. The houses in these parts began to be covered with broom, which lasts three or four years: their insides mean, and very scantily furnished; but the owners civil, sensible, and of the quickest apprehensions.

The strait now widens into a vale plentiful in oats, barley and flax, and well peopled. On the right is the junction of the Tay and the Tummel: the channels of these rivers are wide, full of gravel, the mark of their devastation during floods. Due north is the road to Blair and Fort Augustus, through the noted pass of Killicrankie: turn to the left; ride opposite to Castle Menzies: reach Taymouth, the seat of the Earl of Breadalbane.

July 29, &c. Taymouth † lies in a vale scarce a mile broad, very fertile, bounded on each side by mountains finely planted. Those on the south are covered with trees, or with corn-fields far up their sides. The hills on the north are planted with pines and other trees, and vastly steep, and have a very Alpine look; but particularly resemble the great slope, opposite the Grande Chartreuse in Dauphiné. His lordship's policy ‡ furrounds the house, which stands in the park, and is one of the few in which fallow deer are seen.

The ground is in remarkable fine order, owing to his Lordship's assiduity in clearing it from stones, with which it was once covered. A blaster was in constant employ to blast the great stones with gun-powder; for, by reason of their size, there was no other method of removing them.

The Berceau walk is very magnificent, composed of great trees, forming a fine gothic arch; and probably that species of architecture owed its origin to such vaulted

\* Rivers in Scotland are very frequently called waters.

† Its name in old maps is Balloch; i. e. the mouth of the Loch: Bala in the British language.

‡ This word here signifies improvements, or demesne: when used by a merchant, or tradesman, signifies their warehouses, shops, and the like.



shades. The walk on the bank of the Tay is fifty feet wide, and two-and-twenty hundred yards long; but is to be continued as far as the junction of the Tay and the Lion, which is about as far more. The first runs on the sides of the walk with great rapidity, is clear, but not colourless, for its pellucidness is like that of brown crystal; as is the case with most of the rivers in Scotland, which receive their tinge from the bogs. The Tay has here a wooden bridge two hundred feet long, leading to a white seat on the side of the opposite hill, commanding a fine view up and down Strath-Tay. The rich meadows beneath, the winding of the river, the beginning of Loch-Tay, the discharge of the river out of it, the neat village and church of Kinnmore, form a most pleasing and magnificent prospect.

The view from the temple of Venus is that of the lake, with a nearer sight of the church and village, and the discharge of the river. The lake is about one mile broad, and fifteen long, bounded on each side by lofty mountains; makes three great bends, which add to its beauty. Those on the south are well planted, and finely cultivated high up; interspersed with the habitations of the Highlanders, not singly, but in small groupes, as if they loved society or clan-ship: they are very small, mean, and without windows or chimnies, and are the disgrace of North Britain, as its lakes and rivers are its glory. Loch-Tay is in many places a hundred fathoms deep; and within as many yards of the shore, fifty-four.

Till of late, this lake was supposed to be as incapable of freezing as Loch-Ness, Loch-Earn, and Loch-Each; though Loch-Rannoch, and even Loch-Fine, an arm of the sea, often does. But in March 1771, so rigorous and uncommon was the cold, that about the twentieth of that month this vast body of water was frozen over in one part from side to side, in the space of a single night; and so strong was the ice, as greatly to damage a boat which was caught in it.

Loch-Tay abounds with pike, perch, eels, salmon, char, and trout; of the last, some have been taken that weighed above thirty pounds. Of these species, the Highlanders abhor eels, and also lampreys, fancying, from the form, that they are too nearly related to serpents.

The north side is less wooded, but more cultivated. The vast hill of Laurs, with beds of snow on it, through great part of the year, rises above the rest, and the still loftier mountain of Benmor closes the view far beyond the end of the lake. All this country abounds with game, such as Grouse, ptarmigans\*, stags, and a peculiar species of hare, which is found only on the summits of the highest hills, and never mixes with the common kind, which is frequent enough in the vales†: is less than the common hare; its limbs more slender; its flesh more delicate: is very agile, and full of frolick when kept tame; is fond of honey and carraway comfits, and prognosticates a storm by eating its own dung: in a wild state does not run an end, but seeks shelter under stones as soon as possible. During summer its predominant colour is grey: about September it begins to assume a snowy whiteness, the alteration of colour appearing about the neck and rump, and becomes entirely white, except the edges and tips of the ears: in April it again resumes its grey coat.

The ptarmigans inhabit the very summits of the highest mountains, amidst the rocks, perching among the grey stones, and during summer are scarcely to be distinguished from them, by reason of their colour. They seldom take long flights, but fly about like pigeons; are silly birds, and so tame as to suffer a stone to be flung at them without rising. It is not necessary to have a dog to find them. They taste so like a grouse,

\* Br. Zool. I. No. 95.

† Ibid. No. 21.



as to be scarce distinguishable. During winter, their plumage, except a few feathers on the tail, are of a pure white, the colour of the snow, in which they bury themselves in heaps, as a protection from the rigorous air.

*Argyle crows*  
7  
Roxton crows, called here hooded crows, and in the Erse, feannag, are very common, and reside here the whole year. They breed in all sorts of trees, not only in the Highlands, but even in the plains of Murray: lay six eggs; have a shriller note than the common sort; are much more mischievous; pick out the eyes of lambs, and even of horses, when engaged in bogs; but for want of other food, will eat cranberries, and other mountain berries.

Ring ouzels breed among the hills, and in autumn descend in flocks to feed on the berries of the wicken trees.

Sea eagles breed in ruined towers, but quit the country in winter. The black eagles continue there the whole year.

It is very difficult to leave the environs of this delightful place. Before I go within doors, must recal to mind the fine winding walks on the south side of the hills, the great beech sixteen feet in girth, the picturesque birch with its long streaming branches, the hermitage, the great cataracts adjacent, and the darksome chasm beneath. I must enjoy over again the view of the fine reach of the Tay, and its union with the broad water of the Lion: I must step down to view the druidical circles of stones; and, lastly, I must visit Tay-bridge, and, as far as my pen can contribute, extend the fame of our military countrymen, who, among other works worthy of the Romans, founded this bridge, and left its history inscribed in these terms:

Mirare  
Viam hanc militarem  
Ultra Romanos terminos  
M. passuum ccl. hac illac  
Extensam;  
Tefquis et paludibus insultantem  
Per montes rupesque patefactam  
Et indignanti Tavo  
Ut cernis intratam;  
Opus hoc arduum sua solertia,  
Et decennali militum opera,  
A. Ær. Xnæ. 1733. Posuit G. WADÉ  
Copiarum in SCOTIA Præfectus.  
Ecce quantum valeant  
Regis GEORGI II. auspicia.

Taymouth is a large house, a castle modernized. The most remarkable part of its furniture is the works of the famous Jameſon\*, the Scotch Vandyck, an eleve of this family. That singular performance of his, the genealogical picture, is in good preservation. The chief of the Argyle family is placed recumbent at the foot of a tree with a branch; on the right is a single head of his eldest son, Sir Duncan Campbell, laird of Lochou; but on the various ramifications, are the names of his descendants, and along the body of the tree are nine small heads, in oval frames, with the names on the margins, all done with great neatness: the second son was the first of the house of Breadalbane, which branched from the other about four hundred years

\* Son of an architect at Aberdeen; studied under Reubens, at Antwerp. Charles I. sat to him, and presented him with a diamond ring. He always drew himself with his hat on. His prices were 20l. Scots, or 11. 3s. 4d. English, per head: was born in 1586; died at Edinburgh, 1644. For a further account, consult Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.



ago. In a corner is inscribed, "The Genalogie of the house of Glenorquhie quhair of is descendit fundrie nobil and worthie houses. Jamefon faciebat 1635." Its size is eight feet by five. In the same room are about twenty heads of persons of the family; among others, that of a lady, so very ugly, that a wag, on seeing it, with lifted hands pronounced, that she was fearfully and wonderfully made. There are in the same house, several heads by Jamefon, but many of them unfortunately spoiled in the repairing.

In the library is a small book, called from the binding, the Black Book, with some beautiful drawings in it, on vellum, of the Breadalbane family, in water colours. In the first page is old Sir Duncan between two other figures, then follow several chiefs of the family, among whom is Sir Colin, Knight of Rhodes, who died 1480, aged 80. At the end is a manuscript history of the family, ending, I think, in 1633.

July 30. Went to divine service at Kinmore \* church, which, with the village, was re-built, in the neatest manner by the present Lord Breadalbane: they stand beautifully on a small headland, projecting into the lake. His lordship permits the inhabitants to live rent-free, on condition they exercise some trade, and keep their houses clean: so that, by these terms, he not only saves the expence of sending, on every trifling occasion, to Perth or Crief, but has got some as good workmen, in common trades, as any in his Majesty's dominions.

The church is a remarkably neat plain building, with a very handsome tower steeple. The congregation was numerous, decent, attentive, still; well and neatly clad, and not a ragged or slovenly person among them. There were two services, one in English, the other in Erse. After the first, numbers of people, of both sexes, went out of the church, and, seating themselves in the church-yard, made, in their motley habits, a gay and picturesque appearance. The devotion of the common people of Scotland on the usual days of worship, is as much to be admired, as their conduct at the sacrament in certain places is to be censured. It is celebrated but once in a year †, when there are sometimes three thousand communicants, and as many idle spectators. Of the first, as many as possible crowd on each side of a long table, and the elements sometimes are rudely shoven from one to another; and in certain places, before the day is at an end, fighting and other indecencies ensue. It has often been made a season for debauchery; and to this day, Jack cannot always be persuaded to eat his meat like a Christian ‡.

Every Sunday a collection is made for the sick or necessitous; for poor's rates are unknown in every parish in Scotland. Notwithstanding the common people are but just roused from their native indolence, very few beggars are seen in North Britain: either they are full masters of the lesson of being content with a very little; or, what is more probable, they are possessed of a spirit that will struggle hard with necessity before it will bend to the asking of alms.

Visited a pretty island in Loch-Tay, tuffed with trees, and not far from the shore. On it are the ruins of a priory dependent on that at Scoune; founded in 1122, by Alexander the First; in which were deposited the remains of his Queen Sybilla, natural daughter to Henry I.: it was founded by Alexander in order for the prayers of the Monks for the repose of his soul and that of his royal consort §. To this island the Campbells retreated, during the successes of the Marquiss of Montrose, where they defended themselves against that hero, which was one cause of his violent resentment against the whole name.

\* Or the Great Head.

† Formerly the sacrament was administered but once in two years.

‡ Tale of a Tub.

§ As appears from a grant made by that monarch of the isle in Loch-Tay, *Ut pro ecclesia ibi pro me et pro anima SYBILLÆ ibi defuncte fabricetur, &c.*



July 31<sup>st</sup>, Rode to Glen-Lion; went by the side of the river \* that gives name to it. It has now lost its ancient title of Duie, or Black; given it on account of a great battle between the Mackays and the Macgregors; after which, the conquerors are said to have stained the waters with red, by washing in it their bloody swords and spears. On the right is a rocky hill, called Shi-hallen, or the Paps. Enter Glen-Lion through a strait pass: the vale is narrow, but fertile; the banks of the river steep, rocky, and wooded; through which appears the rapid water of the Lion. On the north is a round fortress, on the top of a hill: to which in old times, the natives retreated on any invasion. A little farther, on a plain, is a small Roman camp †, called by the Highlanders Fortingal, or the fort of the Strangers: themselves they stile Na fian, or descendants of Fingal. In Fortingal church-yard are the remains of a prodigious yew-tree, whose ruins measured fifty-six feet and a half in circumference.

Saw at the house of Colonel Campbell of Glen-Lion, a curious walking-staff, belonging to one of his ancestors: it was iron cased in leather, five feet long; at the top a neat pair of extended wings, like a caduceus; but, on being shaken, a poniard, two feet nine inches long, darted out.

He also favoured me with the sight of a very ancient brotche, which the Highlands use, like the fibula of the Romans, to fasten their vest: it is made of silver, is round, with a bar cross the middle, from whence are two tongues to fasten the folds of the garments: one side is studded with pearl, or coarse gems, in a very rude manner; on the other, the names of the three kings of Cologne, Caspar, Melchior, Baltazar; with the word consummatim. It was probably a consecrated brotche, and worn not only for use, but as an amulet. Keyser's account of the virtues attributed to their names confirms my opinion. He says that they were written on slips of paper in this form, and worn as preservatives against the falling-sickness:

Gaspar fert Myrrham, Thus Melchior, Balthazar, Aurum;

Solvitur a morbo Christi pietate caduco.

Return South, and come at once in sight of Loch-Tay. The day very fine and calm, the whole scene was most beautifully repeated in the water. I must not omit that on the north side of this lake is a most excellent road, which runs the whole length of it, leading to Tiendrum and Inverary, in Argyleshire, and is the route which travellers must take, who make what I call the petit tour ‡ of Scotland. This whole road was made at the sole expence of the present Lord Breadalbane; who, to facilitate the travelling, also erected thirty-two stone bridges over the torrents that rush from the mountains into the lake. They will find the whole country excell in roads, partly military, partly done by statute labour, and much by the munificence of the great men.

I was informed, that Lord Breadalbane's estate was so extensive that he could ride a hundred miles an end on it, even as far as the West Sea, where he has also some islands. These great properties are divided into districts, called Officiaries: a ground officer presides over each, and has three, four, or five hundred men under his care. He superintends the duties due from each to their Lord, such as fetching peat, bringing coal from Crief, &c. which they do, at their own expence, on horses backs, travelling in

\* This river freezes; but the Tay, which receives, never does.

† It possibly might have been made during the expedition of Severus, who penetrated to the extremity of this island. It was the most northern work of the Romans of which I had any intelligence.

‡ Which comprehends the route I have described; adding to it, from Taymouth, along the road, on the side of the lake, to Killin, 16 miles; from thence to Tiendrum, 20; Glenorchie, 12; Inveraray, 16; Luss, on the banks of Loch-Lomond, 10; Dumbarton, 12; Glasgow, 15; Sterling, 31; Edinburgh, by Hopetoun House, 35; a tract unparalleled, for the variety and frequency of fine and magnificent scenery.



strings, the tail of one horse being fastened by a cord, which reaches to the head of the next: the horses are little, and generally white or grey; and as the farms are very small, it is common for four to keep a plough between them, each furnishing a horse, and this called a horse-gang.

The north side of Loch-Tay is very populous; for in sixteen square miles are seventeen hundred and eighty-six souls: on the other side, above twelve hundred. The country, within these thirty years, manufactures a great deal of thread. They spin with rocks\*, which they do while they attend their cattle on the hills; and, at the four fairs in the year, held at Kinmore, above sixteen hundred pounds worth of yarn is sold out of Breadalbane only: which shews the increase of industry in these parts, for less than forty years ago there was not the least trade in this article. The yarn is bought by persons who attend the fairs for that purpose, and sell it again at Perth, Glasgow, and other places, where it is manufactured into cloth.

Much of this may be owing to the good sense and humanity of the chieftan; but much again is owing to the abolition of the feudal tenures, or vassalage; for before that was effected, (which was done by the influence of a chancellor†, whose memory Scotland gratefully adores for that service) the strong oppressed the weak, the rich the poor. Courts indeed were held, and juries called; but juries of vassals, too dependent and too timid to be relied on for the execution of true justice.

August 1. Leave Taymouth; ford the lion, and ride above it through some woods. On the left bursts out a fine cascade, in a deep hollow, covered with trees: at a small distance to the west is Castle Garth; or, more properly, Garbh, i. e. The rough place; a small castle seated like Castle Campbell, between two deep glens. Keep ascending a steep hill, but the corn country continues for a while: the scene then changes for a wild, black, and mountainous heath. Descend into Rannoch, a meadowy plain, tolerably fertile: the lake of the same name extends from east to west; is about eleven miles long, and one broad; the northern bank appears very barren: part of the southern finely covered with a forest of pine and birch, the first natural woods I had seen of pines; rode a good way in it, but observed no trees of any size, except a birch sixteen feet in circumference: the ground beneath the trees is covered with heath bilberries, and dwarf arbutus, whose glossy leaves make a pretty appearance. This place gives shelter to black game, and Roes. These animals are found from the banks of Loch-Lomond, as far north as the entrance into Caithness: in summer their hair is short, smooth, glossy, and red; at approach of winter grows long and hoary, and proves an excellent defence against the rigour of the Highland air. The weight of a full grown roe is 60lb. The horns of the second year are strait, slender, and without any branch: in the third become bifurcated: in the fourth, trifurcated, and grow more scabrous and stronger, in proportion to their longevity. They feed during summer on grass, and are remarkably fond of the *Rubus Saxatilis*, called in the Highlands, on that account, the Roebuck Berry. When the ground is covered with snow, they browse on the extreme branches of the pine and juniper. They bring two young at a time: the fawns elegantly spotted with white. It is extremely difficult to rear them; commonly eight out of ten dying in the attempt. The flesh of the Roe is by some accounted a delicacy: to me it seemed very dry. They keep in small families of five or six.

\* Their Lord gives among them annually a great number of spinning wheels, which will soon cause the disuse of the rock.

† Earl of Hardwick, who may be truly said to have given to the North Britons their great charter of liberty. *Earl Hardwick G.*



Near these woods is a saw-mill, which is rented from the Government : and the tenant is obliged to work 150 tons of timber annually, paying eighteen shillings and sixpence per ton. The deal, which is the red fort, is sold in plank to different parts of the country, carried on horses backs, for the trees are now grown so scarce as not to admit of exportation\*.

The lake affords no other fish than trouts, small charrs, and bull trouts : the last, as I was informed, are sometimes taken of the length of four feet and a half. Many water fowl breed in the birns or little streams that trickle into the lake ; among others, different sorts of grebes and divers : I was told of one which the inhabitants call Far-bhuachaille, or the Herd-man's Watch-man, that makes a great noise before storms, and by their description find it to be the northern diver. Br. Zool. 4th Ed. Vol. II. No. 237. No rats have hitherto been observed in this country.

This country was once the property of Robertson of Struan, and was granted to an ancestor of his, as a reward for taking Robert Graham, the ruffian who murdered James I. It was then valued at a hundred marks. He was likewise permitted to bear in his coat of arms a Graham bound in chains. A descendant of his, styled Mac-Robert, was the most potent plunderer of his days, and, at the head of eight hundred men, for a long time ravaged Athol and the adjoining countries, in the beginning of the reign of James V. but at length was surprized and slain†. The late Struan seemed to inherit his turbulent disposition. He had been in the rebellion of 1715 ; had his estate restored, but in 1745 rebelling a second time, the country was burnt, and the estate annexed to the crown. He returned a few years after, and died as he lived, a most abandoned sot ; notwithstanding which, he had a genius for poetry, and left behind him a volume of elegies and other pieces, in some of which he elegantly laments the ravages of war among his vassals, and the loss of his favorite scenes, and in particular his fountain Argentine.

The country is perfectly highland ; and in spite of the intercourse this and the neighbouring parts have of late years had with the rest of the world, it still retains some of its ancient customs and superstitions : they decline daily, but lest their memory should be lost, I shall mention several that are still practised, or but very lately disused in the tract I had passed over. Such a record will have this advantage, when the follies are extinct, in teaching the unshackled and enlightened mind the difference between the pure ceremonies of religion, and the wild and anile flights of superstition.

The belief in spectres still exists ; of which I had a remarkable proof while I was in the county of Breadalbane. A poor visionary, who had been working in his cabbage garden, imagined that he was raised suddenly into the air, and conveyed over a wall into an adjacent corn field† ; that he found himself surrounded by a crowd of men and women, many of whom he knew to have been dead some years, and who appeared to him skimming over the tops of the unbended corn, and mingling together like bees going to hive : that they spoke an unknown language, and with a hollow sound : that they very roughly pushed him to and fro ; but on his uttering the name of God, all vanished but a female sprite, who seizing him by the shoulder, obliged him to promise an assignation, at that very hour, that day sevennight : that he then found that his hair was all tied in double knots, and that he had almost lost the use of his speech ; that he kept his word with the spectre, whom he soon saw come floating through the

\* Some Pot. Ash is also made of the Birch wood.

† Buchanan, lib. xiii. c. 47.

‡ These tales of spectral transportations are far from being new ; Mr. Aubrey, in his Miscellanies, p. 13, gives two ridiculous relations of almost similar facts, one in Devonshire, the other in the Shire of Murray.



air towards him : that he spoke to her, but she told him at that time she was in too much haste to attend to him, but bid him go away, and no harm should befall him; and so the affair rested when I left the country. But it is incredible the mischief these *Ægri Somnia* did in the neighbourhood : the friends and relations of the deceased, whom the old Dreamer had named, were in the utmost anxiety at finding them in such bad company in the other world : the almost extinct belief of the old idle tales began again to gain ground, and the good minister will have many a weary discourse and exhortation before he can eradicate the absurd ideas this idle story has revived.

In this part of the country the notion of witchcraft is quite lost : it was observed to cease almost immediately on the repeal of the witch act \* ; a proof what a dangerous instrument it was in the hands of the vindictive, or of the credulous.

Among the superstitious customs these are the most singular. A Highlander never begins any thing of consequence on the day of the week on which the third of May falls, which he styles *La Sheachanna na bleanagh*, or the dismal day.

On the 1st of May, the herdsmen of every village hold their *Bel-tien* †, a rural sacrifice. They cut a square trench on the ground, leaving the turf in the middle ; on that they make a fire of wood, on which they dress a large caudle of eggs, butter, oatmeal and milk ; and bring besides the ingredients of the caudle, plenty of beer and whisky ; for each of the company must contribute something. The rites begin with spilling some of the caudle on the ground, by way of libation : on that every one takes a cake of oatmeal, upon which are raised nine square knobs, each dedicated to some particular being, the supposed preserver of their flocks and herds, or to some particular animal, the real destroyer of them : each person then turns his face to the fire, breaks off a knob, and flinging it over his shoulders, says, " This I give to thee, preserve thou my horses ; this to thee, preserve thou my sheep ; and so on." After that, they use the same ceremony to the noxious animals ; " This I give to thee, O fox ! spare thou my lambs ; this to thee, O hooded crow ! this to thee, O eagle !"

When the ceremony is over, they dine on the caudle ; and after the feast is finished, what is left is hid by two persons deputed for that purpose ; but on the next Sunday they re-assemble, and finish the reliques of the first entertainment ‡.

On the death of a Highlander, the corpse being stretched on a board, and covered with a coarse linen wrapper, the friends lay on the breast of the deceased a wooden platter, containing a small quantity of salt and earth, separate and unmixed ; the earth, an emblem of the corruptible body ; the salt, an emblem of the immortal spirit. All fire is extinguished where a corpse is kept ; and it is reckoned so ominous for a dog or cat to pass over it, that the poor animal is killed without mercy.

The late-wake is a ceremony used at funerals. The evening after the death of any person, the relations and friends of the deceased meet at the house, attended by bagpipe

\* Which was not till the year 1736.

† My account of this, and every other ceremony mentioned in this journal, was communicated to me by a gentleman resident on the spot where they were performed.

‡ A custom favouring of the Scotch *Bel-tien*, prevails in Gloucestershire, particularly about Newent and the neighbouring parishes, on the twelfth day, or on the Epiphany, in the evening. All the servants of every particular farmer assemble together in one of the fields that has been sown with wheat ; on the border of which, in the most conspicuous or most elevated place, they make twelve fires of straw, in a row ; around one of which, made larger than the rest, they drink a cheerful glass of cyder to their master's health, success to the future harvest, and then returning home, they feast on cakes made of carraways, &c. soaked in cyder, which they claim as a reward for their past labours in sowing the grain. This seems to resemble a custom of the ancient Danes, who in their addresses to their deities, emptied, on every invocation, a cup in honour of them. *Niordi et Frejæ memoria poculis recolebatur, annua ut ipsis contingerent felicitas, frugumque et reliquæ annonæ uberrimus proventus.* Worm. Monum. Dan. lib. 1. p. 28.



or fiddle; the nearest of kin, be it wife, son, or daughter, opens a melancholy ball, dancing and greeting, i. e. crying, violently at the same time; and this continues till daylight, but with such gambols and frolics among the younger part of the company, that the loss which occasioned them is often more than supplied by the consequences of that night\*. If the corpse remains unburied for two nights, the same rites are renewed. Thus, Scythian-like, they rejoice at the deliverance of their friends out of this life of misery.

This custom is an ancient English one, perhaps a Saxon. Chaucer mentions it in his Knight's Tale.

Ne how the liche-wake was yhold  
All thilke night.

It was not alone in Scotland that these watchings degenerated into excess. Such indecencies we find long ago forbidden by the church. *In vigiliis circa corpora mortuorum vetantur choreæ et cantilenæ, seculares ludi et alii turpes & fatui*†.

The coranich, or singing at funerals, is still in use in some places: the songs are generally in praise of the deceased, or a recital of the valiant deeds of him or his ancestors. I had not the fortune to be present at any in North Britain, but formerly assisted at one in the south of Ireland, where it was performed in the fullness of horror. The cries are called by the Irish the *'uleghne* and *hállulu*, two words extremely expressive of the sound uttered on these occasions, and being of Celtic stock, etymologists would swear to be the origin of the *ολολυγών* of the Greeks, and *ululatus* of the Latins. Virgil is very fond of using the last, whenever any of his females are distressed;—as are others of the Roman poets, and generally on occasions similar to this.

It was my fortune to arrive at a certain town in Kerry, at the time that a person of some distinction departed this life: my curiosity led me to the house, where the funeral seemed conducted in the purest classical form.

Quodcunque aspicerem luctus gemitusque sonabant,  
Formaque non taciti funeris intus erat.

In short, the *conclamatio* was set up by the friends in the same manner as Virgil describes that consequential of Dido's death.

Lamentis gemituque et sæmineo ululatu  
Tecta fremunt.

Immediately after this followed another ceremony, fully described by Camden in his account of the manners of the ancient Irish; the earnest expostulations and reproaches given to the deceased for quitting this world, where she enjoyed so many blessings, so good a husband, such fine children. This custom is also of great antiquity, for Euryalus's mother makes the same pathetic address to her dead son.

Tunc illa senectæ  
Sera meæ requies? potuisti relinquere solam  
Crudelis?

But when the time approached for carrying out the corpse, the cry was redoubled,

Tremulis ululatibus æthera complent;

\* This custom was derived from their Northern ancestors. Longè securius moriendum esse arbitrantur, quam vivendum: puerperia luctu, funeraque festivo cantu, ut in plurimum concelebantes. Olaus Magnus, 116.

† Synod. Wigorn. An. 1240. c. 5. as quoted in Mr. Tyrwhit's Chaucer; IV. 234.



a numerous band of females waiting in the outer court to attend the hearse, and to pay (in chorus) the last tribute of their voices. The habit of this forrowing train, and the neglect of their persons, were admirably suited to the occasion: their robes were black and flowing, resembling the ancient Palla; their feet naked, their hair long and dishevelled: I might truly say,

Vidi egomet nigrâ succinctam vadere pallâ  
Canidiam; pedibus nudis, passoque capillo,  
Cum Sagana majore ululantem.

Among these mourners were dispersed the females who sung the praises of the deceased, and were in the place of the *mulieres prœfica* of the Romans, and like them, a mercenary tribe. I could not but observe that they over-did their parts, as Horace acquaints us the hireling mourners of his days did.

Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt  
Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo.

The corpse was carried slowly along the verge of a most beautiful lake, the ululatus was continued, and the whole procession ended among the venerable ruins of an old abbey. But to return to North Britain.

Midwives give new-born babes a small spoonful of earth and whisky, as the first food they taste.

Before women bake their bannocks, or oatmeal cakes, they form a cross on the last they make.

The notion of second-sight still prevails in a few places: as does the belief of fairies; and children are watched till the christening is over, lest they should be stole, or changed.

Elf-shots, i. e. the stone arrow-heads of the old inhabitants of this island, are supposed to be weapons shot by fairies at cattle, to which are attributed any disorders they have: in order to effect a cure, the cow is to be touched by an elf-shot, or made to drink the water in which one has been dipped. The same virtue is said to be found in the crystal gems\*, and in the adder-stone, our glein naidr; and it is also believed that good fortune must attend the owner; so, for that reason, the first is called Clach Bhuai, or the powerful stone. Captain Archibald Campbell shewed me one, a spheroid set in silver, for the use of which, people came above a hundred miles, and brought the water it was to be dipt in with them; for without that, in human cases, it was believed to have no effect.

These have been supposed to be magical stones or gems used by the Druids, to be inspected by a chaste boy, who was to see in them an apparition informing him of future events. This imposture, as we are told by Dr. Woodward, was revived in the last century by the famous Doctor Dee, who called it his shew stone and holy stone, and pretended, by its means, to foretell events. I find in Montfaucon†, that it was customary in early times to deposit balls of this kind in urns or sepulchres: thus twenty were found at Rome in an alabastrine urn: and one was discovered in 1653, in the tomb of Childeric at Tournai; he was King of France, and died A. D. 480.

August 2d, left Carrie, the house of Mr. Campbell, factor for the Struan estate, where I had a very hospitable reception the preceding night. Went due east; passed over a bridge cross the Tumel, which discharges itself out of Loch-Rannoch. Not far

\* Woodward's Method of Fossils, p. 30. See also Mr. Aubrey's Miscellanies, p. 128.

† Les Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise.



off were some neat small houses, inhabited by veteran soldiers, who were settled here after the peace of 1748; had land, and three pounds in money given, and nine pounds lent to begin the world with. In some few places this plan succeeded; but in general was frustrated by the dissipation of these new colonists, who could by no means relish an industrious life; but as soon as the money was spent, which seldom lasted long, left their tenements to be possessed by the next comer.

Saw next a stamping-mill, calculated to reduce lime-stone to a fine powder, in order to save the expence of burning, for manure. The stampers beat it into small pieces in a trough, which a stream of water passed through, carrying off the finer parts into a proper receptacle, the gross ones being stopped by a grate. I did not find that this project answered; but was told, that the benefit the land was to receive from it, would not appear till the third year.

On going up a steep hill, have a fine view of the lake. Where the mountains almost close, is Mount Alexander, where Struan once resided, and which he called his hermitage; it is a most romantic situation, prettily wooded, impending over a fine basin, formed by the Tumel, in a deep hollow beneath. At the bottom of this hill is Argentine, a little fountain; to which he gave that name from the silvery micæ it flings up: near this are several rude but beautiful walks amidst the rocks and trees, among which, in clefts and chafins, I was shewn the hard bed of the poor poet, when his disloyalty had made it penal for him to shew his head. Near this the rocks almost meet, and the river rushes with vast violence between. Some outlawed M'Gregors were once surprized on the precipice, and all killed; one, who made a desperate leap upon a stone in the middle of the water, and another to the opposite side, had the hard fate to be shot in climbing the rocky steeps.

A mile lower are the falls of the Tumel: I have seen higher; but except that of the Rhine, never saw one with more water.

Ascend a very steep and high hill, through a great birch wood; a most picturesque scene, from the pendant form of the boughs waving with the wind from the bottom to the utmost summits of the mountain. On attaining the top, had a view of the beautiful little Straith, fertile and prettily wooded, with the river in the middle, forming numbers of quick meanders, then suddenly swelling into a lake, that fills the vale from side to side; is about three miles long, and retains the name of the river. After riding along a black moor, in sight of vast mountains, arrive at

Blair\*, or Athol House, seated on an eminence above a plain, watered by the Gary, an outrageous stream, whose ravages have greatly deformed the valley, by the vast beds of gravel which it has left behind. The house was once fortified, and held a siege against the rebels in 1746; but at present is much reduced in height, and the inside highly finished by the noble owner. The most singular piece of furniture is a chest of drawers made of broom, most elegantly striped in veins of white and brown. This broom plant grows to a great size in Scotland, and furnishes pieces of the breadth of six inches.

Near the house is a fine walk, furrounding a very deep glen finely wooded, but in dry weather deficient in water at the bottom; but on the side of the walk on the rock is a small crystalline fountain, inhabited at that time by a pair of Naiads, in form of golden fish. In a spruce fir was a hang-nest of some unknown bird, suspended at the four corners to the boughs; it was open at top, an inch and a half in diameter, and two deep; the sides and bottom thick, the materials moss, worsted, and birch bark, lined with

\* Or a level clear spot of ground, a fit place for an engagement.



hair and feathers. The streams afford the parr, a small species of trout, seldom exceeding eight inches in length, marked on the sides with nine large bluish spots, and on the lateral line with small red ones\*.

No traveller should omit visiting Yorke Cascade, a magnificent cataract, amidst most suitable scenery, about a mile distant from the house.

This country is very mountainous, has no natural woods, except of birch; but the vast plantations that begin to cloath the hills will amply supply these defects. There is a great quantity of oats raised in this neighbourhood, and numbers of black cattle reared, the resources of the exhausted parts of South Britain.

Visit the pass of Killicrankie, about five miles south of Blair: near the northern entrance was fought the battle between the Viscount Dundee and General Mackay, in which the first was killed in the moment of victory. The pass is extremely narrow between high mountains, with the Garry running beneath in a deep, darksome, and rocky channel, over-hung with trees, forming a scene of horrible grandeur. The road through this strait is very fine, formed by the soldiery lent by the government, who have sixpence per day from the country, besides their pay. About a mile beyond the pass, Mr. Robertson's, of Faskally, appears like fairy ground, amidst these wild rocks, seated in a most beautiful meadow, watered by the river Tummel, surrounded with pretty hills, finely wooded.

The Duke of Athol's estate is very extensive, and the country populous: while vassalage existed, the chieftain could raise two or three thousand fighting men, and leave sufficient at home to take care of the ground. The forests, or rather chafes, (for they are quite naked) are very extensive, and feed vast numbers of stags, which range at certain times of the year, in herds of five hundred. Some grow to a great size: I have heard of one that weighed eighteen stone, Scots, or three hundred and fourteen pounds, exclusive of head, entrails, and skin. The hunting of these animals was formerly after the manner of an eastern monarch. Thousands of vassals surrounded a great tract of country, and drove the deer to the spot where the chieftains were stationed, who shot them at their leisure. The magnificent hunt, made by an Earl of Athol, near this place, for the amusement of James V. and the Queen-mother, is too remarkable to be omitted; the relation is therefore given as described by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount†, who, in all probability, assisted at it.

"The Earl of Athole, hearing of the King's coming, made great provision for him in all things pertaining to a prince, that he was as well served and eased, with all things necessary to his estate, as he had been in his own palace of Edinburgh. For I heard say, this noble Earl gart make a curious palace to the King, to his Mother, and to the Ambassador, where they were so honourably eased and lodged as they had been in England, France, Italy, or Spain, concerning the time and equivalent, for their hunting and pastime; which was builded in the midst of a fair meadow, a fair palace of green timber, wind with green birks, that were green both under and above, which was fashioned in four quarters, and in every quarter and nuik thereof a great round, as it had been a block-house, which was lofted and gested the space of three house height; the floors laid with green scarlets, spreaths, medwarts and flowers, that no man knew whereton he zeid, but as he had been in a garden. Further, there were two great rounds in ilk side of the gate, and a great portcullis of tree, falling down with the manner of a barrace, with a draw-bridge, and a great stank of water of sixteen foot deep, and thirty foot of breadth. And also this palace within was hung with fine tapestry and

\* The Samlet. Br. Zool. III. No. 148.

† Hist. Scotland, 146.



arrasses of silk, and lighted with fine glass windows in all airths; that this palace was as pleasantly decored, with all necessaries pertaining to a prince, as it had been his own palace-royal at home. Further, this Earl gart make such provision for the King, and his Mother, and the Embassador, that they had all manner of meats, drinks, and delicacies that were to be gotten, at that time, in all Scotland, either in burgh or land; that is to say, all kind of drink, as ale, beer, wine, both white and claret, malvery, muskadel, hippocras, aquavitæ. Further, there was of meats, wheat-bread, main-bread and ginge-bread; with fleshies, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, venison, goose, grice, capon, coney, cran, swan, partridge, plover, duck, drake, brissel-cock and pawnes, black-cock, and muir-fowl, cappercaillies: and also the stanks, that were round about the palace, were full of all delicate fishes, as salmònds, trouts, pearches, pikes, eels, and all other kind of delicate fishes, that could be gotten in fresh waters; and all ready for the banquet. Syne were there proper stewards, cunning baxters, excellent cooks and potingars, with confections and drugs for their deserts; and the halls and chambers were prepared with costly bedding, vessel and napery, according for a king, so that he wanted none of his orders more than he had been at home in his own palace. The King remained in this wilderness, at the hunting, the space of three days and three nights, and his company, as I have shewn. I heard men say, it cost the Earl of Athole, every day, in expences, a thousand pounds."

But hunting meetings, among the great men, were often the preludes to rebellion; for under that pretence they collected great bodies of men without suspicion, which at length occasioned an act of parliament prohibiting such dangerous assemblies.

Aug. 3. Set out for the county of Aberdeen; ride eastward over a hill into Glen-Tilt, famous in old times for producing the most hardy warriors, is a narrow glen, several miles in length, bounded on each side by mountains of an amazing height; on the south is the great hill of Ben y glo, whose base is thirty-five miles in circumference, and whose summit towers far above the others. The sides of many of these mountains are covered with fine verdure, and are excellent sheep-walks: but entirely woodless. The road is the most dangerous and the most horrible I ever travelled: a narrow path, so rugged, that our horses often were obliged to cross their legs, in order to pick a secure place for their feet; while, at a considerable and precipitous depth beneath, roared a black torrent, rolling through a bed of rock, solid in every part, but where the Tilt had worn its antient way. Salmon force their passage even as high as this dreary stream, in spite of the distance from the sea, and the difficulties they have to encounter.

Ascend a steep hill, and find ourselves on an arrie, or tract of mountain, which the families of one or two hamlets retire to with their flocks for pasture in summer. Here we refreshed ourselves with some goats' whey, at a Sheelin, or Bothay, a cottage made of turf, the dairy-house, where the Highland shepherds, or graziers, live with their herds and flocks, and during the fine season make butter and cheese. Their whole furniture consists of a few horn-spoons, their milking utensils, a couch formed of fods to lie on, and a rug to cover them. Their food oat-cakes, butter or cheese, and often the coagulated blood of their cattle spread on their bannocks. Their drink milk, whey, and sometimes, by way of indulgence, whisky. Such dairy-houses are common to most mountainous countries; those in Wales are called Hafodtai, or summer-houses; those on the Swiss Alps, Sennes.

Dined on the side of Loch-Tilt, a small piece of water, swarming with trouts. Continued our journey over a wild, black, moory, melancholy tract. Reached Braemar;



mar \*; the country almost instantly changed, and in lieu of dreary wastes, a rich vale, plenteous in corn and grass, succeeded. Cross the Dee near its head, which, from an insignificant stream, in the course of a very few miles, increases to the size of a great river, from the influx of numbers of other waters; and is remarkable for continuing near fifty miles of its course, from Invercauld to within six miles of Aberdeen; without any sensible augmentation. The rocks of Brae-mar, on the east, are exceedingly romantic, finely wooded with pine. The cliffs are very lofty, and their front most rugged and broken, with vast pines growing out of their fissures.

On the north side of the river lies Dalmore, distinguished by the finest natural pines in Europe, both in respect to the size of the trees, and the quality of the timber. Single trees have been sold out of it for six guineas: they were from eighty to ninety feet high, without a lateral branch, and four feet and a half in diameter at the lower end. The wood is very resinous, of a dark red colour, and very weighty. It is preferable to any brought from Norway, and being sawn into plank on the spot, brings annually to the proprietor a large revenue. On the opposite side of the river is the estate of Inverey, noted also for its pines, but of a size inferior to those of Dalmore. When the river is swelled with rains, great floats of timber from both these estates, are sent down into the Low Countries.

This tract, abounding with game, was, in old times, the annual resort of numbers of nobility, who assembled here to pass a month or two in the amusements of the chase. Their huntings resembled campaigns; they lived in temporary cottages, called Longhards, were all dressed in an uniform habit conformable to that of the country, and passed their time with jollity and good cheer, most admirably described by John Taylor, the water poet, who, in 1618, made there his Pennilese Pilgrimage, and describes, in page 135, the rural luxury with all the glee of a Sancho Pança.

"I thank my good Lord Erskin," (says the poet) "hee commanded that I should alwayes bee lodged in his lodging, the kitchen being alwayes on the side of a banke, many kettles and pots boyling, and many spits turning and winding, with great variety of cheere: as venison bak'd, sodden, rost and stu'de beefe, mutton, goates, kid, hares, fresh salmon, pidgeons, hens, capons, chickens, partridge, moore-coots, heath-cocks, caperkellies, and termagants: good ale, sacke, white and claret, tent or (Allegant) and most potent aquavivæ †."

"All.

\* Brae signifies a steep face of any hill.

† The French, during the reign of Charles IX. seem'd not only to have made full as large sacrifices to Diana and Bacchus, but even thought their entertainment incomplete without the presence of Venus. Jacques du Fouilloux, a celebrated writer on hunting of that age, with much seriousness describes all the requisites for the chase, and thus places and equips the jovial crew: "L'Assemblée se doit faire en quelque beau lieu sous des arbres auprès d'une fontaine ou Ruissseau, là où les veneurs se doivent tous rendre pour faire leur rapport. Ce pendant le Sommelier doit venir avec trois bons chevaux chargez d'instrumens pour arrouser le gosier, comme couteaux, bârraux, barils, flacons et bouteilles: lesquelles doivent estre pleines de bon vin d'Arbois, de Beaume, de Chaloece et de Graue: luy étant descendu du cheval, les metra rafraischir en l'eau, ou biens les pourra faire refroidir avec du Canfre: apres il estranda la nappe sur la verdure. Ce fait, le cuisinier s'en viendra chargé de plusieurs bons harnois de gueule, comme jambons, langues de bœuf fumées, groins, oreilles de pourceau, cervelats, eschinées, pieces de bœuf de Saison, carbonnades, jambons de Mayence, paitez, longues de veau froides, couvertes de poudre blanche, et autres menus fustrages pur remplir le boudin lequel il metra sur la nappe.

"Lors le Roy ou le Seigneur avec ceux de sa table estreindront leurs manteaux sur l'herbe, et se coucheront de costé dessus, beuvans, mangeans, rians et failans grand chere;" and that nothing might be wanting to render the entertainment of such a set of merry men complete, honest Jacques adds, "et s'il y a quelque femme de reputation en ce pays qui fasse plaisir aux compagnons, elle doit estre alleguée, et ses passages et remuemens de fesses, attendant le rapport a venir."

But



"All these, and more than these, we had had continually, in superfluous abundance, caught by falconers, fowlers, fishers, and brought by my Lord's (Mar) tenants and purveyors, to victual our campe, which consisted of fourteen or fifteen hundred men and horses. The manner of the hunting is this : five or six hundred men doe rise early in the morning, and they doe disperse themselves divers wayes, and seven, eight, or ten miles compasse, they doe bring or chace in the deer in many heards (two, three, or four hundred in a heard) to such or such a place, as the noblemen shall appoint them ; then when day is come, the lords and gentlemen of their companies doe ride or goe to the said places, sometimes wading up to the middles through bournes and rivers ; and then they being come to the place, doe lie down on the ground till those foresaid scouts, which are called the Tinckhell, doe bring down the deer ; but, as the proverb says of a bad cooke, so these Tinckhell men doe lick their own fingers ; for, besides their bowes and arrows which they carry with them, wee can heare now and then a harguebuse, or a musquet, goe off, which doe seldom discharge in vaine : then after we had stayed three houres, or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appeare on the hills round about us, (their heads making a shew like a wood) which being followed close by the Tinckhell, are chased down the valley where we lay ; then all the valley on each side being way-laid with a hundred couple of strong Irish greyhounds, they are let loose, as occasion serves, upon the heard of deere, that with dogs, gunnes, arrows, durkes and daggers, in the space of two houres, fourscore fat deeré were slaine, which after are disposed of some one way and some another, twenty or thirty miles, and more than enough left for us to make merry with all at our rendezvouze. Being come to our lodgings, there was such baking, boyl-ing, roasting and stewing, as if Cook Ruffian had been there to have scalded the Devil in his feathers." But to proceed.

Pass by the castle of Brae-mar, a square tower, the seat of the antient Earls of Mar : in later times a garrison to curb the discontented chieftains ; but at present unnecessarily occupied by a company of foot, being rented by the Government from Mr. Farquharson, of Invercauld, whose house I reach in less than half an hour.

Invercauld is seated in the centre of the Grampian hills, in a fertile vale, washed by the Dee, a large and rapid river ; nothing can be more beautiful than the different views from the several parts of it. On the northern entrance, immense ragged and broken craggs bound one side of the prospect ; over whose grey sides and summits is scattered the melancholy green of the picturesque pine, which grows out of the naked rock, where one would think nature would have denied vegetation.

A little lower down is the castle above mentioned ; formerly a necessary curb on the little kings of the country ; but at present serves scarce any purpose, but to adorn the landscape.

The views from the skirts of the plain near Invercauld, are very great ; the hills that immediately bound it are cloathed with trees, particularly with birch, whose long and pendent boughs, waving a vast height above the head, surpass the beauties of the weeping willow.

But when the great man sallies out to the chace of foxes and badgers, he seems not to leave so important an affair to chance, so sets off thus amply provided in his triumphal car ; "Le Seigneur," (says Fouilloux) "doit avoir sa petite charrette, là où il sera dedans," avec la Fillette agée de seize a dix sept ans, laquelle luy frotera la tette par les chemins. Toutes les chevilles et pax de la charrette doiuent estre garnis de flascons et bouteilles, et doit avoir au bout de la charrette un coffre de bois, plein de coqs d'inde froide, jambons, langues de Bœufs et autre bons harnois de guelle. Et si c'est en temps d'hiver, il pourra faire porter son petit pavillon, et faire du feu dedans pour se chauffer, ou bien donner un coup en robbe a la nymphe." p. 35. 75.



The fouthern extremity is pre-eminently magnificent ; the mountains form there a vast theatre, the bosom of which is covered with extensive forests of pines : above, the trees grow scarcer and scarcer, and then seem only to sprinkle the surface ; after which vegetation ceases, and naked summits\* of a surprising height succeed, many of them topped with perpetual snow ; and, as a fine contrast to the scene, the great cataract of Garval-bourn, which seems at a distance to divide the whole, foams amidst the dark forest, rushing from rock to rock to a vast distance.

Some of these hills are supposed to be the highest part of Great Britain : their height has not yet been taken, but the conjecture is made from the descent of the Dee, which runs from Brae-mar† to the sea, above seventy miles, with a most rapid course.

In this vale the Earl of Mar first set up the Pretender's standard on the sixth of September 1715 ; and in consequence drew to destruction his own, and several of the most noble families of North Britain.

Rode to take a nearer view of the environs ; crossed the Dee on a good stone-bridge built by the Government, and entered on excellent roads into a magnificent forest of pines of many miles extent. Some of the trees are of a vast size ; I measured several that were ten, eleven, and even twelve feet in circumference, and near sixty feet high, forming a most beautiful column, with a fine verdant capital. These trees are of great age, having, as is supposed, seen two centuries. Their value is considerable ; Mr. Farquharson informed me, that by sawing and retailing them, he has got for eight hundred trees five-and-twenty shillings each : they are sawed in an adjacent saw-mill, into plank ten feet long, eleven inches broad and three thick, and sold for two shillings a-piece.

Near this antient forest is another, consisting of smaller trees, almost as high, but very slender ; one grows in a singular manner out of the top of a great stone, and notwithstanding it seems to have no other nourishment than what it gets from the dews, is above thirty feet high.

The prospect above these forests is very extraordinary, a distant view of hills over a surface of verdant pyramids of pines.

I must not omit, that there are in the moors of these parts, what I may call subterraneous forests, of the same species of trees, overthrown by the rage of tempests, and covered with vegetable mould. These are dug up, and used for several mechanical purposes. The finer and more resinous parts are split into slender pieces, and serve the purposes of torches. Ceres made use of no other in her search after her lost daughter

*Illa duabus*

*Flammifera pinus manibus succendit ab Ætna.*

*OID. Met. lib. v. 7.*

*At Ætna's flaming mouth two pitchy pines*

*To light her in her search at length the tines.*

This whole tract abounds with game : the stags at this time were ranging in the mountains ; but the little roebucks ‡ were perpetually bounding before us ; and the black game often sprung under our feet. The tops of the hills swarmed with grouse and ptarmigans. Green plovers, whimbrels, and snow-flakes §, breed here : the last assemble in

\* The highest is called Ben y board, under which is a small Loch, which I was told had ice the latter end of July.

† The most distant from the sea of any place in North Britain.

‡ These animals are reared with great difficulty ; even when taken young, eight out of ten generally die.

§ Br. Zool. I. No. 122.



great flocks during winter, and collect so closely in their eddying flight, as to give the sportsman opportunity of killing numbers at a shot. Eagles\*, peregrine falcons, and goshawks breed here: the falcons in rocks, the goshawks in trees: the last pursues its prey an end, and dashes through every thing in pursuit; but if it misses its quarry, desists from following it after two or three hundred yards flight. These birds are proscribed; half a crown is given for an eagle, a shilling for a hawk, or hooded crow.

Foxes are in these parts very ravenous, feeding on roes, sheep, and even she-goats.

Rooks visit these vales in autumn, to feed on the different sort of berries; but neither winter nor breed here.

I saw flying in the forests, the greater bulfinch of Mr. Edwards, tab. 123, 124. the *Loxia enucleator* of Linnæus, whose food is the seed of pine-cones; a bird common to the north of Europe and America.

On our return passed under some high cliffs, with large woods of birch intermixed. This tree is used for all sorts of implements of husbandry, roofing of small houses, wheels, fuel; the Highlanders also tan their own leather with the bark; and a great deal of excellent wine is extracted from the live tree. Observed among these rocks a sort of projecting shelf on which had been a hut, accessible only by the help of some thongs, fastened by some very expert climbers, to which the family got, in time of danger, in former days, with their most valuable moveables.

The houses of the common people in these parts are shocking to humanity, formed with loose stones, and covered with clods, which they call devots, or with heath, broom, or branches of fir: they look, at a distance, like so many black mole-hills. The inhabitants live very poorly, on oatmeal, barley-cakes and potatoes; their drink whisky sweetened with honey. The men are thin, but strong; idle and lazy, except employed in the chase, or any thing that looks like amusement; are content with their hard fare, and will not exert themselves farther than to get what they deem necessities. The women are more industrious, spin their own husbands' cloaths, and get money by knitting stockings, the great trade of the country. The common women are in general most remarkably plain, and soon acquire an old look, and by being much exposed to the weather without hats, such a grin, and contraction of muscles, as heightens greatly their natural hardness of features: I never saw so much plainness among the lower rank of females: but the *ne plus ultra* of hard features is not found till you arrive among the fish-women of Aberdeen.

Tenants pay their rent generally in this country in money, except what they pay in poultry, which is done to promote the breed, as the gentry are so remote from any market. Those that rent a mill pay a hog or two; an animal so detested by the Highlanders, that very few can be prevailed on to taste it in any shape. Labour is here very cheap, the usual pay being fifty shillings a year, and two pecks of oatmeal a week.

Pursued my journey east, along a beautiful road by the river-side, in sight of the pine forests. The vale now grows narrow, and is filled with woods of birch and alder. Saw on the road-side the seats of gentlemen, high built, and once defensible. The peasants cultivate their little land with great care to the very edge of the stony hills. All the way are vast masses of granite, the same which is called in Cornwall, Moor-stone.

The glen contracts, and the mountains approach each other. Quit the Highlands, passing between two great rocks, called the Pass of Bollitir, a very narrow strait, whose

\* The ring-tail eagle, called here the Black Eagle. I suspect, from the description, that the dotrel breeds here. I hear also of a bird, called here *Snatach na cuirn*, but could not procure it.



bottom is covered with the tremendous ruins of the precipices that bound the road. I was informed, that here the wind rages with great fury during winter, and catching up the snow in eddies, whirls it about with such impetuosity, as makes it dangerous for man or beast to be out at that time. Rain also pours down sometimes in deluges, and carries with it stone and gravel from the hills in such quantity, that I have seen the effects of these spates, as they are called, lie cross the roads, as the avalanches, or snow-falls, do those of the Alps. In many parts of the Highlands were hospitia for the reception of travellers, called by the Scotch, Spittles, or hospitals: the same were usual in Wales, where they are styled Ysphyty; and, in both places, were maintained by the religious houses: as similar asylums are to this day supported, in many parts of the Alps.

This pass is the eastern entrance into the Highlands. The country now assumes a new face: the hills grow less, but the land more barren, and is chiefly covered with heath and rock. The edges of the Dee are cultivated, but the rest only in patches, among which is generally a groupe of small houses. There is also a change of trees, oak being the principal wood, but even that is scarce.

On the south side of the river is Glen-Muik, remarkable for a fine cataract formed by the river Muik, which, after running for a considerable way along a level moor, at once falls down a perpendicular rock of a semicircular form, called the Lin of Muik, into a hole of so great a depth worn by the weight of water, as to be supposed by the vulgar to be bottomless.

Refreshed my horses at a hamlet called Tullich, and looking west, saw the great mountain Laghin y gair, which is always covered with snow.

Almost opposite to the village of Tullich is Pananich, noted for the mineral water discovered a few years ago, and found to be very beneficial in rheumatic and scrophulous cases, and complaints of the gravel. During summer great numbers of people afflicted with those disorders resort there to drink the waters; and for their reception several commodious houses have already been built.

A little below Tullich ride over the south corner of the hill of Culbleen, where soon after the Revolution, a bloodless battle was fought between King William's forces, under the command of General Mackay, and some gentlemen of the country, with their dependents. The last made such an expeditious retreat, that, in derision, it was called the race of Tullich.

The hill of Culbleen is the south-west extremity of a range of mountains which form a deep semicircle, and enclose on all sides, except the south, a very fruitful bottom, and five parishes, called Cromar. The soil, excepting some moors and little hills, is good to the foot of the mountains, and produces the best barley in the county of Aberdeen. Cromar is the entrance into the low countries; the Erse language has been diffused in it for many ages, yet is spoken at this time six miles west in Glen-gairn.

One of the mountains to the west is styled the Hill of Morven, of a stupendous height, and on the side next to Cromar, almost perpendicular. From the top, the whole country as far as Aberdeen, thirty computed miles, seems from this height as a plain; and the prospect terminates in the German ocean. The other great mountains appear to sink to a common size; and even Laghin y gair abates of its grandeur. About four miles below Culbleen, at Charles-Town, ride on a line with the hill of Coul, the south-east extremity of the Cromar mountains.

A little north of Charles-Town stands Aboyne castle, the seat of the Earl of Aboyne, amidst large plantations; but his Lordship's pines in the forest of Glen Tanner, yield to none in Scotland, excepting those of Dalmore.



Observed several vast plantations of pines, planted by gentlemen near their seats; such a laudable spirit prevails in this respect, that in another half century, it never shall be said, that to spy the nakedness of the land you are come.

Dine at the little village of Kincairn Oneil. Hereabouts the common people cultivate a great deal of cabbage. The oat-fields are inclosed with rude low mounds of stone.

It gives me real concern to find any historical authority for overthrowing the beautiful relation that the powerful genius of Shakespear has formed out of Boethius's tale of Macbeth. If we may credit Fordun, that usurper was slain in his retreat at Lunfanan, two miles north-west of this place. To Sir David Dalrymple's \* accurate investigation of a dark period of the Scottish history, I am obliged for this discovery. "Near the church of Lunfanan," adds that gentleman, "is the vestige of an ancient fortress once surrounded by "a brook that runs by." This he conjectures to have been the retreat of Macbeth.

Lay at a mean house at Banchorie. The country, from Bollitir to this place, dull, unless where varied by the windings of the river, or with the plantations.

August 7th, the nearer to Aberdeen, the lower the country grows, and the greater the quantity of corn: in general, oats and barley; for there is very little wheat sown in those parts. Reach

Aberdeen, a fine city, lying on a small bay, formed by the Dee, deep enough for ships of two hundred tons. The town is about two miles in circumference, and contains thirteen thousand souls, and about three thousand in the suburbs; but the whole number of inhabitants between the bridges Dee and Don, which includes both the Aberdeens, and the interjacent houses or hamlets, is estimated at twenty thousand. It once enjoyed a good share of the tobacco trade, but was at length forced to resign it to Glasgow, which was so much more conveniently situated for it. At present, its imports are from the Baltic, and a few merchants trade to the West Indies and North America. Its exports are, stockings, thread, salmon, and oatmeal: the first is a most important article, as appears by the following state of it. For this manufacture 20,800 pounds worth of wool is annually imported, and 1600 pounds worth of oil. Of this wool is annually made 69,333 dozen pairs of stockings, worth, at an average 11. 10s. per dozen. These are made by the country people, in almost all parts of this great county, who get 4s. per dozen for spinning, and 14s. per dozen for knitting, so that there is annually paid them 62,329l. 14s. And besides, there is about 2000l. value of stockings manufactured from the wool of the county, which encourages the breed of sheep much; for even as high as Invercauld, the farmer sells his sheep at twelve shillings a-piece, and keeps them till they are four or five years old, for the sake of the wool. About 200 combers are also employed constantly. The thread manufacture is another considerable article, though trifling in comparison of the woollen.

The salmon fisheries on the Dee and the Don, are a good branch of trade: about 46 boats, and 130 men are employed on the first; and in some years 167,000lb. of fish have been sent pickled to London, and about 930 barrels of salted fish exported to France, Italy, &c. The fishery on the Don is far less considerable. About the time of Henry VIII. this place was noted for a considerable trade in dried cod-fish, at that period known by the name of Habberdyn fish.

The town of Aberdeen is in general well built, with granite from the neighbouring quarries. The best street, or rather place, is the Castle-street: in the middle is an

\* Annals of Scotland, p. 2.



octagon building, with neat bas-reliefs of the Kings of Scotland, from James I. to James VII. The town-house makes a good figure, and has a handsome spire in the centre.

The east and west churches are under the same roof; for the North Britons observe œconomy, even in their religion: in one I observed a small ship hung up; a votive offering frequent enough in Popish churches, but appeared very unexpectedly here. But I am now satisfied that the ship only denotes the right the mariners have to a sitting place beneath.

In the church-yard lies Andrew Cant, minister of Aberdeen, from whom the Spectator derives the word to cant: but in all probability, Andrew canted no more than the rest of his brethren, for he lived in a whining age\*; the word therefore seems to be derived from canto, from their singing out their discourses. The inscription on his monument speaks of him in very high terms, styles him *vir suo seculo summus, qui orbi huic et urbi ecclesiastes, voce et vita inclinatam religionem sustinuit, degeneres mundi mores refinxit, ardens et amans, Boanerges et Barnabas, Magnes et Adamus, &c. &c.*

In the same place are multitudes of long-winded epitaphs; but the following, though short, has a most elegant turn:

*Si fides, si humanitas, multoque gratus lepore candor;  
Si suorum amor, amicorum charitas, omniumque Bene-  
volentia spiritum reducere possent,  
Haud heic situs esset Johannes Burnet a Elrick. 1747.*

*Epitaph*

The college is a large old building, founded by George Earl of Marechal, 1593. On one side is this strange inscription; probably alluding to some scoffers at that time:

*They have seid,  
Quhat say thay?  
Let Yame say.*

In the great room are several good pictures. A head of the founder. The present Lord Marechal when young, and General Keith, his brother. Bishop Burnet in his robes, as Chancellor of the Garter. A head of Mary Stuart, in black, with a crown in one hand, a crucifix in the other. Arthur Johnston, a fine head by Jameson. Andrew Cant, by the same. Gordon of Strachloch, publisher of the maps; Doctor Gregory, author of the reflecting telescope; and several others, by Jameson.

In the library is the alcoran on vellum, finely illuminated.

A Hebrew bible, manuscript, with Rabbinical notes on vellum.

Isidori excerpta ex libro: a great curiosity, being a complete natural history, with figures, richly illuminated on squares of plated gold, on vellum.

A paraphrase on the Revelation, by James VI. with notes, in the King's own hand.

A fine missal.

There are about a hundred and forty students belonging to this college.

The convents in Aberdeen were; one of Mathurines, or of the order of the Trinity, founded by William the Lion, who died in 1214: another of Dominicans, by Alexander II.: a third of Observantines, a building of great length in the middle of the city, founded by the citizens, and Mr. Richard Vaus, &c.: and a fourth of Carmelites, or White Friars, founded by Philip de Arbuthnot, in 1350. In the ruins of this was discovered a very curious silver chain, six feet long, with a round plate at one end, and at the other a pear-shaped appendage; which is still preserved in the library.

\* In Charles the First's time.



The grammar-school is a low but neat building. Gordon's hospital is handsome; in front is a good statue of the founder: it maintains forty boys, children of the inhabitants of Aberdeen, who are apprenticed at proper ages.

The infirmary is a large plain building, and sends out between eight or nine hundred cured patients annually.

On the side of the great bleachery, which is common to the town, are the public walks. Over a road, between the Castle-street and the harbour, is a very handsome arch, which must attract the attention of the traveller.

On the east of the town is a work begun by Cromwell, from whence is a fine view of the sea: beneath is a small patch of ground, noted for producing very early barley, which was then reaping.

Prices of provisions in this town were these: Beef, (16 ounces to the pound)  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 5d.; mutton the same; butter, (28 ounces to the pound) 6d. to 8d.; cheese, ditto, 4d. to  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d.; a large pullet, 6d. or 10d.; duck, the same; geese, 2s. 3d.

Crofs the harbour to the granite quarries that contribute to supply London with paving stones. The stones lie either in large nodules or in shattery beds; are cut into shape, and the small pieces for the middle of the streets are put on-board for seven shillings per ton, the long stones at ten-pence per foot.

The bridge of Dee lies about two miles S. of the town, and consists of seven neat arches: before the building of that of Perth, it was esteemed the finest structure of the kind in North Britain. It was founded, and is still supported by funds destined for that purpose by Bishop Elphinston. The following inscription on the buttress of a ruinous isle in the cathedral of Old Aberdeen, informs us of the architect:—'Thomas, the son of Thomas French, master mason, who built the bridge of the Dee and this isle, is entered at the foot hereof, who died anno 1530.'

August 8th, visited Old Aberdeen, about a mile north of the new; a poor town seated not far from the Don. The college is built round a square, with cloisters on the south side. The chapel is very ruinous within; but there still remains some wood-work of exquisite workmanship. This was preserved by the spirit of the principal at the time of the reformation, who armed his people and checked the blind zeal of the barons of the Mearns, who after stripping the Cathedral of its roof, and robbing it of the bells, were going to violate this seat of learning. They shipped their sacrilegious booty with an intention to exposing it to sale in Holland\*; but the vessel had scarcely gone out of port, but it perished in a storm with all its ill gained lading.

The college was founded in 1494 by William Elphinston, bishop of this place, and Lord Chancellor of Scotland in the reign of James III.; and Lord Privy Seal in that of James IV. He was a person of such eminence, that his contemporaries firmly believed that his death was prefaged by various prodigies, and that supernatural voices were heard at his interment, as if heaven more peculiarly interested itself in the departure of so great a character†.

The library is large. The most remarkable things are; John Trevisa's translation of Higden's Polychronicon, in 1387; the manuscript excellently wrote, and the language very good, for that time. A very neat Dutch missal, with elegant paintings on the margin. Another, of the angels appearing to the shepherds, with one of the men playing on the bagpipes. A manuscript catalogue of the old treasury of the college.

Hector Boethius was the first principal of the college, and sent for from Paris for that purpose, on an annual salary of forty marks Scots, at thirteen-pence each. The square

\* Spotswood's Hist. Church of Scotland.

† Boethius's Hist. of the Bishops of Aberdeen.



tower on the side of the college was built by contributions from General Monk and the officers under him, then quartered at Aberdeen, for the reception of students; of which there are about a hundred belonging to the college, who lie in it.

In Bishop Elphinston's hall is a picture of Bishop Dunbar, who finished the bridge of Dee, and completed every thing else that the other worthy prelate had begun. Besides this are portraits of Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Professors Sandiland and Gordon, by Jameson. The Sybils: said to be done by the same hand, but seemed to me in too different a style to be his; but the Sybilla *Ægyptiaca* and *Erythræa* are in good attitudes.

The cathedral is very ancient; no more than the two very antique spires and one isle, which is used as a church, are now remaining. This bishoprick was founded in the time of David I. who translated it from Mortlick in Banffshire to this place.

From a tumulus, called Tille dron, now covered with trees, is a fine view of an extensive and rich country; once a most barren spot, but by the industry of the inhabitants brought to its present state. A pretty vale bordered with wood, the cathedral soaring above the trees, and the river Don, form all together a most agreeable prospect. These are comprehended in the pleasure grounds of Seaton, the house of George Middleton, Esq.; which lies well sheltered in the north-west corner of the valley, and was probably the first villa built in the north of Scotland according to the present idea of elegance.

Beneath are some cruives, or weirs, to take salmon in. The owners are obliged by law to make the rails of the cruives\* of a certain width, to permit fish of a certain size to pass up the river; but as that is neglected, they pay an annual sum to the owners of the fisheries which lie above to compensate the loss.

In the Regiam Majestatem are preserved several ancient laws relating to the salmon fisheries, couched in terms expressive of the simplicity of the times.

From Saturday night till Monday morning, they were obliged to leave a free passage for the fish, which is styled the Saturdayes sloop†.

Alexander I. enacted, 'That the streame of the water shal be in all parts swa free, that ane swine of the age of three zeares, well fed, may turne himself within the streame round about, swa that his snout nor tail fall not touch the bank of the water.'

'Slayers of reide fish or smoltes of salmond, the third time are punished with death. And sic like he quha commands the famine to be done.' Jac. IV. parl. 6. stat. Rob. III.

August 9th, continue my journey: pass over the bridge of Don; a fine Gothic arch flung over that fine river, from one rock to the other; the height from the top of the arch to the water is sixty feet; its width seventy-two. It was built by Henry de Cheyn, Bishop of Aberdeen and nephew to John Cummin Lord of Badenoch, who suffering exile for his attachment to the faction of the Cummins on his being restored to his see, applied all the profits that had accumulated during his absence, towards this magnificent work‡. Ride for some miles on the sea sands; pass through Newburgh, a small village, and at low water ford the Ythen, a river productive of the pearl muscle: go through the parish of Furvie, now entirely overwhelmed with sand, (except two farms) and about 500l. per annum lost to the Errol family, as appears by the oath of the factor, made before the court of sessions in 1600, to ascertain the minister's salary. It was at that time all arable land, now covered with shifting sands, like the deserts of Arabia, and no vestiges remain of any buildings, except a small fragment of the church.

\* Cruives, &c. shall have their heeke two inches wide, that the fry may pass. Rob. I.

† Alex. I.

‡ Keith's Scotch Bishops, 65. This Prelate was living in 1333.



The country now grows very flat ; produces oats ; but the crops are considerably worse than in the preceding country. Reach

Bowness, or Buchaness, the seat of the Earl of Errol, perched, like a falcon's nest, on the edge of a vast cliff above the sea. The drawing room, a large and very elegant apartment, hangs over it ; the waves run in wild eddies round the rocks beneath, and the sea fowl clamour above and below, forming a strange prospect and singular chorus. The place was once defensible, there having been a ditch and draw-bridge on the accessible side ; but now both are destroyed.

Above five miles south is Slains, the remains of the old family castle, seated strongly on a peninsulated rock ; but demolished in 1594, by James VI. on the rebellion of the Earl of Huntly. Near this place are some vast caverns, once filled with curious stalactical incrustations, now destroyed, in order to be burnt into lime ; for there is none in this country, that useful commodity being imported from the Earl of Elgin's works on the Frith of Forth.

Here the shore begins to grow bold and rocky, and indented in a strange manner with small and deep creeks, or rather immense and horrible chasms. The famous Bullers of Buchan lie about a mile north of Bowness, are a vast hollow in a rock, projecting into the sea, open at top, with a communication to the sea through a noble natural arch, through which boats can pass, and lie secure in this natural harbour. There is a path round the top, but in some parts too narrow to walk on with satisfaction, as the depth is about thirty fathom, with water on both sides, being bounded on the north and south by small creeks.

Near this is a great insulated rock, divided by a narrow and very deep chasm from the land. This rock is pierced through midway between the water and the top, and in violent storms the waves rush through it with great noise and impetuosity. On the sides, as well as those of the adjacent cliffs, breed multitudes of kittiwakes\*. The young are a favourite dish in North Britain, being served up a little before dinner, as a whet for the appetite ; but, from the rank smell and taste, seem as if they were more likely to have a contrary effect. I was told of an honest gentleman who was set down for the first time to this kind of whet, as he supposed ; but after demolishing half a dozen, with much impatience declared, that he had eaten fax, and did not find himself a bit more hungry than before he had began.

On this coast is a great fishery of sea dogs†, which begins the last week of July, and ends the first in September. The livers are boiled for oil ; the bodies split, dried, and sold to the common people, who come from great distances for them. Very fine turbot is taken on this coast ; and towards Peterhead are good fisheries of cod and ling. The lord of the manor has 3l. 6s. 8d. per annum from every boat, (a six man boat) but if a new crew sets up, the lord, by way of encouragement, finds them a boat. Besides these, they have little yawls for catching bait at the foot of the rocks. Muscles are also much used for bait, and many boats loads are brought for that purpose from the mouth of the Ythen. Of late years, a very successful salmon fishery has been set up in the sandy bays below Slains. This is performed by long nets, carried out to sea by boats, a great compass taken, and then hawled on shore. It is remarked, these fish swim against the wind, and are much better tasted than those taken in fresh waters.

Most of the labour on shore is performed here by the women : they will carry as much fish as two men can lift on their shoulders, and when they have sold their cargo and emptied their basket, will re-place part of it with stones : they go sixteen miles to

\* Br. Zool. No. 250.

† The picked Shark, Br. Zool. III No 40.



sell or barter their fish; are very fond of finery, and will load their fingers with trumpery rings, when they want both shoes and stockings. The fleet was the last war supplied with great numbers of men from this and others parts of Scotland, as well as the army: I think near 70,000 engaged in the general cause, and assisted in carrying our glory through all parts of the globe: of the former, numbers returned; of the latter, very few.

The houses in this country are built with clay, tempered in the same manner as the Israelites made their bricks in the land of Ægypt: after dressing the clay, and working it up with water, the labourers place on it a large stratum of straw, which is trampled into it and made small by horses: then more is added, till it arrives at a proper consistency, when it is used as a plaister, and makes the houses very warm. The roofs are sarked, i. e. covered with inch-and-half deal, sawed into three planks, and then nailed to the joists, on which the slates are pinned.

The land prospect is extremely unpleasant; for no trees will grow here, in spite of all the pains that have been taken: not but in former times it must have been well wooded, as is evident from the number of trees dug up in all the bogs. The same nakedness prevails over great part of this coast, even far beyond Banff, except in a few warm bottoms.

The corn of this tract is oats and barley; of the last I have seen very good close to the edges of the cliffs. Rents are paid here partly in cash, partly in kind; the last is commonly sold to a contractor. The land here being poor, is set cheap. The people live hardly: a common food with them is fowens, or the grosser part of the oatmeal with the husks, first put into a barrel with water, in order to grow four, and then boiled into a sort of pudding, or flummery.

August 11th, crossed the country towards Banff, over Oatlands, a coarse sort of downs, and several black heathy moors, without a single tree for numbers of miles. See Craigston castle, a good house, once defensible, seated in a snug bottom, where the plantations thrive greatly. Saw here a head of David Lesly, an eleve of Gustavus Adolphus: a successful general against the royal cause; unfortunate when he attempted to support it; lost the battle of Dunbar, being forced to engage contrary to his judgment by the enthusiasm of the preachers: marched with an unwilling army to the fatal battle of Worcester; conscious of its disaffection or its fears, he sunk beneath his apprehensions; was dispirited and confounded: after the fight, lost his liberty and reputation; but was restored to both at the restoration by Charles II. who created him Baron of Newark. Another head, Sir Alexander Frazer, the Knight of Dore; both by Jameson. Passed by a small ruined castle, in the parish of Kinedward, seated on a round hill in a deep glen, and scarce accessible; the ancient name of this castle was Kin, or Kyn-Eden, and said to have been one of the seats of the Cummins, Earl of Buchan. Ford the Devron, a fine river, over which had been a beautiful bridge, now washed away by the floods. Enter Banffshire, and reach its capital.

Banff, pleasantly seated on the side of a hill, has several streets; but that with the town-house in it, adorned with a new spire, is very handsome. This place was erected into a borough by virtue of a charter from Robert II. dated October 7th, 1372, endowing it with the same privileges, and putting it on the same footing with the burgh of Aberdeen; but tradition says it was founded in the reign of Malcolm Canmore. The harbour is very bad, as the entrance at the mouth of the Devron is very uncertain, being often stopped by the shifting of the sands, which are continually changing in great storms: the pier is therefore placed on the outside. Much salmon is exported



from hence. About Troop-head, some kelp is made; and the adventurers pay the lord of the manor 50*l.* per annum for the liberty of collecting the materials.

Banff had only one monastery, that of the Carmelites, dedicated to the Virgin Mary: whose rents, place and lands were bestowed on King's College in Aberdeen in 1617 by James VI.

The Earl of Finlater has a house, prettily seated on an eminence near the town, with some plantations of shrubs and small trees, which have a good effect in so bare a country. The prospect is very fine, commanding the rich meadows near the town, Down a small but well-built fishing town, the great promontory of Troop-head, and to the north the hills of Ross-shire, Sutherland, and Caithness.

The house once belonged to the Sharps; and the violent archbishop of that name was born here. In one of the apartments is a picture of Jameson by himself, sitting in his painting-room, dressed like Rubens, and with his hat on, and his pallet in his hand. On the walls are represented hung up, the pictures of Charles I. and his Queen; a head of his own wife; another head; two sea views, and Perseus and Andromeda, the productions of his various pencil.

Duff House, a vast pile of building, a little way from the town, is a square, with a square tower at each end; the front richly ornamented with carving, but, for want of wings, has a naked look: the rooms within are very small, and by no means answer the magnificence of the case.

In the apartments are these pictures: Frances, Dutchess of Richmond, full length, in black, with a little picture at her breast, *Æt.* 57, 1633, by Vandyck: was granddaughter by the father to Thomas Duke of Norfolk; to Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, by the mother. A lady who attempted the very climax of matrimony: first married the son of a rich vintner: gave hopes after his death to a knight, Sir G. Rodney, who on being jilted by her for an earl, Edward Earl of Hertford, wrote to her in his own blood a well composed copy of verses, and then fell on his sword; having buried the Earl, gave her hand to Ludovic Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and on his decease spread her nets for the old monarch James I. Her avarice kept pace with her vanity: when visited by the great, she had all the parade of officers, and gentlemen who attended: tables were spread, as if there had been ample provision; but the moment her visitors were gone, the cloths were taken off, and her train fed with a most scanty fare. Her pride induced her to draw up an inventory of most magnificent presents, she wished the world to believe she had given to the Queen of Bohemia; presents of massy plate that existed only on a paper\*. Besides this singular character, are two fine heads of Charles I. and his Queen. A head of a Duff of Corfenday, with short grey hair, by Cosmo Alexander, descendant of the famous Jameson. Near the house is a shrubbery, with a walk two miles long, leading to the river.

I must not be silent respecting the Reverend Mr. Charles Cordiner, minister at the episcopal chapel at Banff. He has made his abilities sufficiently known by his several ingenious publications: and I must express my happiness in having been the cause of bringing them to the view of the public, much to its entertainment, and I flatter myself not a little to his own benefit, and that of his numerous family. When I had published the last volume of my tours in Scotland, I reflected that there were certain parts which I had not been able to visit. I prevailed on Mr. Cordiner to undertake the tour which appeared in 1780, under the title of Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland,

\* Vide Wilson's Life of James I. 258, 259.



illustrated by twenty-one plates taken from his own beautiful drawings. He afterwards published, and continues to publish, in numbers, the most remarkable ruins, and subjects of natural history he met with in his journeys through the northern parts of his country. These, I hope, will meet the encouragement they merit, and his labours receive their due reward.

Aug. 12. About two miles west of Banff, not far from the sea, is a great stratum of sand and shells, used with success as a manure. Sea tang is also much used for corn lands, sometimes by itself, sometimes mixed with earth, and left to rot; it is besides often laid fresh on grass, and answers very well. Passed by the house of Boyne, a ruined castle on the edge of a deep glen, filled with some good ash and maples.

Near Portsoy, a small town in the parish of Fordyce, is a large stratum of marble, in which asbestos has been sometimes found: it is a coarse sort of verd di Corsica, and used in some houses for chimney-pieces. Portsoy is the principal place in this parish, and contains about six hundred inhabitants, who carry on a considerable thread manufacture, and one of snuff: there also belong to the town twelve ships, from forty to a hundred tons burthen; and there are in the parish six fishing boats, each of whose crew consists of six men and a boy. Reach

Cullen-house, seated at the edge of a deep glen full of very large trees, which, being out of the reach of the sea winds, prosper greatly. This spot is very prettily laid out in walks, and over the entrance is a magnificent arch sixty feet high, and eighty-two in width. The house is large, but irregular. The most remarkable pictures are, a full length of James VI. by Mytens: at the time of the Revolution, the mob had taken it out of Holy-rood House, and were kicking it about the streets, when the Chancellor, the Earl of Finlater, happening to pass by, redeemed it out of their hands. A portrait of James Duke of Hamilton, beheaded in 1649, in a large black cloak, with a star, by Vandyck. A half length of his brother, by the same, killed at the battle of Worcester. William Duke of Hamilton, president of the Revolution Parliament, by Kuelier. Old Lord Banff, aged 90, with a long white square beard, who is said to have incurred the censure of the church, at that age, for his gallantries\*.

Not far from Cullen-house are the ruins of the castle of Finlater, situated on a high rock, projecting into the sea. It was strengthened in 1455 by Sir Walter Ogilvie, who had licence from James II. to build a tower and fortalice at his castle of Finlater. It continued in possession of the family till it was usurped by the family of the Gordons; but was restored to the right heirs about the year 1562, by Queen Mary, who for that purpose caused it to be invested both by sea and land.

The country round Cullen has all the marks of improvement, owing to the † indefatigable pains of the late noble owner, in advancing the art of agriculture and planting, and every other useful business, as far as the nature of the soil would admit. His success in the first was very great; the crops of beans, peas, oats, and barley were excellent; the wheat very good, but through the fault of the climate, will not ripen till it is late, the harvest in these parts being in October. The plantations are very ex-

\* Among other pictures of persons of merit, that of the admirable Crichton must not be overlooked. I was informed, that there is one of that extraordinary person in the possession of Alexander Morrison, Esq. of Bagnie, in the county of Banff; it is in the same apartment with some of Jameson's, but seems done by a superior hand: came into Mr. Morrison's possession from the family of Crichton, Viscount Frendraught, to whom Crichton probably sent it from Italy, where he spent the last years of his short, but glorious life. Vide Appendix.

† His Lordship collected together near 2000 souls to his new town at Keith, by feuing, i. e. giving in perpetuity, on payment of a slight acknowledgment, land sufficient to build a house on, with gardens and back-yard.



tensive, and reach to the top of Binn-hill, but the farther they extend from the bottoms, the worse they succeed.

The town of Cullen is mean, yet has about a hundred looms in it; there being a flourishing manufacture of linen and thread, of which near fifty thousand pounds worth is annually made there and in the neighbourhood. Upwards of two thousand bolls of wheat, barley, oats, and meal are paid annually by the tenants to their landlords, and by them sold to the merchants and exported: and besides, the upper parts of the parish yield peas, and great quantities of oats, which are sold by those tenants who pay their rents in cash.

Near this town the Duke of Cumberland, after his march from Banff, joined the rest of his forces from Strath-Bogie, and encamped at Cullen.

In a small sandy bay are three lofty spiring rocks, formed of flinty masses, cemented together very differently from any stratum in the country. These are called the Three Kings of Cullen. A little farther is another vast rock, pierced quite through formed of pebbly concretions lodged in clay, which had subsided in thick but regular layers.

In this country are several cairns or barrows; the places of interment of the antient Caledonians, or of the Danes, for the method was common to both nations. At Craig-mills near Glaffaugh was a very remarkable one demolished about fourteen years ago. The diameter was sixty feet, the height sixteen; formed entirely of stones brought from the shore, as appears by the limpets, muscles, and other shells mixed with them. The whole was covered with a layer of earth four feet thick, and that finished with a very nice coat of green sod, inclosing the whole. It seems to have been originally formed by making a deep trench round the spot, and flinging the earth inwards: then other materials brought to complete the work, which must have been that of an whole army. On breaking open this cairn, on the summit of the stony heap beneath the integument of earth was found a stone coffin formed of long flags, and in it the complete skeleton of a human body, lain at full length, with every bone in its proper place; and with them a deer's horn, the symbol of the favourite amusement of the deceased.

About five years ago another cairn was broke open at Kil-hillock, or the hill of burial, and in it was found another coffin about six feet long, with a skeleton, an urn, and some charcoal: a considerable deal of charcoal was also met with intermixed every where among the stones of the cairn. By this it appears that the mode of interment was various at the same period; for one of these bodies must have been placed entirely in its cemetery, the other burnt, and the ashes collected in the urn.

A third cairn on the farm of Brankaentim near Kil-hillock, was opened very lately; and in the middle was found a coffin only two feet square, made of flag-stones set on their edge, and another by way of cover. The urn was seated on the ground, filled with ashes, and was surrounded in the coffin with charcoal and bones, probably bones belonging to the same body, which had not been reduced to ashes like the contents of the urn.

A fourth urn was discovered in a cairn on the hill of Down, overlooking the river Devron, and town of Banff. This was also placed in a coffin of flat stones, with the mouth downwards, standing on another stone. The urn was ornamented, but round it were placed three others, smaller and quite plain. The contents of each were the same; ashes, burnt bones, flint arrow heads with almost vitrified surfaces, and a piece of flint of an oval shape flatted, two inches long, and an inch and a half thick. There was also in the larger urn, and one of the lesser, a small slender bone four inches



long, and somewhat incurvated and perforated at the thicker end: it is apparently not human; but the animal it belonged to, and the use are unknown.

The materials of the urns appear to have been found in the neighbourhood; and consist of a coarse clay mixed with small stones and sand, and evidently have been only dried, and not burnt. By the appearance of the inside of the larger urn, it is probable that it was placed over the bones while they were hot and full of oil; the whole inside being blackened with the steam; and where it may have been supposed to have been in contact with them, the stain pervades the entire thickness. The urn was thirteen inches high.

Besides is a numerous assemblage of cairns on the Cotton-hill, a mile south of Birkenbog, probably in memory of the slain in the victory obtained in 998, by Indulphus, over the Danes. The battle chiefly raged on a moor near Cullen, where there are similar barrows; but as it extended far by reason of the \* retreat of the vanquished, these seem to be flung together with the same design.

Not far from these are two circles of long stones, called Gael-crofs: perhaps they might have been erected after that battle; and as gaul is the Erse word for a stranger or enemy †, as the Danes were, I am the more inclined to suppose that to have been the fact.

Nor is there wanting a retreat for the inhabitants in time of war; for round the top of the hill of Durn is a triple entrenchment still very distinct; the middle of stone, and very strong in the most accessible place; and such fastnesses were far from being unnecessary in a tract continually exposed to the ravages of the Danes.

The vault of the family of the Abercrombies in this parish must not be passed over in silence: it is lodged in the wall of the church, and is only the repository of the skulls. The bodies are deposited in the earth beneath; and when the Laird dies, the skull of his predecessor is taken up and flung into this Golgotha, which at present is in possession of nineteen. skulls

Some superstitions still lurk even in this cultivated country. The farmers carefully preserve their cattle against witchcraft by placing boughs of the mountain ash and honeysuckle in their cow-houses on the 2d of May. They hope to preserve the milk of their cows, and their wives from miscarriage by tying red threads about them: they bleed the supposed witch to preserve themselves from her charms: they visit the well of Spey for many distempers, and the well of Drachaldy for as many, offering small pieces of money and bits of rags. The young people determine the figure and size of their husbands by drawing cabbages blindfold on All-Hallows even; and, like the English, sling nuts into the fire; and in February draw valentines, and from them collect their future fortune in the nuptial state.

Every great family had in former times its dæmon, or genius, with its peculiar attributes. Thus the family of Rothemurchus had the Bodach an dun, or ghost of the hill. Kinchardine's, the spectre of the bloody hand. Gartinbeg-house was haunted by Bodach Gartin; and Tulloch Gorms by Maug Moulach, or the girl with the hairy left hand. The synod gave frequent orders that inquiry should be made into the truth of this apparition: and one or two declared that they had seen one that answered the description †.

The little spectres called Tarans §, or the souls of unbaptized infants, were often seen flitting among the woods and secret places, bewailing in soft voices their hard fate.

\* Buchanan, lib. vi. c. 19.

† Shaw's History of Moray, 306.

‡ Doctor Macpherson, p. 240.

§ Idem, 307.



Could not superstition have likewise limited their sufferings; and, like the wandering ghosts of the unburied, at length given them an Elysium?

*Centum errant annos, volitant hæc littora circum:  
Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.*

Passed through a fine open country, full of gentle risings, and rich in corn, with a few clumps of trees sparingly scattered over it. Great use is made here of stone marle, a gritty indurated marle, found in vast strata, dipping pretty much: it is of different colours, blue, pale brown, and reddish; is cut out of the quarry, and laid very thick on the ground in lumps, but will not wholly dissolve under three or four years. In the quarry is a great deal of sparry matter, which is laid apart, and burnt for lime. Arrive at

Castle Gordon, a large old house, the seat of the Duke of Gordon, lying in a low wet country, near some large well-grown woods, and a considerable one of great hollies. It was founded by George second Earl of Huntly, who died in 1501, and was originally called the castle of the bog of Gight. It inherited, till of late, very little of its antient splendor: but the present Duke has made considerable additions in a very elegant style. By accident I met with an old print that shews it in all the magnificence described by a singular traveller of the middle of the last century. "Bogagieth," says he, "the Marquis of Huntly's palace, all built of stone facing the ocean, whose fair front (set prejudice aside) worthily deserves an Englishman's applause for her lofty and majestic towers and turrets, that storm the air; and seemingly make dents in the very clouds. At first sight, I must confess, it struck me with admiration to gaze on so gaudy and regular a frontispiece, more especially to consider it in the nook of a nation \*."

The principal pictures in Castle Gordon are, the first Marquis of Huntly, who, on his first arrival at court, forgetting the usual obeisance, was asked why he did not bow: he begged His Majesty's pardon, and excused his want of respect, by saying he was just come from a place where every body bowed to him. Second Marquis of Huntly, beheaded by the Covenanters. His son, the gallant Lord Gordon, Montrose's friend, killed at the battle of Auldford. Lord Lewis Gordon, a less generous warrior, the plague† of the people of Murray, (then the seat of the Covenanters) whose character, with that of the brave Montrose, is well contrasted in these old lines:

*If ye with Montrose gae, ye'll get sic and wae enough;  
If ye with Lord Lewis gae, ye'll get rob and rave enough.*

The head of the second Countess of Huntly, daughter of James I. Sir Peter Frazer, a full length in armour. A fine small portrait of the Abbé de Aubigné, sitting in his study. A very fine head of St. John receiving the Revelation; a beautiful expression of attention and devotion.

The Duke of Gordon still keeps up the diversion of falconry, and had several fine hawks of the peregrine and gentle falcon species, which breed in the rocks of Glenmore. I saw also here a true Highland grey-hound, which is now become very scarce:

\* Northern Memoirs, &c. by Richard Franks, Philanthropus. London, 1694. 12mo. This gentleman made his journey in 1658, and went through Scotland as far as the water of Brora in Sutherland, to enjoy, as he travelled, the amusement of angling.

† Whence this proverb,

*The guil, the Gordon, and the hooded crow,  
Were the three worst things Murray ever saw.*

Guil is a weed that infests corn. It was from the castle of Rothes, on the Spey, that Lord Lewis made his plundering excursions into Murray.



it was of a very large size, strong, deep chested, and covered with very long and rough hair. This kind was in great vogue in former days, and used in vast numbers at the magnificent stag-chases, by the powerful chieftains.

I also saw here a dog the offspring of a wolf and Pomeranian bitch. It had much the appearance of the first, was very good-natured and sportive; but being slipped at a weak deer, it instantly brought the animal down and tore out its throat. This dog was bred by Mr. Brook, animal-merchant in London, who told me that the congress between the wolf and the bitch was immediate, and the produce at the litter was ten.

The Spey is a dangerous neighbour to Castle Gordon; a large and furious river, overflowing very frequently in a dreadful manner, as appears by its ravages far beyond its banks. The bed of the river is wide and full of gravel, and the channel very shifting.

The Duke of Cumberland passed this water at Belly church, near this place, when the channel was so deep as to take an officer, from whom I had the relation, and who was six feet four inches high, up to the breast. The banks are very high and steep; so that, had not the rebels been providentially so infatuated as to neglect opposition, the passage must have been attended with considerable loss.

The salmon fishery on this river is very great: about seventeen hundred barrels full are caught in the season, and the shore is rented for about 1200l. per annum.

August 14th, passed through Fochabers, a wretched town, close to the castle. Crossed the Spey in a boat, and landed in the county of Murray.

The peasants' houses, which, throughout the shire of Banff were very decent, were now become very miserable, being entirely made of turf: the country partly moor, partly cultivated, but in a very slovenly manner.

Between Fochabers and Elgin on the right lies Innes, once the seat of the very ancient family of that name, whose annals are marked with great calamities. I shall recite two which strongly paint the manners of the times, and one of them also the manners of that abandoned statesman the Regent Earl of Morton. I shall deliver the tales in the simple manner they are told by the historian of the house.

"This man Alexander Innes 20th heir of the house (though very gallant) had something of particularity in his temper, was proud and positive in his deportment, and had his lawsuits with severall of his friends, amongst the rest with Innes of Pethnock, which had brought them both to Edinburgh in the year 1576, as I take it, q<sup>d</sup> the laird having met his kinsman at the cross, fell in words with him for daring to give him a citation; in choller either staked the gentleman with a degger or pistoled him (for it was variously reported). When he had done, his stomach would not let him fly but he walked up and down on the spott as if he had done nothing that could be quareled, his friends lyfe being a thing that he could dispose of without being bound to count for it to any oyn. and y<sup>e</sup> stayed till the Earle of Mortune who was Regent sent a guard and caried him away to the castell, but q<sup>d</sup> he found truely the danger of his circumstance and y<sup>e</sup> his proud rash action behooved to cost him his lyfe, he was then free to redeem that at any rate and made ane agreement for a remissione with the regent at the pryce of the barrony of Kilmalemnock which this day extends to 24 thousand marks rent yeirly. The evening after the agreement was made and writt, being merry with his friends at a collatione and talking anent the deirness of the ransome the regent hade made him pay for his lyfe, he waunted that hade his foot once lops he would faine see q<sup>d</sup> the Earle of Mortune durst come and possess his lands: q<sup>d</sup> being told to the regent that night, he resolved to play fuir game with him, and therefore though q<sup>d</sup> he spoke was in drink, the very next day he put the sentence of death in executione



cutione ag' him by causing his head to be struck off in the castle and q' posselt his estate."

The other relation, still more extraordinary, is given in the appendix.

Dine at Elgin \*, a good town, with many of the houses built over piazzas: excepting its great cattle fairs, has little trade; but is remarkable for its ecclesiastical antiquities. The cathedral had been a magnificent pile, but is now in ruins: it was destroyed by reason of the sale of the lead that covered the roof, which was done in 1567, by order of council, to support the soldiery of the regent Murray. Johnston, in his *Encomia Urbium*, celebrates the beauty of Elgin, and laments the fate of this noble building.

Arcibus heroum nitidis urbs cingitur, intus  
Plebei radiant, nobiliumque Lares:  
Omnia delectant, veteris sed rudera templi.  
Dum spectas, lachrymis, Scotia, tinge genas.

The west door is very elegant, and richly ornamented. The choir very beautiful, and has a fine and light gallery running round it; and at the east end are two rows of narrow windows in an excellent Gothic taste. The chapter-house is an octagon, the roof supported by a fine single column, with neat carvings of coats of arms round the capital. There is still a great tower on each side of this cathedral; but that in the centre, with the spire and whole roof, are fallen in, and form most awful fragments, mixed with the battered monuments of knights and prelates. Boethius says that Duncan, who was killed by Macbeth at Inverness, lies buried here. Numbers of modern tomb-stones also crowd the place; a proof how difficult it is to eradicate the opinion of local sanctity, even in a religion that affects to despise it.

The cathedral was founded by Andrew de Moray† in 1224, on a piece of land granted by Alexander the II.: and his remains were deposited in the choir under a tomb of blue marble in 1244. The great tower was built principally by John Innes, bishop of this see, as appears by the inscription cut on one of the great pillars: *Hic jacet in Xto Pater et Dominus, Dominus Johannes de Innes hujus ecclesiæ episcopus—qui hoc notabile opus incepit et per septennium edificavit* ‡.

This town had two convents; one of Dominicans, founded in 1233 or 1244, by Alexander II.; another of Observantines, in 1479, by John Innes.

About a mile from hence is the castle of Spinie; a large square tower, and a vast quantity of other ruined buildings, still remain, which shews its ancient magnificence whilst the residence of the bishops of Murray: the lake of Spinie almost washes the walls; is about five miles long, and a half mile broad, situated in a flat country. During winter, great numbers of wild swans migrate hither; and I have been told that some have bred here. Boethius § says they resort here for the sake of a certain herb called after their name.

Not far from Elgin is a ruined chapel and preceptory, called *Maïson Dieu*. Near it is a large gravelly cliff, from whence is a beautiful view of the town, cathedral, a round hill with the remains of a castle, and beneath is the gentle stream of the Laffie, the *Loxia* of Ptolemy.

\* *Celticè Belle ville*. In the Appendix is a full and accurate account not only of Elgin, but of several parts of the county of Murray, by the venerable Mr. Shaw, Minister of Elgin, aged ninety, and eminent for his knowledge of the antiquities of his country.

† Keith's Bishops of Scotland. 81.

‡ MS. Hist. of the Innes family.

§ *Scotorum Regni Descrip'tio*.



Three miles south is the Priory of Pluscardin, in a most sequestered place; a beautiful ruin, the arches elegant, the pillars well turned, and the capitals rich\*.

Cross the Loffie, ride along the edge of a vale, which has a strange mixture of good corn, and black turberies: on the road-side is a mill-stone quarry.

Arrive in the rich plain of Murray, fertile in corn. The upper parts of the country produce great numbers of cattle. The view of the Firth of Murray, with a full prospect of the high mountains of Ross-shire and Sutherland, and the magnificent entrance into the bay of Cromartie between two lofty hills, form a fine piece of scenery.

Turn about half a mile out of the road to the north, to see Kinloss an abbey of Cistercians, founded by David I. in 1150. Near this place was murdered by thieves Duffus, King of Scotland: on the discovery of his concealed body it was removed to Jona, and interred there with the respect due to his merit. The Prior's chamber, two semicircular arches, the pillars, the couples of several of the roofs afford specimens of the most beautiful Gothic architecture, in all the elegance of simplicity, without any of its fantastic ornaments. Near the abbey is an orchard of apple and pear trees, at least coeval with the last Monks; numbers lie prostrate; their venerable branches seem to have taken fresh roots, and were laden with fruit, beyond what could be expected from their antique look.

Near Forres, on the roadside, is a vast column, three feet ten inches broad, and one foot three inches thick: the height above ground is twenty-three feet; below, as it is said twelve or fifteen. On one side are numbers of rude figures of animals, and armed men, with colours flying: some of the men seemed bound like captives. On the opposite side was a cross, included in a circle, and raised a little above the surface of the stone. At the foot of the cross are two gigantic figures, and on one of the sides is some elegant fret-work.

This is called King Sueno's stone; and seems to be as Mr. Gordon† conjectures, erected by the Scots, in memory of the final retreat of the Danes: it is evidently not Danish, as some have asserted; the cross disproves the opinion, for that nation had not then received the light of christianity.

On a moor not far from Forres, Boethius, and Shakespear from him, places the rencountre of Macbeth and the three wayward sisters or witches. It was my fortune to meet with but one, which was somewhere not remote from the ruins of Kyn-Eden: she was of a species far more dangerous than these, but neither withered, nor wild in her attire, but so fair,

She look'd not like an inhabitant o' th' earth!

Boethius tells his story admirably well: but entirely confines it to the predictions of the three fatal sisters, which Shakespear has so finely copied in the IVth scene of the 1st act. The poet, in conformity to the belief of the times, calls them witches; in fact they were the Fates, the Valkyriæ‡ of the northern nations, Gunna, Rota, and Skulda, the handmaids of Odin, the arctic Mars, and styled the chusers of the slain, it being their office in battle to mark those devoted to death.

\* As I was informed, for I did not see this celebrated abbey.

† Itin. Septentr. 158.

‡ From Walur, signifying the slaughter in battle, and Kyria to obtain by choice: for their office, besides selecting out those that were to die in battle, was to conduct them to Valhalla, the paradise of the brave, the hall of Odin. Their numbers are different, some make them three, others twelve, others fourteen; are described as being very beautiful, covered with the feathers of the swans, and armed with spear and helmet. Vide Bartholinus de caus. contempt. mortis. 553, 554, & notæ vet. Stephani in Sax. Gramm. 88. & Toræus. p. 36.



We the reins to slaughter give,  
Ours to kill, and ours to spare;  
Spite of danger he shall live,  
(Weave the crimson web of war) \*.

Boethius, sensible of part of their business, calls them *Parcæ*: and Shakespear introduces them just going upon their employ,

When shall we three meet again  
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?  
When the hurly burly's done,  
When the battle's lost or won.

But all the fine incantations that succeed, are borrowed from the fanciful Diableries of old times, but sublimed, and purged from all that is ridiculous by the creative genius of the inimitable poet, of whom Dryden so justly speaks:

But Shakespear's magic cou'd not copied be,  
Within that circle none durst walk but he.

We laugh at the magic of others; but Shakespear's makes us tremble. The windy caps † of King Eric, and the vendible knots of wind of the Finland ‡ magicians appear infinitely ridiculous; but when our poet dresses up the same idea, how horrible is the storm he creates!

Though you untie the winds, and let them fight  
Against the churches; though the yesty waves  
Confound and swallow navigation up;  
Though bladed corn be lodged and trees blown down;  
Though castles topple on their warder's heads;  
Though palaces and pyramids do slope  
Their heads to their foundations; though the treasure  
Of nature's germins tumble all together,  
Even till destruction sicken, answer me  
To what I ask.

Lay at Forres, a very neat town, seated under some little hills, which are prettily divided. In the great street is a town-house with a handsome cupola, and at the end is an arched gateway, which has a good effect. On a hill west of the town are the poor remains of the castle, from whence is a fine view of a rich country, interspersed with groves, the bay of Findorn, a fine basin, almost round, with a narrow strait into it from the sea, and a melancholy prospect of the estate of Cowbin, in the parish of Dyke, now nearly overwhelmed with sand. This strange inundation is still in motion, but mostly in the time of a west wind. It moves along the surface with an even progression, but is stopped by water, after which it forms little hills: its motion is so quick, that a gentleman assured me he had seen an apple-tree so covered with it, in one season, as to leave only a few of the green leaves of the upper branches appearing above the surface. An estate of about 300l. per annum has been thus overwhelmed; and it is not long since the chimnies of the principal houses were to be seen: it began about eighty years ago, occasioned by the cutting down the trees, and pulling up the bent, or starwort, which

\* Gray.

† King Eric was a great magician, who by turning his cap, caused the wind to blow according to his mind.

‡ Solebant aliquando Finni, negotiatoribus in eorum littoribus contraria ventorum tempestate impeditis, ventum venalem exhibere, mercedeque oblata, tres nodos magicos non cassioticos loro constrictos eisdem reddere, eo servato moderamine et ubi primum dissolverint, ventos haberent placidos; ubi alterum, vehementiores; at ubi tertium laxaverint ita fævas tempestates se passuros, &c. Olaus Magnus de Gent. Sept. 97.

gave



gave occasion at last to the act 15th G. II. to prevent its farther ravages, by prohibiting the destruction of that plant.

A little N. E. of the bay of Findorn is a piece of land projecting into the sea, called Brugh or Burgh. It appears to have been the landing-place of the Danes in their destructive descents on the rich plains of Murray: it is fortified with fosses; and was well adapted to secure either their landing or their retreat.

Aug. 15. Cross the Findorn; land near a friable rock of whitish stone, much tinged with green, an indication of copper. The stone is burnt for lime. From an adjacent eminence is a picturesque view of Forres. About three miles farther is Tarnaway castle, the ancient seat of the Earls of Murray. The hall, called Raudolph's-hall, from its founder Earl Randolph, one of the great supporters of Robert Bruce, is timbered at top like Westminster-hall: its dimensions are 79 feet by 35, 10 inches, and seems a fit resort for barons and their vassals. In the rooms are some good heads: one of a youth, with a ribband of some order hanging from his neck. Sir William Balfour, with a black body to his vest, and brown sleeves, a gallant commander on the parliament's side in the civil wars, celebrated for his retreat with the body of horse from Lestwithiel in face of the king's army; but justly branded with ingratitude to his master, who by his favour to Sir William in the beginning of his reign, added to the popular discontents then arising. The Fair, or Bonny Earl of Murray, as he is commonly called, who was murdered, as supposed, on account of a jealousy James VI. entertained of a passion the queen had for him; at least such was the popular opinion, as appears from the old ballad on the occasion:

He was a braw gallant,  
And he played at the gluve\*;  
And the bonny Earl of Murray,  
Oh! he was the queen's love.

There are besides, the heads of his lady and daughter, all on wood, except that of the Earl. To the south side of the castle are large birch woods, abounding with stags and roes.

Continued my journey west of Auldearne: am now arrived again in the country where the Erse service is performed. Just beneath the church is the place where Montrose obtained a signal victory over the Covenanters, many of whose bodies lie in the church, with an inscription, importing, according to the cant of the time, that they died fighting for their religion and their king. I was told this anecdote of that hero: that he always carried with him a Cæsar's Commentaries, on whose margins were written, in Montrose's own hand, the generous sentiments of his heart, verses out of the Italian poets, expressing his contempt for every thing but glory.

Having a distant view of Nairn, a small town near the sea, on a river of the same name, the supposed tuæsis of Ptolemy. Ride through a rich corn country, mixed with deep and black Turberies, which shew the original state of the land, before the recent introduction of the improved method of agriculture. Reach Calder castle, or Cawdor, as Shakespear calls it, long the property of its thanes. The ancient part is a great

\* For glaive, an old word for a sword.

"Then furth he drew his trusty glaive,  
Quhyle thousands all around,  
Drawn frae their sheaths glanft in the sun,  
And loud the bougills found."

HAREYKNUTE.



square tower; but there is a large and more modern building annexed, with a draw-bridge.

The thanedom was transferred into the house of the Campbells by the theft of the heiress of Calder, when she was an infant, by the second Earl of Argyle. The Calders raised their clan, and endeavoured to bring back the child, but were defeated with great loss. The Earl carried off his prize, and married her to Sir John Campbell, his second son, sometime before the year 1510.

All the houses in these parts are castles, or at least defensible; for till the year 1745, the Highlanders made their inroads, and drove away the cattle of their defenceless neighbours. There are said to exist some very old marriage articles of the daughter of a chieftain, in which the daughter promises for her portion two hundred Scots marks, and the half of a Michaelmas moon, i. e. half the plunder, when the nights grew dark enough to make their excursions. There is likewise in being a letter from Sir Ewin Cameron to a chief in the neighbourhood of the county of Murray, wherein he regrets the mischief that had happened between their people (many having been killed on both sides), as his clan had no intention of falling on the Grants when it left Lochaber, but only to make an incursion into Murray-land, where every man was free to take his prey. This strange notion seems to have arisen from the county having been for so many ages a Pictish country, and after that under the dominion of the Danes, and during both periods in a state of perpetual warfare with the Scots and western Highlanders, who (long after the change of circumstances) seem quite to have forgot that it was any crime to rob their neighbours of Murray.

Rode into the woods of Calder, in which were very fine birch trees and alders, some oak, great broom, and juniper, which gave shelter to the roes. Deep rocky glens, darkened with trees, bound each side of the wood: one has a great torrent roaring at its distant bottom, called the brook of Achneem: it well merits the name of Acheron, being a most fit scene for witches to celebrate their nocturnal rites in.

Observed on a pillar of the door of Calder church a joug, i. e. an iron yoke, or ring, fastened to a chain, which was in former times put round the necks of delinquents against the rules of the church, who were left there exposed to shame during the time of divine service, and was also used as a punishment for defamation, small thefts, &c.; but these penalties are now happily abolished. The clergy of Scotland, the most decent and consistent in their conduct of any set of men I ever met with of their order, are at present much changed from the furious, illiterate, and enthusiastic teachers of the old times, and have taken up the mild method of persuasion, instead of the cruel discipline of corporal punishments. Science almost universally flourishes among them; and their discourse is not less improving than the table they entertain the stranger at is decent and hospitable. Few, very few of them permit the bewitchery of dissipation to lay hold of them, notwithstanding they allow all the innocent pleasures of others, which, though not criminal in the layman, they know must bring the taint of levity on the churchman. They never sink their characters by midnight brawls, by mixing with the gaming world, either in cards, cocking, or horse-races, but preserve with a narrow income a dignity too often lost among their brethren south of the Tweed\*.

The

\* The APOLOGY.

FRIEND.—“ You, you in fiery purgat’ry must stay,  
 “ Till gall and ink and dirt of scribbling day  
 “ In purifying flames are purg’d away.

TRAVELLER.



The Scotch livings are from 40*l.* per annum to 150*l.* per annum; a decent house is built for the minister on the glebe, and about six acres of land annexed. The church allows no curate, except in case of sickness or age, when one, under the title of helper, is appointed; or, where the livings are very extensive, a missionary or assistant is allotted; but sine-cures, or sine-cured preferments, never disgrace the church of our sister kingdom. The widows and children are of late provided for out of a fund established by two acts, 17th and 22d Geo. II. \* This fund, amounting now to 66,000*l.* was formed by the contributions of the clergy, whose widows receive annuities from 10*l.* to 25*l.* according to what their husbands had advanced.

Cross the Nairn; the stream inconsiderable, except in floods. On the west is Kilravoch Castle, and that of Dalcrofs. Keep due north, along the military road from Perth; pass along a narrow piece of land, projecting far into the Firth, called Ardersier, forming a strait scarce a mile over, between this county and that of Cromartie†. At the end of this point is Fort George, a small but strong and regular fortress, built since 1745, as a *place d'armes*: it is kept in excellent order, but, by reason of the happy change of the times, seemed almost deserted: the officers' apartments and barracks are very handsome, and form several regular and good streets. According to a sketch I

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TRAVELLER.—“ O trust me, dear D —, I ne’er would offend  
 “ One pious divine, one virtuous friend,  
 “ From nature alone are my characters drawn;  
 “ From little Bob Jerom to bishops in lawn;”  
 O trust me, dear friend, I never did think on  
 The holies who dwell near th’ o’erlooker of Lincoln.  
 Not a prelate or priest did e’er haunt my slumber,  
 Who instructively teach betwixt Tweeda and Humber;  
 Nor in south, east, or west do I stigmatise any,  
 Who stick to their texts, and those are the many.  
 But when crossing and jostling come queer men of God;  
 In rusty brown coats and waistcoats of plaid;  
 With greasy cropt hair, and hats cut to the quick,  
 Tight white leathern breeches, and smart little stick;  
 Clear of all that is sacred from bowsprit to poop, fir;  
 Who prophane like a pagan, and swear like a trooper;  
 Who shine in the cock-pit, on turf, and in stable,  
 And are the prime bucks and arch wags of each table;  
 Who if they e’er deign to thump drum ecclesiastic,  
 Spout new-fangled doctrine enough to make man sick;  
 And lay down as gospel, but not from their bibles,  
 That good-natur’d vices are nothing but foibles;  
 And vice are refining till vice is no more,  
 From taking a bottle to taking a ———.  
 Then if in these days such apostates appear,  
 (For such I am told appear there and here)  
 O pardon, dear friend, a well-meaning zeal,  
 Too unguardedly telling the scandal I feel:  
 It touches not you, let the galled jades winch;  
 Sound in morals and doctrine you never will flinch.  
 O friend of past youth, let me think of the fable  
 Oft told with chaste mirth at your innocent table,  
 When instructively kind, wisdom’s rules you run o’er,  
 Reluctant I leave you, insatiate for more;  
 So, blest be the day, that my joys will restore.” }

\* An account of the government of the church of Scotland was communicated to me by the Reverend Mr. Brodie, the late worthy minister of Calder. Vide Appendix.

† Between which plies a ferry-boat.



obtained to refresh my memory, it appears to be of an octagonal form; to have an ample esplanade; casemates on each side bomb-proof, the parade in the centre, and a chapel in the rear.

Lay at Campbeltown, a place consisting of numbers of very mean houses, owing its rise and support to the neighbouring fort.

Aug. 16. Passed over Colloden-moor, the place that North Britain owes its present prosperity to, by the victory of April 16, 1746. On the side of the moor, are the great plantations of Culloden-house, the seat of the late Duncan Forbes, a warm and active friend to the House of Hanover, who spent great sums in its service, and by his influence, and by his persuasions, diverted numbers from joining in rebellion; at length he met with a cool return, for his attempt to sheath after victory, the unsatiated sword. But let a veil be flung over a few excesses consequential of a day, productive of so much benefit to the united kingdoms.

The young adventurer lodged here the evening preceding the battle; distracted with the aversion of the common men to discipline, and the dissensions among his officers, even when they were at the brink of destruction, he seemed incapable of acting, could be scarcely persuaded to mount his horse, never came into the action, as might have been expected from a prince who had his last stake to play, but fled ingloriously to the old traitor Lovat \*, who, I was told, did execrate him to the person who informed him that he was approaching as a fugitive: foreseeing his own ruin as the consequence †.

The Duke of Cumberland, when he found that the barges of the fleet attended near the shore for the safety of his person, in case of a defeat, immediately ordered them away, to convince his men of the resolution he had taken of either conquering or perishing with them.

The battle was fought contrary to the advice of some of the most sensible men in the rebel army, who advised the retiring into the fastnesses beyond the Nefs, the breaking down the bridge of Inverness, and defending themselves amidst the mountains. They politically urged that England was engaged in bloody wars foreign and domestic, that it could at that time ill spare its troops; and that the Government might, from that consideration, be induced to grant to the insurgents their lives and fortunes, on condition they laid down their arms. They were sensible that their cause was desperate, and that their ally was faithless; yet knew it might be long before they could be entirely subdued; therefore drew hopes from the sad necessity of our affairs at that season: but this rational plan was superseded by the favourite faction of the army, to whose guidance the unfortunate Adventurer had resigned himself.

After descending from the moor, got into a well cultivated country; and, after riding some time under low but pleasant hills, not far from the sea, reach

Inverness, finely seated on a plain, between the Firth of Murray, and the river Nefs: the first, from the narrow strait of Ardersier, instantly widens into a fine bay, and

\* His Lordship was at that time expecting the event of the battle, when a person came in and informed him, that he saw the Prince riding full speed, and alone.

† Regard to impartiality obliges me to give the following account very recently communicated to me, relating to the station of the chief on this important day; and that by an eye-witness:

The Scotch army was drawn up in a single line; behind, at about 500 paces distance, was a corps de reserve, with which was the Adventurer, a place of seeming security, from whence he issued his orders. His usual dress was that of the Highlands, but this day he appeared in a brown coat, with a loose great coat over it, and an ordinary hat, such as countrymen wear, on his head. Remote as this place was from the spot where the trifling action was, a servant of his was killed by an accidental shot. It is well known how short the conflict was: and the moment he saw his right wing give way, he fled with the utmost precipitation, and without a single attendant, till he was joined by a few other fugitives.



again as suddenly contracts opposite Inverness, at the ferry of Kessock, the pass into Ross-shire. The town is large and well built, very populous, and contains about eleven thousand inhabitants. This being the last of any note in North Britain, is the winter residence of many of the neighbouring gentry: and the present emporium, as it was the antient, of the north of Scotland. Ships of five or six hundred tons can ride at the lowest ebb within a mile of the town; and at high tides, vessels of two hundred tons can come up to the quay. The present imports are chiefly groceries, haberdasheries, hardware, and other necessaries from London: and of late from six to eight hundred hogsheads of porter are annually brought in. The exports are chiefly salmon, those of the Ness being esteemed of more exquisite flavour than any other. Herrings, of an inferior kind, taken in the Firth from August to March. The manufactured exports are considerable in cordage and sacking. Of late years, the linen manufacture of the place saves it above three thousand pounds a year, which used to go into Holland for that article. The commerce of this place was at its height a century or two ago, when it engrossed the exports of corn, salmon, and herrings, and had besides a great trade in cured codfish, now lost; and in those times very large fortunes were made here.

The opulence of this town has often made it the object of plunder to the Lords of the Isles and their dependents. It suffered in particular in 1222, from one Gillispie; in 1429, from Alexander Lord of the Isles; and even so late did the antient manners prevail, that a head of a western clan, in the latter end of the last century, threatened the place with fire and sword, if they did not pay a large contribution, and present him with a scarlet suit laced; all which was complied with.

On the north stood Oliver's fort, a pentagon, whose form remains to be traced only by the ditches and banks. He formed it with stones purloined from the neighbouring religious houses. At present there is a very considerable rope-walk near it.

On an eminence, south of the town, is old Fort St. George, which was taken and blown up by the rebels in 1746. It had been the antient castle converted by General Wade into barracks. According to Boethius, Duncan was murdered here by Macbeth: but according to Fordun, near Elgin\*. This castle used to be the residence of the Court, whenever the Scottish Princes were called to quell the insurrections of the turbulent clans. Old people still remember magnificent apartments embellished with stucco busts and paintings. The view from hence is charming of the Firth, the passage of Kessock, the river Ness, the strange shaped hill of Tomman heurich, and various groupes of distant mountains.

The Tomman is of an oblong form, broad at the base, and sloping on all sides towards the top; so that it looks like a ship with its keel upwards. Its sides, and part of the neighbouring plains, are planted, so it is both an agreeable walk and a fine object. It is perfectly detached from any other hill; and if it was not for its great size, might pass † for a work of art. The view from it is such, that no traveller will think his labour lost, after gaining the summit.

At Inverness, and I believe at other towns in Scotland, is an officer, called Dean of the Guild, who, assisted by a council, superintends the markets, regulates the ‡ price

\* Annals of Scotland. 1.

† Its length at top about 300 yards; I neglected measuring the base or the height, which are both considerable; the breadth of the top only 20 yards.

‡ Beef, (22 ounces to the pound) 2d to 4d. Mutton, 2d. to 3d. Veal, 3d. to 5d. Pork, 2d. to 3d. Chickens, 3d. to 4d. a couple. Fowl, 4d. to 6d. a piece. Goose, 12d. to 14d. Ducks, 1s. a couple. Eggs, seven a penny. Salmon, of which there are several great fisheries, 1d. and 1d. halfpenny per pound.



of provisions; and if any house falls down, and the owner lets it lie in ruins for three years, the Dean can absolutely dispose of the ground to the best bidder.

In this town was a house of Dominicans, founded in 1233 by Alexander II.; and in Dalrymple's Collection there is mention of a nunnery.

In the Church-street is a hospital with a capital of 3000*l.* the interest of which is distributed among the indigent inhabitants of the town. In this house is a library of 1400 volumes of both antient and modern books. The founder was Mr. Robert Baillie, a minister in this town; but the principal benefactor was Dr. James Frazer, secretary to the Chelsea Hospital.

Cross the Nefs on a bridge of seven arches, above which the tide flows for about a mile. A small toll is collected here, which brings to the town about 60*l.* a year.

Proceed north; have a fine view of the Firth, which now widens again from Keffock into a large bay some miles in length. The hills slope down to the water-side, and are finely cultivated; but the distant prospect is of rugged mountains of a stupendous height, as if created as guards to the rest of the island from the fury of the boisterous north.

Ride close to the water-edge through woods of alder; pass near several houses of the the Frasers, and reach

Castle Dunie, the site of the house of their chieftain Lord Lovat. The barony from which he took his title came into the family by the marriage of Sir Simon Fraser, a little before the year 1300, with the heiress of Lord Bisset, a nobleman of great possession in these parts.

The old house, which was very mean, was burnt down in 1746; but a neat box, the residence of the hospitable factor, is built in its stead on a high bank well wooded, over the pretty river Bewley, or Beaulieu. - The country for a certain circuit, is fertile, well cultivated and smiling. The bulk of Lord Lovat's estate was in these parts; the rest, to the amount of 500*l.* per annum, in Stratherick. He was a potent chieftain, and could raise about 1000 men: but I found his neighbours spoke as unfavourably of him, as his enemies did in the most distant parts of the kingdom. Legislature has given the most honourable testimony to the merit of the son, by restoring, in 1774, the forfeited fortunes of the father. No patent for nobility conveyed greater glory to any one, than the preamble of the act has done to this gentleman. His father's property had been one of the annexed estates, i. e. settled unalienably on the Crown, as all the forfeited fortunes in the Highlands are: the whole value of which brought in at that time about 6000*l.* per annum, and those in the Lowlands about the same sum; so that the power and interest of a poor twelve thousand per annum, terrified and nearly subverted the constitution of these powerful kingdoms.

The profits of these estates are lodged in the hands of trustees, who apply their revenue for the founding of schools for the instruction of children in spinning; wheels are given away to poor families, and flax-seed to farmers. Some money is given in aid of the roads, and towards building bridges over the torrents; by which means a ready intercourse is made to parts before inaccessible to strangers\*. And in 1753, a large sum was spent on an Utopian project of establishing colonies (on the forfeited estates) of disbanded soldiers and sailors: comfortable houses were built for them, land and money given, and some lent; but the success by no means answered the intentions of the projectors.

Aug. 17. Ford the Bewley, where a salmon fishery, belonging to the Lovat estate, rents at 120*l.* per annum. The Erse name of this river is Faror, and the vale it runs

\* The factors, or agents of these estates, are also allowed all the money they expend in planting.



through, Glen-strath-farar. It is probable that this was its antient name, and that the Varar *Æstuarium* of Ptolemy was derived from it, the F being changed into V. The country on this side the river is called Leirnamonach \*, or the monk's land, having formerly been the property of the priory of Bewley; and the opposite side bears the name of Airds, or the heights. Pass by some excellent farms, well inclosed, improved, and planted: the land produces wheat and other corn. Much cattle are bred in these parts, and there are several linen manufactures.

Ford the Conan to Castle Braan, the seat of the Earl of Seaforth; a good house, pleasantly situated on the side of a hill; commands a view of a large plain, and to the west, a wild prospect of broken and lofty mountains.

There is here a fine full length of Mary Stuart, with this inscription: *Maria D. G. Scotia piissima Regina. Franciæ Dotaria. Anno Ætatis Regni 38. 1580.* Her dress is black, with a ruff, cap, handkerchief, and a white veil down to the ground, beads, and prayer-book, and a cross hanging from her neck; her hair dark brown, her face handsome; and, considering the difference of years, so much resembling her portrait by Zuccherò, in Chiswick-house, as to leave little doubt as to the originality of the last.

A small half-length on wood of Henry Darnly, inscribed *Henricus Stuardus Dominus Darnly, Æt. IX. M. D. LV.* dressed in black, with a sword. It is the figure of a pretty boy.

A fine portrait of Cardinal Richlieu. General Monk, in a buff coat. Head of Sir George Mackenzie. The Earl of Seaforth, called from his size, Kenneth More. Frances Countess of Seaforth, daughter of William Marquis of Powis, in her robes, with a tawny moor offering her a coronet. Roger Palmer Earl of Castlemaine, distinguished by his lady, Barbara Duchess of Cleveland; and by his simple embassy to a discerning Pope from that bigotted Prince James II.

Near the house are some very fine oaks, and horse-chestnuts; in the garden, Turkey apricots, orange nectarines, and a small soft peach, ripe; other peaches, nectarines, and green gages, far from ripe.

Pass through Dingwall, a small town, the capital of Ross-shire, situated near the head of the Firth of Cromartie: the Highlanders call it Inner-Feorain, Feoran being the name of the river that runs near it into the Firth. An antient cross, and an obelisk over the burying-place of the Earls of Cromartie's family, were all I saw remarkable in it. In the year 1400, Dingwall had its castle, subject to Donald, Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross. After that Regulus was weakened by the battle of Harlaw, his territories were invaded; and this castle reduced to the power of the crown of Scotland, by the Duke of Albany.

Ride along a very good road cut on the side of a hill, with the country very well cultivated above and below, with several small woods interspersed near the water's edge. There is a fine view of almost the whole bay, the most capacious and secure of any in Great Britain; its whole navy might lay there with ease, and ships of 200 tons may sail up above two thirds of its length, which extends near thirty English miles from the Sutters † of Cromartie to a small distance beyond Dingwall: the entrance is narrow; the projecting hills defend this fine bay from all winds, so it justly merits the name given it of *Portus salutis*.

Foules, the seat of Sir Henry Monro, lies about a mile from the Firth, near vast plantations on the flats, as well as on the hills. Those on the hills are six miles in

\* Leir, or Lether, land that lies on the side of a river or branch of the sea, and Monach, a monk.

† Sutters, or Shooters, two hills that form its entrance, projecting considerably into the water.



length, and in a very flourishing state. On the back of these are extensive vallies full of oats bounded by mountains, which here, as well as in the Highlands in general, run from east to west. Sir Henry holds a forest from the crown by a very whimsical tenure, that of delivering a snow-ball on any day of the year that it is demanded; and he seems to be in no danger of forfeiting his right by failure of the quit-rent: for snow lies in form of a glaciere in the chasms of Benwewish, a neighbouring mountain, throughout the year.

Aug. 18. Continue my journey along the low country, which is rich and well cultivated.

Pafs near Invergordon \*, a handsome house, amidst fine plantations. Near it is the narrowest part of the Firth, and a ferry into the shire of Cromartie, now a country almost destitute of trees; yet, in the time of James V. was covered with timber, and overrun with wolves †.

Near the summit of the hill, between the Firths of Cromartie and Dornoch, is Ballinagouan, the seat of a gentleman, who has most successfully converted his sword into a ploughshare; who, after a series of disinterested services to his country, by clearing the seas of privateers, the most unprofitable of captures, has applied himself to arts not less deserving of its thanks. He is the best farmer and the greatest planter in the country: his wheat and his turneps shew the one, his plantations of a million of pines each year the other ‡. It was with great satisfaction that I observed characters of this kind very frequent in North Britain; for, during the interval of peace, every officer of any patrimony was fond of retiring to it, assumed the farmer without flinging off the gentleman, enjoyed rural quiet; yet ready to undergo the fatigues of war the moment his country claimed his services.

About two miles below Ballinagouan is a melancholy instance of a reverse of conduct: the ruins of New Tarbat, once the magnificent seat of an unhappy nobleman, who plunged into a most ungrateful rebellion, destructive to himself and family. The tenants, who seem to inhabit gratis, are forced to shelter themselves from the weather in the very lowest apartments, while swallows make their nests in the bold stucco of some of the upper.

While I was in this county, I heard a singular but well-attested relation of a woman disordered in her health, who fasted for a supernatural space of time; but the length of the narrative obliges me to fling it into the Appendix.

Ride along a tedious black moor to Tain, a small town on the Firth of Dornoch, distinguished for nothing but its large square tower, decorated with five small spires. Here was also a collegiate church, founded in 1481 by Thomas bishop of Ross. Captain Richard Franks, an honest cavalier, who during the usurpation made an angling peregrination from the banks of the Trent to John a Groat's house, calls Tain "as exemplary, as any place for justice, that never uses gibbet or halter to hang a man, but

\* At Culraen, three miles from this place, is found, two feet beneath the surface, a stratum of white soapy marle filled with shells, and is much used as a manure.

† These animals have been long extinct in North Britain, notwithstanding M. de Buffon asserts the contrary. There are many antient laws for their extirpation: that of James I. parlem. 7. is the most remarkable: "The schiriffs and barons suld hunt the wolf four or thrie times in the year, betwixt St. Mark's day and Lambes, quhich is the time of their quhelses, and all tenents fall rise with them under paine of ane wadder."

‡ Pine, or Scotch fir seed, as it is called, sells from four to six shillings per pound. Rents are payed here in kind: the landlord either contracts to supply the forts with the produce of the land, or sells it to the merchant, who comes for it. The price of labour is 6d. per day to the men, 3d. to the women.



sacks all their malefactors, so swims them to their graves \*. This method of punishment was not peculiar to this, for in old times women convicted of capital offences were drowned in the river Gestling, near Sandwich †. The place appeared very gay at this time; for all the gaudy finery of a little fair was displayed in the shew of hardware, printed linens, and ribbands. Kept along the shore for about two miles through an open corn country; and crossing the great ferry, in breadth near two miles, through a rapid tide, and in a bad boat, land in the county of Sutherland, Cattu of the Highlanders, and in less than an hour reach its capital.

Dornoch, a small town, half in ruins, once the residence of the bishops of Caithness, and, like Durham, the seat of ecclesiastics: many of the houses still are called after the titles of those that inhabited them: the bishop lodged in the castle: the dean's house is at present the inn. The cathedral was in form of a cross, built by Gilbert Moray, who died bishop of Caithness in 1245: it is now a ruin, except part, which is the present church ‡. On the doors and window-shutters were painted (as is common in many parts of North Britain) white tadpole-like figures on a black ground, designed to express the tears of the country for the loss of any person of distinction. These were occasioned by the affecting end of that amiable pair, the young Earl and Countess of Sutherland, who were lovely in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided, for their happiness was interrupted by a very short separation: *sanè ubi idem et maximus et honestissimus amor est, aliquando præstat morte jungi, quam vita distrabi* §.

Ride on a plain not far from the sea; pass by a small cross, called the Thane's, erected in memory of the battle of Embo in 1259, between William Earl of Sutherland and the Danes, who were overthrown, and their general slain, at this place; and not far from thence the spot where an unhappy creature had been burnt, if I mistake not, in June 1727, for the imaginary crime of witchcraft ||.

Cross a very narrow inlet to a small bay at Portheg, or the little ferry, in a boat as dangerous as the last; for horses can neither get in or out without great risque, from the vast height of the sides and their want of slips. Keep along the shore, pass by the small village of Golspie, and reach

Dunrobin castle, the ancient seat of the earls of Sutherland, founded about the year 1100 by Robert, or Robin, second Earl of Sutherland, situated near the sea, and as the word dun imports, on a round hill. The few paintings here are, an Earl of Murray,

\* Northern Memoirs, &c. by Richard Franks, Philanthropus. London, 1694.

† Harris's Kent, 271.

‡ Sir Patrick Murray founded here in 1271 a convent of Mathurines.

§ Where a mutual and most ardent and most virtuous affection reigns, it is sometimes preferable to be united by death, than torn from each other by life.

|| This is the last instance of these frantic executions in the north of Scotland, as that in the south was at Paisley in 1697 where, among others, a woman, young and handsome, suffered, with a reply to her enquiring friends worthy a Roman matron: being asked why she did not make a better defence on her trial, answered, "My persecutors have destroyed my honour, and my life is not now worth the pains of defending." The last instance of national credulity on this head was the story of the witches of Therfo, who tormenting for a long time an honest fellow under the usual form of cats, at last provoked him so, that one night he put them to flight with his broad sword, and cut off the leg of one less nimble than the rest; on his taking it up, to his amazement he found it belonged to a female of his own species, and next morning discovered the owner, an old hag, with only the companion leg to this. The horrors of the tale were considerably abated in the place I heard it, by an unlucky enquiry made by one in company, viz. In what part would the old woman have suffered, had the man cut off the cat's tail? But these relations of almost obsolete superstitions, must never be thought a reflection on this country, as long as any memory remains of the tragical end of the poor people at Tring, who, within a few miles of our capital, in 1751, fell a sacrifice to the belief of the common people in witches; or of that ridiculous imposture in the capital itself, in 1762, of the Cock-lane ghost, which found credit with all ranks of people.



an old man, on wood. His son and two daughters, by Co. G. 1628. A fine full length of Charles I. Angus Williamson, a hero of the clan Chattan, who rescued the Sutherlands in the time of distress. A very singular picture of the Duke of Alva in council, with a cardinal by his side, who puts a pair of bellows blown by the devil into his ear: the duke has a chain in one hand fixed to the necks of the kneeling Flemings, in the other he shews them a paper of recantation for them to sign; behind whom are the reformed clergy. The cardinal is the noted Anthony Perrenot, cardinal de Granville, secretary to Margaret of Austria, duchess dowager of Savoy, governess of the Netherlands, and who was held to be the author, advancer, and nourisher \* of the troubles of those countries; and who, on his recall into Spain, was supposed to be the great promoter of the cruelties exercised afterwards by the Duke of Alva, the successor of his mistress.

The demesne is kept in excellent order; and I saw here (lat. 58.) a very fine field of wheat, which would be ripe about the middle of next month.

This was the most northern wheat which had been sown this year in North Britain.

Sutherland is a country abounding in cattle, and sends out annually 2500 head, which fold about this time (lean) from 2l. 10s. to 3l. per head. These are very frequently without horns, and both they and the horses are very small. Stags abound in the hills, there being reckoned not less than 1600 on the Sutherland estate, which, in fact, is the greatest part of the county. Besides these are roes, grouse, black game, and ptarmigans in plenty, and during winter multitudes of water-fowl on the coast.

Not far from Dunrobin is a very entire piece of antiquity, of the kind known in Scotland by the name of the Pictish castles, and called here Cairn Lia', or a grey tower: that I saw was about 130 yards in circumference, round, and raised so high above the ground as to form a considerable mount: on the top was an extensive but shallow hollow: within were three low concentric galleries, at small distances from each other, covered with large stones; and the side-walls were about four or five feet thick, rudely made. There are generally three of these places near each other, so that each may be seen from any one. Buildings of this kind are very frequent along this coast, that of Caithness, and of Strathnaver. Others agreeing in external form are common in the Hebrides, but differ in their internal construction. In the islands they are attributed to the Danes †; here to the Picts. Possibly each nation might have the same mode of building with some variation, for I am told that some are to be seen in places where the Danes never penetrated: they were probably the defensible habitations of the times. I must withdraw my opinion of their having been the *suffugia hiemi, aut receptacula frugibus*, like those of the ancient Germans. Such are not uncommon in Scotland, but of a form very different from these.

Kept along the shore northward. About a mile from the castle are some small cliffs of free-stone; in one is Strath-Leven Cove, an artificial cave, with seats, and several shallow circular hollows cut within-side, once the retreat of a devout hermit. At some distance, and near the sea, are small strata of coal three feet thick, dipping to the east, and found at the depth of about 14 to 24 yards. Sometimes it takes fire on the bank, which has given it so ill a name, that people are very fearful of taking it aboard their ships. I am surprised that they will not run the risk, considering the miraculous quality it possesses of driving away rats wherever it is used. This is believed by the good

\* Grimstone's Hist. Netherlands, 344. 349.

† An enquiry is at this time making, by means of a correspondence in Copenhagen, whether any such edifices exist at present in the Danish dominions, and what was their supposed use. The result will be given hereafter.



people of Sutherland, who assured me seriously of its virtues; and they farther attributed the same to the earth and very heath of their county. They add too, that not a rat will live with them, notwithstanding they swarm in the adjacent shires of Ross and Caithness\*.

In Assynt, a part of this county, far west of Dunrobin, are large strata of a beautiful white marble, equal, as I was told, to the Parian. I afterwards saw some of the same kind found at Glen-avon, in Badenoch.

Cross the water of Brora, which runs along a deep chasm, over which is a handsome bridge of a single arch. Near is a cave, where the salmon-fishers lie during the season: the roof is pierced through to the surface, which serves for a natural chimney. They take annually about ten or twelve lasts of fish. In a bank not far from the bridge are found abundance of belemnites.

The country is very sandy, and the arable, or cultivated part, very narrow, confined on the east by the sea, on the west by lofty black mountains, which approach nearer and nearer to the water, till at length they project into it at the great promontory, the Ord of Caithness, the boundary between that county and Sutherland; after which the coast is bold and rocky, except a small bay or two.

Ford the very dangerous water of Helmsdale, rapid and full of great stones. Very large lampries are found here, fish detested by the Highlanders. Beneath the stones on the sea-shore are abundance of spotted and viviparous blennies, father-lashers, and whistle-fish. Mackarel appear here in this month, but without their roes. I thought them far inferior in goodness to those of our country. Much salmon taken here.

The grey water-wagtail quits this country in winter; with us it resides:

Dined at the little village of Helmsdale; near which are the ruins of a square tower built by Margaret Countess of Sutherland, in the fifteenth century.

Passed through a rich vale full of good barley and oats, between the hill of Helmsdale and the Ord. Ascend that vast promontory on a good road; winding up its steep sides, and impending in many parts over the sea, infinitely more high and horrible than our Penmaen Mawr. Beneath were numbers of seals floating on the waves; with sea-fowl swimming among them with great security. Observed projecting from one part of the Ord, far below, a small and verdant hill, on which, tradition says, was fought a single combat between an Earl of Caithness and a son of the Earl of Sutherland, while their two armies looked on from above: the first was killed on the spot, the last died of his wounds.

The Ord was the ancient division of Caithness, when Sutherland was reckoned part. The distinction at that time was *Cathenesia cis et ultra montem*. Sutherland was styled then Catau, as being more mountainous: the modern Caithness Guaelav, as being more plain †.

\* Some years ago I bought of the monks, at the great Benedictine convent at Augsborg, some papers of St. Ulrick's earth, which I was assured by Lutheran and Papist had the same rat-expelling quality with that above-mentioned; but whether for want of due faith, or neglect of attending to the forms of the printed prescriptions given with them, (here copied at full length, I know not, but the audacious animals haunt my house in spite of it:—"Venerabiles reliquæ de terra sepulchrali, sive de resoluta deintus carne S. Udalrici conf. & episcopi Augustani; quæ si honorificè ad instar aliarum reliquiarum habeantur, & ad dei laudem, divique præfulis honorem, pium quoddam opus, v. g. oratio, jejunium, elemosyna, &c. præstetur, mirum est, qua polleant efficaciâ, ad proscribendos præsertim è domibus, & vicinia gliræ, qui subillere minime valent ubicunque similes reliquæ cum fiducia fuerint appensæ vel asservatæ. Idque ex speciali prærogativa, quam omnipotens Deus insignia tanti patroni merita perpetuo miraculo statuit condecorare."

† Sir David Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, 135.



Beneath this cape are immense caves, the resort of seals\* and sea-fowls: the sides and top are chiefly covered with heath and morassy earth, which give it a black and melancholy look. Ride over some boggy and dreary moors. Pass through Aufdale, a little highland village. Descend into a deep bottom covered with alders, willows, birch, and wicken-trees, to Langwall, the seat of Mr. Sutherland, who gave me a very hospitable reception. The country abounds with stags and roes, and all sorts of feathered game, while the adjacent river brings salmon almost up to his door.

I enquired here after the Lavellan †, which, from description, I suspect to be the water shrew-mouse. The country people have a notion that it is noxious to cattle: they preserve the skin, and, as a cure for their sick beasts, give them the water in which it has been dipt. I believe it to be the same animal which in Sutherland is called the water-mole.

Aug. 20. Proceed on my journey: Pass near Berridale. On a peninsula jutting into the sea is the ruin of the castle; between it and the land is a deep chasm, where there had been a draw-bridge. On this castle are stationed, in the salmon season, persons who are to observe the approach of the fish to the fresh waters.

Near Clathron is a druidical stone set an end, and of a most stupendous size.

Saw Dunbeth ‡, the seat of Mr. Sinclair, situated on a narrow neck of land; on one side impending over the sea, on the other, over a deep chasm, into which the tide flows: a small narrow garden, with billows beating on three sides, fills the rest of the land between the house and the water. Numbers of old castles in this county have the same tremendous situation. On the west side of this house are a few rows of tolerable trees; the only trees that I saw from Berridale to the extremity of Caithness §. On the right inland are the small remains of Knackennan Castle, built by an Earl of Caithness. From these parts is a full view of the lofty naked mountain of Scaraban and Morven. The last ptarmigans in Scotland are on the first; the last roes about Langwall, there being neither high hills nor woods beyond. All the county on this side, from Dunbeth to the extremity, is flat, or at least very seldom interrupted with hills, and those low, but the coasts rocky, and composed of stupendous cliffs.

Refreshed our horses at a little inn at the hamlet of Clythe, not far from the headland, called Clytheness. Reach Thrumster, a seat of Mr. Sinclair's. It is observable, that the names of places in this county often terminate in ter and dale, which favors of Danish origin.

The Sinclairs are very numerous, and possess considerable fortunes in these parts; but Boethius says, that they, the Fraziers, Campbells, Boswells, and many others, came originally from France.

August 21st, pass through Wick, a small borough town with some good houses, seated on a river within reach of the tide; and at a distance lies an old tower, called Lord Oliphant's castle. In this town lives a weaver who weaves a shirt, with buttons and button holes entire without any seam, or the least use of the needle: but it is feared that he will scarce find any benefit from his ingenuity, as he cannot afford his labour under five pounds a shirt. Somewhat farther, close to the sea, is Achringal tower, the

\* During spring great quantities of lump fish resort here, and are the prey of the seals, as appears from the numbers of their skins, which at that season float ashore. The seals, at certain times, seem visited with a great mortality; for at those times multitudes of them are seen dead in the water.

† Sibbald's Hist. Scotland. Br. Zool. I. 33.

‡ This castle was taken and garrisoned by the Marquis of Montrose in 1650, immediately preceding his final defeat. Whitelock, 454.

§ But vast quantity of subterraneous timber in all the moors. Near Dunbeth is an entire Picts castle, with the hollow in the top, and is called the Bourg of Dunbeth.



seat of Sir William Dunbar. Ride over the Links of Keith, on the side of Sinclair bay. These were once a morass, now covered with sand, finely turfed over; so in this instance the land has been obliged by the instability of the sand. The old castle of Keils is seated on a rock, with a good house of the same name near it.

Near Frefwick castle the cliffs are very lofty: the strata that compose them lie quite horizontally in such thin and regular layers, and so often intersected by fissures, as to appear like masonry. Beneath are great insulated columns, called here Stacks, composed of the same sort of natural masonry as the cliffs; many of them are hollowed quite through, so as to form most magnificent arches, which the sea rushes through with vast noise and impetuosity, affording a most august piece of scenery to such who are steady enough to survey it from the narrow and almost impending paths.

Frefwick castle is seated on a narrow rock projecting into the sea, with just room enough for it to stand on: the access to it while the draw-bridge was in being, was over a deep chasm cut through the little isthmus that connected it to the main land. These dreadful situations are strongly expressive of the jealous and wretched condition of the tyrant owners. It is said that a nobleman of the name of Suenus Asteilf inhabited this castle about the year 1155.

After riding near Frefwick bay, the second sandy bay in the county, pass over a very bad morass, and after a few miles travel arrive at Dungby bay \* a low tract, consisting of oat-lands and grazing land: the ultima thule of Sir Robert Sibbald, whose description it fully answers in this particular.

*Quam juxta infames scopuli, et petrosa vorago  
Asperat undisonis saxa pudenda vadis †.*

The beach is a collection of fragments of shells; beneath which are vast broken rocks, some sunk, others apparent, running into the sea never pacific. The contrary tides and currents form here a most tremendous contest; yet, by the skilfulness of the people, are passed with great safety in the narrow little boats I saw lying on the shore.

The points of this bay are Dungby head and St. John's head, stretching out into the sea to the east and west, forming a pair of horns; from the resemblance to which it should seem that this country was antiently styled Cornana.

From hence is a full view of several of the Orkney islands, such as Flota, Waes, Ronaldsa, Swanna, to the west the Skerries, and within two miles of land Stroma, famous for its natural mummies, or the entire and uncorrupted bodies of persons who had been dead sixty years. I was informed that they were very light, had a flexibility in their limbs, and were of a dusky colour †. This isle is fertile in corn, is inhabited by above thirty families, who know not the use of a plough, but dig every part of their corn land.

Dine at the good minister's of Cannelby. On my return saw at a distance the Stacks of Dungby, a vast insulated rock, over-topping the land, and appearing like a great tower.

Passed near the seat of a gentleman not long deceased; the last who was believed to be possessed of the second sight. Originally he made use of the pretence, in order to render himself more respectable with his clan; but at length, in spite of fine abilities,

\* John-a Groat's house is now known only by name. The proper name of the bay is Duncan's.

† Quoted by Sir Robert from the *Iter Balticum* of Conradus Celtes.

‡ In the *Philosophical Transactions* abridged, viii. 705. is an almost parallel instance of two corpses, found in a moor in Derbyshire, that had for 49 years resisted putrefaction, and were in much the same state as those in Stroma. In vol. xlvii. of the *Ph. Tr.* at large, is an account of a body found entire and impudrid at Staverton in Devonshire, 80 years after its interment.

*See Groat  
book p 154  
801*



2<sup>nd</sup> fight  
7c  
was made a dupe to his own artifices, became possessed with a serious belief of the faculty, and for a considerable number of years before his death was made truly unhappy by this strange opinion, which originally arose from the following accident. A boat of his was on a very tempestuous night at sea; his mind filled with anxiety at the danger his people were in, furnished him with every idea of the misfortune that really befell them: he suddenly starting up, pronounced that his men would be drowned, for he had seen them pass before him with wet garments and dropping locks. The event was correspondent, and he from that time grew confirmed in the reality of spectral predictions.

There is another sort of divination, called Sleinanachd, or reading the speal-bone, or the blade-bone of a shoulder of mutton well scraped. When Lord Loudon was obliged to retreat before the rebels to the isle of Sky, a common soldier, on the very moment the battle of Culloden was decided, proclaimed the victory at that distance, pretending to have discovered the event by looking through the bone.

I heard of one instance of second sight, or rather of foresight, which was well attested, and made much noise about the time the prediction was fulfilled. A little after the battle of Preston Pans, the president, Duncan Forbes, being at his house of Culloden with a nobleman, from whom I had the relation, fell into discourse on the probable consequences of the action: after a long conversation, and after revolving all that might happen, Mr. Forbes, suddenly turning to a window, said, "all these things may fall out; but depend on it, all these disturbances will be terminated on this spot."

Returned the same road. Saw multitudes of gannets, or Soland geese, on their passage northward: they went in small flocks from five to fifteen in each, and continued passing for hours: it was a stormy day; they kept low, and near the shore; but never passed over the land, even when a bay intervened, but followed (preserving an equal distance from the shore) the form of the bay, and then regularly doubled the capes. I saw many parties make a sort of halt for the sake of fishing; they soared to a great height, then darting down headlong into the sea, made the water foam and spring up with the violence of their descent; after which they pursued their route.

Swans resort in October to the lochs of Hemprigs and Waster, and continue there till March. Abundance of land-rails are found throughout the county. Multitudes of sea fowl breed in the cliffs: among others, the lyre; but the season being past, I neither saw it, nor could understand what species it was\*.

Went along a fine hard sand on the edge of Sinclair bay. On the south point, near Noss-head, on the same rock, are Sinclair and Gernigo castles; but as if the joint tenants, like beasts of prey, had been in fear of each other, there was between them a draw-bridge; the first too had an iron door, which dropped from above through grooves still visible: this was inhabited in the year 1603 by a Sinclair Earl of Caithness.

Should the chapel of St. Tayre near this castle exist, I overlooked that scene of cruelty in 1478. The Keiths and the clan Gun had in that year a feud; but a meeting was fixed at this place for a reconciliation: twelve horse were to convene on each side. The Cruner, or chief of the clan Gun, and his sons and nearest kinsmen arrived first, and were at their prayers in the chapel: when their antagonist arrived with twelve horses, but with two men on each horse, thinking that to bring no more than the stipulated number of horses was no breach of agreement. These attacked the people in the chapel, and put them all to death, but with great loss to their own party, for the

\* I have since learned that it is the Shearwater or Manks Petrel of the Br. Zool. II. No. 258.



Cruner and his friends sold their lives dear. I mention this tale to oppose the manners of the old Cathnesians to those of the present hospitable and worthy race.

Cathness may be called an immense morass, mixed with some fruitful spots of oats and barley, much coarse grass, and here and there some fine, almost all natural, there being as yet very little artificial. At this time was the hay harvest both here and about Dunrobin: the hay on this rough land is cut with short scythes, and with a brisk and strong stroke. The country produces and exports great quantities of oatmeal, and much whisky is distilled from the barley: the great thinness of inhabitants throughout Cathness enables them to send abroad much of its productions. No wheat had been raised this year in the county; and I was informed that this grain is sown here in the spring, by reason of the wet and fury of the winters.

The county is supposed to send out in some years, 2200 head of cattle; but in bad seasons, the farmer kills and sells numbers for sale. Great numbers of swine are reared here: they are short, high-backed, long-bristled, sharp, slender, and long nosed; have long erect ears, and most savage looks, and are seen tethered in almost every field. The rest of the commodities of Cathness are butter, cheese, tallow, hides, the oil and skins of seals, and the feathers of geese.

Here are neither barns nor granaries: the corn is thrashed out and preserved in the chaff in bykes, which are stacks in shape of bee-hives, thatched quite round, where it will keep good for two years.

Much salmon is taken at Castle-hill, Dunet, Wick, and Thurso. The miraculous draught at the last place is still talked of; not less than 2500 being taken at one tide, within the memory of man. At a small distance from Sinclair castle, near Staxigo creek, is a small herring fishery, the only one on the coast: cod and other white fish abound here; but the want of ports on this stormy coast is an obstacle to the establishment of fisheries on this side the country.

In the month of November, numbers of seals\* are taken in the vast caverns that open into the sea and run some hundred yards under ground. Their entrance is narrow, their inside lofty and spacious. The seal-hunters enter these in small boats with torches, which they light as soon as they land, and then with loud shouts alarm the animals, which they kill with clubs as they attempt to pass. This is a hazardous employ; for should the wind blow hard from sea, these adventurers are inevitably lost†.

Much lime-stone is found in this country, which when burnt is made into a compost with turf and sea plants. The tender sex (I blush for the Cathnesians) are the only animals of burden: they turn their patient backs to the dunghills, and receive in their keises, or baskets, as much as their lords and masters think fit to fling in with their pitchforks, and then trudge to the fields in droves of sixty or seventy. The common people are kept here in great servitude, and most of their time is given to their Lairds, an invincible impediment to the prosperity of the county.

Of the ten parishes in Cathness, only the four that lie S. E. speak Erse; all the others speak English, and that in greater purity than most part of North Britain‡. Latheron, Reay, Thurso, and Halkirk, speak Erse and English; Bower, Canneby, Dunnet, Watters, Obrick, and Wick, speak English only.

\* Sometimes a large species twelve feet long has been killed on the coast; and I have been informed that the same kind are found on the rock Hiskir, one of the Western isles.

† For a fuller account, vide Br. Zool. 37.

‡ I beg leave to refer the reader for a farther history of this country, and of Strathnaver, to the Appendix; where is inserted, the obliging communication of the Rev. Mr. Alexander Pope, Minister of Reay, the most remote N. W. tract of North Britain, which completes the history of this distant part of our island.



Inoculation is much practised by an ingenious physician (Dr. Mackenzie of Wick) in this county, and also the Orkneys \*, with great success, without any previous preparation. The success was equally great at Sanda, a poor isle, where there was no sort of fuel but what was got from dried cow-dung: but in all these places, the small-pox is very fatal in the natural way. Other diseases in Cathness are colds, coughs, and very frequently palsies.

The last private war in Scotland was occasioned by a dispute relating to this county. The present Earl of Breadalbane's grandfather married an heiress of Cathness: the inhabitants would not admit her title; but set up another person in opposition. The Earl, according to the custom of those ill-governed times, was to assert his right by force of arms: he raised an army of fifteen hundred men; but the numbers, like those under the conduct of Gideon, were thought to be too great: his lordship first dismissed five hundred; after that, another five hundred; and with the remainder marched to the borders of Cathness. Here he thought proper to add stratagem to force. He knew that the enemy's army waited for him on the other side of the Ord. He knew also that in those days whisky was the nectar of Cathness: and in consequence ordered a ship laden with that precious liquor to pass round, and willfully strand itself on the shore. The directions were punctually obeyed; and the crew in a seeming fright escaped in the boats to the invading army. The Cathnessians made a prize of the ship, and indulging themselves too freely with the freight, became an easy prey to the Earl, who attacked them during their intoxication, and gained the country, which he disposed of very soon after his conquest.

I came here too late † to have any benefit from the great length of days; but from June to the middle of July, there is scarce any night; for even at what is called midnight the smallest print may be read, so truly did Juvenal style these people,

*Minima contentos nocte Britannos.*

August 23d, on my way between Thrumster and Dunbeth, again saw numbers of flocks of Gannets keeping due north; and the weather being very calm, they flew high. It has not been observed that they ever return this way in the spring; but seem to make a circuit of the island, till they again arrive at the Bafs, their only breeding-place on the eastern coast.

On descending a steep hill, is a romantic view of the two bridges over the waters of Berridale and Langwall, and their wooded glens; and of the castle of Berridale ‡, over the sea, where the salmon-fishers station themselves to observe the approach of those fish out of the ocean. After a tedious ascent up the King's road of four miles, gain the top of the Ord, descend, and lie at Helmsdale.

August 24th to 29th, revisit the same places, till I pass Dingwall. Cross the Conan in a boat, a very beautiful river, not remote from Castle Braan. Was in the neighbourhood informed of other singular customs of the Highlanders.

On New-year's day they burn juniper before their cattle, and on the first Monday in every quarter sprinkle them with urine.

In some parts of the country, is a rural sacrifice, different from that before mentioned. A cross is cut on some sticks, which is dipped in pottage, and the Thursday

\* At this time a person was employed in the same business in the Shetland islands.

† Besides the missing so singular a phenomenon, I found that the bad weather, which begins earlier in the north, was setting in: I would therefore recommend to any traveller, who means to take this distant tour, to set out from Edinburgh a month sooner than I did.

‡ A little up the land is the ruin of Ach castle.



before Easter, one of each placed over the sheep-cot, the stable, or the cow-house. On the 1st of May, they are carried to the hill where the rites are celebrated, all decked with wild flowers, and after the feast is over, re-placed over the spots they were taken from; and this was originally styled *Clou-än-Beltien* \*, or the split branch of the fire of the rock. These follies are now seldom practised, and that with the utmost secrecy; for the clergy are indefatigable in discouraging every species of superstition.

In certain places the death of people is supposed to be foretold by the cries and shrieks of *Benfhi*, or the Fairies wife, uttered along the very path where the funeral is to pass; and what in Wales are called corps candles, are often imagined to appear, and foretell mortality.

The courtship of the Highlander has these remarkable circumstances attending it: after privately obtaining the consent of the fair, he formally demands her of the father. The lover and his friends assemble on a hill allotted for that purpose in every parish, and one of them is dispatched to obtain permission to wait on the daughter: if he is successful, he is again sent to invite the father and his friends to ascend the hill and partake of a whisky cask, which is never forgot: the lover advances, takes his future father-in-law by the hand, and then plights his troth, and the fair-one is surrendered up to him. During the marriage ceremony, great care is taken that dogs do not pass between them, and particular attention is paid to the leaving the bridegroom's left-shoe without buckle or latchet, to prevent witches † from depriving him, on the nuptial night, of the power of loosening the virgin zone. As a test, not many years ago a singular custom prevailed in the western Highlands the morning after a wedding: a basket was fastened with a cord round the neck of the bridegroom by the female part of the company, who immediately filled it with stones, till the poor man was in great danger of being strangled, if his bride did not take compassion on him, and cut the cord with a knife given her to use at discretion. But such was the tenderness of the Caledonian spouses, that never was an instance of their neglecting an immediate relief of their good man.

Pass near the Prior ‡ of Beaulieu, a large ruin: cross the ferry, and again reach Inverness.

Made an excursion ten miles south of Inverness to May-hall, pleasantly seated at the end of a small but beautiful lake of the same name, full of trout and char, called in the Erse, *Tarrdheargnaich*, and in the Scotch, *Red Weems*. This water is about two miles and a half long, and half a mile broad, adorned with two or three isles prettily wooded. Each side is bounded by hills clothed at the bottom with trees; and in front, at the distance of thirty miles, is the great mountain of *Karn-gorm*, patched with snow.

This place is called *Starshnach-nan-gai'l*, or the threshold of the Highlands, being a very natural and strongly marked entrance from the north. This is the seat of the *Clan Chattan*, or the *M'Intoshes*, once a powerful people: in the year 1715, fifteen hundred took the field; but in 1745, scarce half that number: like another *Abfalom*, their fair mistress was in that year supposed to have stolen their hearts from her Laird their chieftain: but the severest loyalist must admit some extenuation of their error, in yielding to the insinuations of so charming a seducer.

\* M'Pherson's introduction, &c. 166.

† An old opinion. Gesner says that the witches made use of toads as a charm, *Ut vim cocundi, ni fallor, in viris tollerent.* Gesner de quad. ovi. p. 72.

‡ Founded about 1239, by Patrick Bisset, Laird of Lovat, for the monks of *Vallis caulium*.



Here is preserved the sword of James V. given by that monarch to the captain of Clan Chattan, with the privilege of holding the King's sword at all coronations; on the blade is the word Jesus. That of the gallant Viscount Dundee is also kept here. The first was a consecrated sword presented to James in 1514, by Leo X. by the hands of his Legate\*. The ancient family was as respectable as it was powerful; and that from very old times. Of this the following relation is sufficient evidence. In 1341 a Monro of Foulis† having met with some affront from the inhabitants of Strathardule, between Perth and Athol, determined on revenge, collected his clan, marched, made his inroad, and returned with a large booty of cattle. As he passed by May-hall, this threshold of the Highlands, the Mackintosh of 1454 sent to demand the stike creich or road collop, being a certain part of the booty, challenged according to an ancient custom by the chieftains for liberty of passing with it through their territories. Monro acquiesced in the demand, and offered a reasonable share; but not less than half would content the chieftain of Clan Chattan: this was refused; a battle ensued near Kessock; Mackintosh was killed; Monro lost his hand, but from that accident acquired the name of back-lawighe: and thus ended the conflict of Clagh-ne-herey.

Boethius relates, that in his time Inverness was greatly frequented by merchants from Germany, who purchased here the furs of several sorts of wild beasts‡; and that wild horses were found in great abundance in that neighbourhood: that the country yielded a great deal of wheat and other corn, and quantities of nuts and apples. At present there is a trade in the skins of deer, roes, and other beasts, which the Highlanders bring down to the fairs. There happened to be one at this time: the commodities were skins, various necessaries brought in by the pedlars, coarse country cloths, cheese, butter, and meal: the last in goat-skin bags; the butter lapped in cawls, or leaves of the broad alga or tang; and great quantities of birch-wood and hazel cut into lengths for carts, &c. which had been floated down the river from Loch-Ness.

The fair was a very agreeable circumstance, and afforded a most singular groupe of Highlanders in all their motly dresses. Their brechan, or plaid, consists of twelve or thirteen yards of a narrow stuff, wrapt round the middle, and reaches to the knees: is often fastened round the middle with a belt, and is then called brechan-feill; but in cold weather is large enough to wrap round the whole body from head to feet; and this often is their only cover, not only within doors, but on the open hills during the whole night. It is frequently fastened on the shoulders with a pin often of silver, and before with a brotche (like the fibula of the Romans) which is sometimes of silver, and both large and extensive; the old ones have very frequently mottos.

The stockings are short, and are tied below the knee. The cuaran is a sort of laced shoe made of a skin with the hairy side out, but now seldom worn. The truis were worn by the gentry, and were breeches and stockings made of one piece.

The colour of their dress was various, as the word breaccan implies, being dyed with stripes of the most vivid hues: but they sometimes affected the duller colours, such as imitated those of the heath in which they often reposed; probably from a principle of security in time of war, as one of the Scotch poets seems to insinuate.

\* Leslie Hist. Scotiæ, 353.

† Conflicts of the Clans, p. 7.

‡ Ad Nessæ lacus longi quatuor et viginti passuum millia, lati duodecim latera, propter ingentia nemora ferarum ingens copia est cervorum, equorum indomitum, capreolorum et ejusmodi animantium magna vis: ad hæc martirillæ, fouinæ ut vulgò vocantur, vulpes, mustellæ, fibri, lutræque incomparabili numero, quorum tergora exteræ gentes ad luxum immenso pretio coemunt. Scot. regni Descr. ix. Hist. Scot. xxx.



Virgata gaudent varii quæ est veste coloris,  
Purpureum et deamant fere cæruleumque colorem;  
Verum nunc plures fuscum magis, æmula frondi  
Quæque erecina adamant, ut ne lux florida vestis  
Splendentis prodat recubantes inque erictis.

ANDRÉE MELVINI Topogr. Scotiæ.

The feil-beg, i. e. little plaid, also called kelt, is a sort of short petticoat reaching only to the knees, and is a modern substitute for the lower part of the plaid, being found to be less cumbersome, especially in time of action, when the Highlanders used to tuck their breckan into their girdle. Almost all have a great pouch of badger and other skins, with tassels dangling before: in this they keep their tobacco and money.

Their ancient arms were the Lochaber ax, now used by none but the town-guard of Edinburgh; a tremendous weapon, better to be expressed by a figure than words\*.

The broad-sword and target; with the last they covered themselves, with the first reached their enemy at a great distance. These were their ancient weapons, as appears by Tacitus†; but, since the disarming act, are scarcely to be met with: partly owing to that, partly to the spirit of industry now rising among them, the Highlanders in a few years will scarce know the use of any weapon.

Bows and arrows were used in war as late as the middle of the last century, as I find in a manuscript life of Sir Ewen Cameron.

The dirk was a sort of dagger stuck in the belt. I frequently saw this weapon in the shambles of Inverness, converted into a butcher's knife, being, like Hudibras's dagger,

A serviceable dudgeon,  
Either for fighting or for drudging.

The dirk was a weapon used by the ancient Caledonians; for Dio Cassius, in his account of the expedition of Severus, mentions it under the name of *Ενχαλιδιον* ‡, pugio or little dagger.

The mattucaflash, or arm-pit dagger, was worn there ready to be used on coming to close quarters. These, with the pistol stuck in the girdle, completely armed the Highlander §.

It will be fit to mention here the method the chieftains took formerly to assemble the clans for any military expedition. In every clan there is a known place of rendezvous, styled Carn-a-whin, to which they must resort on this signal. A person is sent out full speed with a pole burnt at one end and bloody at the other, and with a cross at the top, which is called Crosh-tàrie, the cross of shame ||, or the fiery cross; the first from the disgrace they would undergo if they declined appearing; the second from the penalty

\* Vide tab. xxxiv.

† Simul constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere. Vita Agricolæ, c. 36.

‡ Xiphil. epit. Dionis.

§ Major, who wrote about the year 1518, thus describes their arms: Arcum et sagittas, latissimum ensen cum parvo halberto, pugionem grossum ex solo uno latere scindentem, sed acutissimam sub zonâ semper ferunt. Tempori belli lorica ex loris ferreis per totum corpus induunt. Lib. I. c. viii.

|| This custom was common to the northern parts of Europe with some slight variation, as appears from Olaus Magnus, p. 146, who describes it thus: Bacculus tripalmaris, agilioris juvenis cursu precipiti, ad illum vel illum pagum seu villam hujusmodi edicto deferendus committitur, ut 3, 4, vel 8 die unus, duo vel tres, aut viritum omnes vel singuli ab anno trilustri, cum armis et expensis 10 vel 20 dierum sub pœna combustionis domorum (quo usito bacculo) vel suspensionis patroni, aut omnium (quæ sunt allegato signatur) in tali ripa, vel campo, aut valle comparere teneantur subito, causam vocationis, atque ordinem executionis præfecti provincialis, quid fieri debeat audituri.



of having fire and sword carried through their country, in case of refusal. The first bearer delivers it to the next person he meets, he running full speed to the third, and so on. In every clan the bearer had a peculiar cry of war; that of the Macdonald's was freich, or heath; that of the Grants, craig-elachie; of the Mackenzies, tullickard\*. In the late rebellion, it was sent by some unknown disaffected hand through the county of Breadalbane, and passed through a tract of thirty-two miles in three hours, but without effect.

The women's dress is the kirk, or a white piece of linen, pinned over the foreheads of those that are married, and round the hind part of the head, falling behind over their necks. The single women wear only a ribband round their head, which they call a snood. The tonnag, or plaid, hangs over their shoulders, and is fastened before with a brotche; but in bad weather is drawn over their heads: I have also observed during divine service, that they keep drawing it forward in proportion as their attention increases; inasmuch as to conceal at last their whole face, as if it was to exclude every external object that might interrupt their devotion. In the county of Breadalbane many wear, when in high dress, a great pleated stocking of an enormous length, called ossan preassach: in other respects, their dress resembles that of women of the same rank in England; but their condition is very different, being little better than slaves to our sex.

This custom of covering the face was in old times abused, and made subservient to the purpose of intrigue. By the sumptuary law of James II. in 1457, it was expressly prohibited. It directs that "na woman cum to kirk, nor to mercat, with hir face muffled or covered, that scho may not be kend, under the pane of escheit of the courchie." I suspect much, that the head-dresses of the ladies were at that time of the present fashionable altitude; for the same statute even prescribes the mode of that part of apparel as well as others: for, after directions given to regulate the dress of the men, they are told "to make their wives and daughters in like manner be abuilzed, ganand and correspondant for their estate, that is to say, on their head short curches with little hudes, as ar used in Flanders, England, and other countries; and as to their gownes, that na woman weare mertrickes†, nor letteis, nor tailles unfitt in length, nor furred under, but on a halieday."

The manners of the native Highlanders may justly be expressed in these words: indolent to a high degree, unless roused to war, or to any animating amusement; or I may say, from experience, to lend any disinterested assistance to the distressed traveller, either on directing him on his way, or affording their aid in passing the dangerous torrents of the Highlands: hospitable to the highest degree, and full of generosity: are much affected with the civility of strangers, and have in themselves a natural politeness and address, which often flows from the meanest when least expected. Through my whole tour I never met with a single instance of national reflection! their forbearance proves them to be superior to the meanness of retaliation: I fear they pity us; but I hope not indiscriminately. Are excessively inquisitive after your business, your name, and other particulars of little consequence to them: most curious after the politics of the world, and when they can procure an old news-paper, will listen to it with all the avidity of Shakspeare's blacksmith. Have much pride, and consequently are impatient of affronts, and revengeful of injuries. Are decent in their general behaviour; inclined to superstition, yet attentive to the duties of religion, and are capable of giving a most distinct account of the principles of their faith. But in many parts of the High-

\* Shaw's Hist. Moray, 231.

† Mertrickes are furs of the martin's skin.



lands, their character begins to be more faintly marked; they mix more with the world, and become daily less attached to their chiefs: the clans begin to disperse themselves through different parts of the country, finding that their industry and good conduct afford them better protection (since the due execution of the laws) than any their chieftain can afford; and the chieftain, tasting the sweets of advanced rents, and the benefits of industry, dismisses from his table the crowd of retainers, the former instruments of his oppression and freakish tyranny.

Most of the antient sports of the Highlanders, such as archery, hunting, fowling, and fishing, are now disused; those retained are, throwing the putting-stone, or stone of strength \*, as they call it, which occasions an emulation who can throw a weighty one the farthest. Throwing the penny-stone, which answers to our coits. The shinty, or striking of a ball of wood or of hair; this game is played between two parties in a large plain, and furnished with clubs; whichever side strikes it first to their own goal wins the match.

The amusements by their fire-sides were the telling of tales, the wildest and most extravagant possible; music was another: in former times the harp was the favourite instrument, covered with leather, and hung with wire †, but at present is quite lost. Bagpipes are supposed to have been introduced by the Danes; this is very doubtful, but shall be taken notice of in the next volume; the oldest are played with the mouth, the loudest and most ear-piercing of any wind music; the others, played with the fingers only, are of Irish origin: the first suited the genius of this warlike people, roused their courage to battle, alarmed them when secure, and collected them when scattered. This instrument is become scarce since the abolition of the power of the chieftains, and the more industrious turn of the common people.

The trum, or Jew's harp ‡, would not merit the mention among the Highland instruments of music, if it was not to prove its origin and antiquity: one made of gilt brass having been found in Norway §, deposited in an urn.

Vocal music was much in vogue amongst them, and their songs were chiefly in praise of their antient heroes. I was told that they still have fragments of the story of Fingal and others, which they carrol as they go along: these vocal traditions are the foundation of the works of Ossian.

Aug. 31. Leave Inverness, and continue my journey west for some time by the river-side; have a fine view of the plain, the Tomman, the town, and the distant hills. After the ride of about six miles reached Loch-Ness ||, and enjoyed along its banks a most romantic and beautiful scenery, generally in woods of birch, or hazel, mixed a few holly, white-thorn, aspen, ash and oak, but open enough in all parts to admit a sight of the water. Sometimes the road was straight for a considerable distance, and resembled a fine and regular avenue; in others, it wound about the sides of the hills which overhung the lake; the road was frequently cut through the rock, which, on one side, formed a solid wall, on the other, a steep precipice. In many parts, we were immersed in woods, in others, they opened and gave a view of the sides and tops of the vast mountains soaring above; some of these were naked, but in general covered with

\* Cloch neart.

† Major says, "Pro musicis instrumentis et musico concentu, lyra sylvestres utuntur, cujus chordas ex ære, et non ex animalium intestinis faciunt, in qua dulcissimè modulantur."

‡ Probably, as an ingenious friend suggested, this should be read, the Jaws-harp.

§ Sir Thomas Brown's Hydriotaphia, p. 8.

|| This beautiful lake has a great resemblance to some parts of the lake of Lucerne, especially towards the east end.

wood,



wood, except on the mere precipices, or where the grey rocks denied vegetation, or where the heath, now glowing with purple blossoms, covered the surface. The form of these hills was very various and irregular, either broken into frequent precipices, or towering into rounded summits clothed with trees; but not so close but to admit a sight of the sky between them. Thus, for many miles, there was no possibility of cultivation; yet this tract was occupied by diminutive cattle, by sheep, or by goats: the last were pied, and lived most luxuriously on the tender branches of the trees. The wild animals that possessed this picturesque scene were stags and roes, black game, and grouse; and, on the summits, white hares and ptarmigans. Foxes are so numerous and voracious, that the farmers are sometimes forced to house their sheep, as is done in France for fear of the wolves.

It is to me matter of surprise that no mention is made, in the Poems of Ossian, of our great beasts of prey, which must have abounded in his days; for the wolf was a pest to the country so late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the bear existed there at least till the year 1057, when a Gordon, for killing a fierce bear, was directed by King Malcolm III. to carry three bear's heads in his banner\*. Other native animals are often mentioned in several parts of the work; and in the five little poems on Night, compositions of as many Bards, every modern British beast of chase is enumerated, the howling dog and the howling fox described; yet the howling wolf omitted, which would have made the bard's night much more hideous.

Dr. Johnson, in his journal to the Western Isles, p. 297, in a stricture on a passage in one of my Tours, insinuates my belief in the writings of Ossian; but the last paragraph might have evinced my scepticism. In the five first lines of p. 275 of the same work, by that good and learned man, is collected the sum of my belief.

The north side of Loch-Nefs is far less beautiful than the south. In general, the hills are less high, but very steep; in a very few places covered with brush-wood, but in general very naked, from the sliding of the strata down their sloping sides. About the middle is Castle Urquhart, a fortress founded on a rock projecting into the lake, and was said to have been the seat of the once powerful Cummins, and to have been destroyed by Edward I. Near it is the broadest part of the Loch, occasioned by a bay near the castle.

Above is Glen-Moriston, and east of that Straith-Glas, the Chifolm's country; in both of which are forests of pines, where the rare bird, the cock of the wood, is still to be met with; perhaps in those near Castle Grant. Formerly was common throughout the Highlands, and was called Capercalze, and Auercalze, and in the old law-books, Capercally. The variety of the black game, mentioned by M. Brissot, under the name of *Cog. de Bruyere piquetè*, was a mixed breed between these two birds; but I could not hear that any at present were to be found in North Britain. Linnæus has met with them in Sweden, and describes them under the title of *Tetrao cauda bifurca subtus albo punctata*. At Glen-Moriston is a manufacture of linen, where forty girls at a time are taught for three months to spin, and then another forty taken in: there are besides six looms, and all supported out of the forfeited lands.

Above is the great mountain Meal Fourvounich; the first land sailors make from the east sea.

I was informed that in that neighbourhood are glens and cascades of surprising beauty, but my time did not permit me to visit them.

Dined at a poor inn near the General's Hut, or the place where General Wade resided when he inspected the great work of the roads, and gave one rare example of

\* Hist. Gordons, 1. p. 2.



making the soldiery useful in time of peace. Near is a fine glen covered at the bottom with wood, through which runs a torrent rising southward. The country also is prettily varied with woods and corn-fields.

About a mile farther is the fall of Fyers, a vast cataract in a darksome glen of a stupendous depth; the water darts far beneath the top through a narrow gap between two rocks, then precipitates above forty feet lower into the bottom of the chasm, and the foam, like a great cloud of smoke, rises and fills the air. The sides of this glen are vast precipices mixed with trees over-hanging the water, through which, after a short space, the waters discharge themselves into the lake.

About half a mile south of the first fall is another passing through a narrow chasm, whose sides it has undermined for a considerable way; over the gap is a true Alpine bridge of the bodies of trees covered with fods, from whose middle is an awful view of the water roaring beneath.

At the fall of Foher the road quits the side of the lake, and is carried for some space through a small vale on the side of the river Fyers, where is a mixture of small plains of corn and rocky hills.

Then succeeds a long and dreary moor, a tedious ascent up the mountain See-chuimin, or Cummin's seat, whose summit is of a great height and very craggy. Descend a steep road, leave on the right Loch-Taarf, a small irregular piece of water, decked with little wooded isles, and abounding with char. After a second steep descent, reach

Fort Augustus\*, a small fortress, seated on a plain at the head of Loch-Nefs, between the rivers Taarf and Oich; the last is considerable, and has over it a bridge of three arches. The fort consists of four bastions; within is the governor's house, and barracks for 400 men: it was taken by the rebels in 1746, who immediately deserted it, after demolishing what they could.

Loch-Nefs is twenty-two miles in length, the breadth from one to two miles, except near Castle Urquhart, where it swells out to three. The depth is very great; opposite to the rock called the horse-shoe, near the west end, it has been found to be 140 fathoms. From an eminence near the fort is a full view of its whole extent; for it is perfectly straight, running from east to west, with a point to the south. The boundary from the fall of Fyers is very steep and rocky, which obliged General Wade to make that detour from its banks, partly on account of the expence in cutting through so much solid rock, partly through an apprehension that, in case of a rebellion, the troops might be destroyed in their march, by the tumbling down of stones by the enemy from above: besides this, a prodigious arch must have been flung over the Glen of Fyers.

This lake, by reason of its great depth, never freezes, and, during cold weather, a violent steam rises from it as from a furnace. Ice brought from other parts, and put into Loch-Nefs, instantly thaws; but no water freezes sooner than that of the lake when brought into a house. Its water is esteemed very salubrious, so that people come or send thirty miles for it: old Lord Lovat in particular made constant use of it. But it is certain, whether it be owing to the water, or to the air of that neighbourhood, that for seven years the garison of Fort Augustus had not lost a single man.

The fish of this lake are salmon, which are in season from Christmas to Midsummer; trouts of about two pound weight, pikes and eels. During winter, it is frequented by swans and other wild fowls.

\* Its Erse name is Kil-chuimin, or the burial place of the Cummins. It lies on the road to the Isle of Skie, which is about fifty-two miles off; but on the whole way, there is not a place fit for the reception of man or horse.



The greatest rise of water in Loch-Nefs is fourteen feet. The lakes from whence it receives its supplies are Loch-Oich, Loch-Garrie, and Loch-Quich. There is but very little navigation on it; the only vessel is a gally belonging to the fort, to bring the stores from the east end, the river Nefs being too shallow for navigation.

It is violently agitated by the winds, and at times the waves are quite mountainous. November 1st, 1755, at the same time as the earthquake at Lisbon, these waters were affected in a very extraordinary manner: they rose and flowed up the lake from east to west with vast impetuosity, and were carried above 200 yards up the river Oich, breaking on its banks in a wave near three feet high; then continued ebbing and flowing for the space of an hour; but at eleven o'clock, a wave greater than any of the rest came up the river, broke on the north side, and overflowed the bank for the extent of thirty feet. A boat near the General's Hut, loaden with brush-wood, was thrice driven ashore, and twice carried back again; but the last time, the rudder was broken, the wood forced out, and the boat filled with water and left on shore. At the same time, a little isle, in a small loch in Badenoch, was totally reversed and flung on the beach. But at both these places no agitation was felt on land.

Sept. 1. Rode to the castle of Tor-down, a rock two miles west of Fort Augustus: on the summit is an antient fortress. The face of this rock is a precipice; on the accessible side is a strong dyke of loose stones, above that a ditch, and a little higher a terrace supported by stones; on the top, a small oval area hollow in the middle; round this area, for the depth of near twelve feet, are a quantity of stones strangely cemented with almost vitrified matter, and in some places quite turned into black scoria; the stones were generally granite, mixed with a few grit-stones of a kind not found nearer the place than forty miles. Whether this was the antient site of some forge, or whether the stones which form this fortress \* had been collected from the strata of some volcano, (for the vestiges of such are said to have been found in the Highlands) I submit to farther inquiry.

From this rock is a view of Ben-ki, a vast craggy mountain above Glen-Garrie's country. Towards the south is the high mountain Coryarich: the ascent from this side is nine miles, but on the other the descent into Badenoch is very rapid, and not above one, the road being, for the ease of the traveller, cut into a zig-zag fashion. People often perish on the summit of this hill, which is frequently visited during winter with dreadful storms of snow.

Sept. 2. After a short ride westward along the plain, reach Loch-Oich, a narrow lake; the sides prettily indented, and the water adorned with small wooded isles. On the shore is Glen Garrie, the seat of Mr. M'Donald, almost surrounded with wood, and not far distant is the ruin of the old castle. This lake is about four miles long; the road on the south side is excellent, and often carried through very pleasant woods.

After a small interval, arrive on the banks of Loch-Lochy, a fine piece of water fourteen miles long, and from one to two broad. The distant mountains on the north were of an immense height; those on the south had the appearance of sheep-walks. The road is continued on the side of the lake about eight miles. On the opposite shore was Achnacarrie, once the seat of Cameron of Lochiel, but burnt in 1746. He was esteemed by all parties the honestest and most sensible man of any that embarked in the pernicious and absurd attempt of that and the preceding year, and was a melancholy instance of a fine understanding and a well intending heart, over-powered by the unhappy prejudices of education. By his influence, he prevented the Rebels

\* I was informed that at Arisaig is an old castle formed of the same materials.



from committing several excesses, and even saved the city of Glasgow from being plundered, when their army returned out of England, irritated with their disappointment, and enraged at the loyalty that city had shewn. The Pretender came to him as soon as ever he landed. Lochiel seeing him arrive in so wild a manner, and so unsupported, entreated him to desist from an enterprize from which nothing but certain ruin could result to him and his partizans. The adventurer grew warm, and reproached Lochiel with a breach of promise. This affected him so deeply, that he instantly went and took a tender and moving leave of his lady and family, imagining he was on the point of parting with them for ever. The income of his estate was at that time, as I was told, not above 700*l.* per annum, yet he brought fourteen hundred men into the field.

The waters of this lake form the river Lochy, and discharge themselves into the western sea, as those of Loch-Oich do through Loch-Nefs into the eastern. About the beginning of this lake enter Lochaber\*; stop at Low-bridge, a poor house; travel over a black moor for some miles; see abundance of cattle, but scarce any corn. Cross

High-bridge, a fine bridge of three arches flung over the torrent Spean, founded on rocks; two of the arches are ninety-five feet high. This bridge was built by General Wade, in order to form a communication with the country. These public works were at first very disagreeable to the old chieftains, and lessened their influence greatly; for, by admitting strangers among them, their clans were taught that the Lairds were not the first of men. But they had another reason much more solid; Lochaber had been a den of thieves; and, as long as they had their waters, their torrents and their bogs, in a state of nature, they made their excursions, could plunder and retreat with their booty in full security. So weak were the laws in many parts of North Britain, till after the late rebellion, that no stop could be put to this infamous practice. A contribution, called the Black-mail, was raised by several of these plundering chieftains over a vast extent of country: whoever paid it had their cattle ensured, but those who dared to refuse were sure to suffer. Many of these freebooters were wont to insert an article, by which they were to be released from their agreement, in case of any civil commotion: thus, at the breaking out of the last rebellion, a M'Gregor†, who had with the strictest honour (till that event) preserved his friends' cattle, immediately sent them word, that from that time they were out of his protection, and must now take care of themselves. Barrisdale was another of this class, chief of a band of robbers, who spread terror over the whole country: but the Highlanders at that time esteemed the open theft of cattle, or the making a creach, (as they call it,) by no means dishonourable; and the young men considered it a piece of gallantry, by which they recommended themselves to their mistresses. On the other side, there was often as much bravery in the pursuers; for frequent battles ensued, and much blood has been spilt on these occasions. They also shewed great dexterity in tracing the robbers, not only through the boggy land, but over the firmest ground, and even over places where other cattle had passed, knowing well how to distinguish the steps of those that were wandering about from those that were driven hastily away by the freebooters.

From the road had a distant view of the mountains of Arisaig, beyond which were Moydart, Kinloch, &c. At the end of Loch-shiel the Pretender first set up his standard in the wildest place that imagination can frame: and in this sequestered spot, amidst antient prejudices, and prevailing ignorance of the blessings of our happy constitution, the strength of the rebellion lay.

\* So called from a lake not far from Fort William, near whose banks Banquo was said to have been murdered.

† Who assumed the name of Graham.



Pafs by the river Lochy, now confiderable. See Inverlochy caſtle, with large round towers, which, by the mode of building, ſeems to have been the work of the Engliſh, in the time of Edward I. who laid large fines on the Scotch barons for the purpoſe of erecting new caſtles. The largeſt of theſe towers is called Cummin's. But long prior to theſe ruins Inverlochy had been a place of great note, a moſt opulent city, remarkable for the vaſt reſort of French and Spaniards \*, probably on account of trade. It was alſo a ſeat of the Kings of Scotland, for here Achaius in the year 790 ſigned (as is reported) the league offensive and defensive between himſelf and Charlemagne. In after-times it was utterly deſtroyed by the Danes, and never again reſtored.

In the neighbourhood of this place were fought two fierce battles, one between Donald Balloch, brother to Alexander Lord of the iſles, who with a great power invaded Lochaber in the year 1427 : he was met by the Earls of Mar and Caithneſs, the laſt was ſlain, and their forces totally defeated †. Balloch returned to the iſles with vaſt booty, the object of thoſe plundering chieftains. Here alſo the Campbells, under the Maquis of Argyll in February 1645, received from Montroſe, an overthrow fatal to numbers of that gallant name. Fifteen hundred fell in the action, and in the purſuit, with the loſs only of three to the royaliſts. Sir Thomas Oglevie, the friend of Montroſe, died of his wounds. His death ſuppreſſed all joy for the victory.

At Inverlochy is Fort William, built in King William's reign ; as was a ſmall town near it called Maryborough, in honour of his Queen ; but, prior to that, had been a ſmall fortrefs, erected by General Monk, with whoſe people the famous Sir Ewen Cameron ‡ had numerous conteſts. The preſent fort is a triangle, has two baſtions, and is capable of admitting a gariſon of 800 men. It was well defended againſt the Rebels in 1746, who raiſed the ſiege with much diſgrace. It was alſo attempted by thoſe of 1715, but without ſucceſs. The fort lies on a narrow arm of the ſea, called Lochiel, which extends ſome miles higher up the country, making a bend to the north, and extends likewiſe weſtward towards the iſle of Mull, near twenty-four Scotch miles.

This fort on the weſt, and Fort Auguſtus in the centre, and Fort George on the eaſt, form what is called the chain, from ſea to ſea. This ſpace is called Glen-more, or the great glen, which, including water and land, is almoſt a level of ſeventy miles. There is, in fact but little land, but what is divided by firth, loch, or river ; except the two miles which lie between Loch-Oich and Loch-Lochy, called Lagan-achadrom. By means of Fort George, all entrance up the firth towards Inverneſs is prevented. Fort Auguſtus curbs the inhabitants midway, and Fort William is a check to any attempts in the weſt. Detachments are made from all theſe gariſons to Inverneſs Bernera barrack oppoſite to the Iſle of Skie, and Caſtle Duart in the Iſle of Mull §. Other ſmall parties are alſo ſcattered in huts throughout the country, to prevent the ſtealing of cattle.

Fort William is ſurrounded by vaſt mountains, which occaſion almoſt perpetual rain : the loſtief are on the ſouth ſide ; Beneviſh ſoars above the reſt, and ends, as I was told, in a point, (at this time concealed in miſt) whoſe height from the ſea is ſaid to be 1450 yards. As an antient Briton, I lament the diſgrace of Snowdon, once eſteemed the higheſt hill in the iſland, but now muſt yield the palm to a Caledonian mountain.

\* Boethius. Scot. Regni Deſer. 4.

† Buchanan, lib. x. c. 33.

‡ Who is ſaid to have killed the laſt wolf in Scotland, about the year 1680. Memoirs of this celebrated chieftain are given in the Appendix.

§ I was informed that coal has lately been diſcovered in this iſland. What advantage may not this prove, in eſtabliſhments of manufactures, in a country juſt roused from the lap of indolence !

But



But I have my doubts whether this might not be rivalled, or perhaps surpassed, by others in the same country; for examples Ben y Bourd, a central hill, from whence to the sea there is a continued and rapid descent of seventy miles, as may be seen by the violent course of the Dee to Aberdeen. But their height has not yet been taken, which to be done fairly must be from the sea. Benévish, as well as many others, harbours snow throughout the year.

The bad weather which reigned during my stay in these parts, prevented me from visiting the celebrated parallel roads in Glen-Roy. As I am unable to satisfy the curiosity of the reader from my own observation, I shall deliver in the Appendix the information I could collect relating to these amazing works.

The great produce of Lochaber is cattle: that district alone sends out annually 3000 head; but if a portion of Invernessshire is included, of which this properly is part, the number is 10,000. There are also a few horses bred here, and a very few sheep; but of late several have been imported. Scarce any arable land, for the excessive wet which reigns here almost totally prevents the growth of corn, and what little there is fit for tillage lets at ten shillings an acre. The inhabitants of this district are therefore obliged, for their support, to import 6000 bolls of oatmeal annually, which cost about 4000*l.*; the rents are about 3000*l. per annum*; the return for their cattle is about 7500*l.*; the horses may produce some trifle; so that the tenants must content themselves with a very scanty subsistence, without the prospect of saving the least against unforeseen accidents. The rage of raising rents has reached this distant country: in England there may be reason for it, (in a certain degree) where the value of lands is increased by accession of commerce, and by the rise of provisions: but here (contrary to all policy) the great men begin at the wrong end, with squeezing the bag, before they have helped the poor tenant to fill it, by the introduction of manufactures. In many of the isles this already shews its unhappy effect, and begins to depopulate the country; for numbers of families have been obliged to give up the strong attachment the Scots in general have for their country, and to exchange it for the wilds of America.

The houses of the peasants in Lochaber are the most wretched that can be imagined; framed of upright poles, which are wattled; the roof is formed of boughs like a wigwam, and the whole is covered with fods; so that in this moist climate their cottages have a perpetual and much finer verdure than the rest of the country.

Salmons are taken in these parts as late as May; about 50 tons are caught in the season. These fish never appear so early on this coast as on the eastern.

Phinocs are taken here in great numbers, 1500 having been taken at a draught. They come in August, and disappear in November. They are about a foot long, their colour grey, spotted with black, their flesh red; rise eagerly to a fly. The fishermen suppose them to be the young of what they call a great trout, weighing 30*lb.* which I suppose is the grey\*.

September 4th, left Fort William, and proceeded south along the military road on the side of a hill, an awful height above Loch-Leven†, a branch of the sea, so narrow as to have only the appearance of a river, bounded on both sides with vast mountains, among whose winding bottoms the tide rolled in with solemn majesty. The scenery begins to grow very romantic; on the west side are some woods of birch and pines: the hills are very lofty, many of them taper to a point; and my old friend, the late

\* Br. Zool. III. No. 144.

† The country people have a most superstitious desire of being buried in the little isle of Mun, in this loch.



worthy bishop Pocock, compared the shape of one to mount Tabor. Beneath them is Glen-Co, infamous for the massacre of its inhabitants in 1691, and celebrated for having (as some assert) given birth to Ossian; towards the north is Morven, the country of his hero Fingal.

"The scenery \* of this valley is far the most picturesque of any in the Highlands, being so wild and uncommon that it never fails to attract the eye of every stranger of the least degree of taste or sensibility. The entrance to it is strongly marked by the craggy mountain of Buachal-ety, a little west of the King's house. All the other mountains of Glen-Co resemble it, and are evidently but naked and solid rocks, rising on each side perpendicularly to a great height from a flat narrow bottom, so that in many places they seem to hang over, and make approaches, as they aspire, towards each other. The tops of the ridge of hills on one side are irregularly serrated for three or four miles, and shot in places into spires, which form the most magnificent part of the scenery above Ken-Loch-Leven. In the middle of the valley is a small lake, and from it runs the river Coan, or Cona, celebrated in the works of Ossian. Indeed no place could be more happily calculated than this for forming the taste and inspiring the genius of such a poet.

"The principal native animals on the mountains of Glen-Co are red deer, Alpine hares, foxes, eagles, ptarmigans, and a few moor-fowl. It is remarkable that the common hare was never seen either here, in Glen-Creran, or Glen-Ety, till the military roads were made. The partridge is a bird but lately known here, and is still rare. There are neither rats nor vipers.

"In Glen-Co are six farms, forming a rent of 241*l. per annum*: the only crops are oats, bear and potatoes. The increase of oats is three bolls and a half from one; of bear four or five. But the inhabitants cannot subsist upon their harvest: about three hundred pounds worth of meal is annually imported. They sell about seven hundred pounds worth of black cattle; but keep only sheep and goats for the use of private families: neither butter or cheese is made for sale. The men servants are paid in kind; and commonly married.

"Glen-Co lies in the united parishes of Lismore and Appin, and contains \* about four hundred inhabitants, who are visited occasionally by a preacher from Appin."

Leave on the left a vast cataract, precipitating itself in a great foaming sheet between two lofty perpendicular rocks, with trees growing out of the fissures, forming a large stream, called the water of Boan.

Breakfast at the little village of Kinloch-Leven on most excellent minced stag, the only form I thought that animal good in.

Near this village is a single farm fourteen miles long, which lets for only 35*l per annum*; and from the nature of the soil, perhaps not very cheap.

Saw here a quern, a sort of portable mill, made of two stones about two feet broad, thin at the edges, and a little thicker in the middle. In the centre of the upper stone is a hole to pour in the corn, and a peg by way of handle. The whole is placed on a cloth; the grinder pours the corn into the hole with one hand, and with the other turns round the upper stone with a very rapid motion, while the meal runs out at the sides on the cloth. This is rather preserved as a curiosity, being much out of use at present. Such are supposed to be the same with what are common among the Moors, being the simple substitute of a mill.

\* I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. John Stuart of Killin for the description of this curious valley, having only had a distant view of it.

† Report of the Visitation, &c. 1760.



Immediately after leaving Kinloch-Leven the mountains soar to a far greater height than before; the sides are covered with wood, and the bottoms of the glens filled with torrents that roar amidst the loose stones. After a ride of two miles begin to ascend the black mountain, in Argyleshire, on a steep road, which continues about three miles almost to the summit, and is certainly the highest public road in Great Britain. On the other side the descent is scarce a mile, but is very rapid down a zig-zag way. Reach the King's house, seated in a plain: it was built for the accommodation of His Majesty's troops, in their march through this desolate country, but is in a manner unfurnished. highest road

Pass near Loch-Talla, a long narrow piece of water, with a small pine wood on its side. A few weather-beaten pines and birch appear scattered up and down, and in all the bogs great numbers of roots, that evince the forest that covered the country within this half century. These were the last pines which I saw growing spontaneously in North Britain. The pine forests are become very rare: I can enumerate only those on the banks of Loch-Rannoch, at Invercauld, and Brae-Mar; at Coygach and Dirry-Monach: the first in Straithnavern, the last in Sutherland. Those about Loch-Loyne, Glen-Morrison, and Straith-Glas; a small one near Loch-Garrie; another near Loch-Arkie, and a few scattered trees above Kinloch-Leven, all in Invernessshire; and I was also informed that there are very considerable woods about Castle-Grant. I saw only one species of pine in those I visited: nor could I learn whether there was any other than what is vulgarly called the Scotch Fir, whose synonyms are these:

*Pinus sylvestris foliis brevibus glaucis, conis parvis albertibus.* Raii hist. pl. 1401. syn. stirp. Br. 442.

*Pinus sylvestris.* Gerard's herb. 1356. Lin. sp. pl. 1418. Flora Angl. 361.

*Pin d'Ecosse, ou de Geneve.* Du Hamel Traité des Arbres. II. 125. No. 5.

*Fyrre.* Strom. Sondmor. 12.

Most of this long day's journey from the black mountain was truly melancholy, almost one continued scene of dusky moors, without arable land, trees, houses, or living creatures, for numbers of miles. The names of the wild tracts I passed through were, Buachil-ety Corricha-ba, and Bendoran.

The roads are excellent; but from Fort-William to Kinloch-Leven, very injudiciously planned, often carried far about, and often so steep as to be scarce surmountable; whereas had the engineer followed the track used by the inhabitants, those inconveniences would have been avoided.

These roads, by rendering the Highlands accessible, contributed much to their present improvement, and were owing to the industry of our soldiery; they were begun in 1713\*, under the directions of General Wade, who, like another Hannibal, forced his way through rocks supposed to have been unconquerable: many of them hang over the mighty lakes of the country, and formerly afforded no other road to the natives than the paths of sheep or goats, where even the Highlander crawled with difficulty, and kept himself from tumbling into the far-subjacent water by clinging to the plants and bushes of the rock. Many of these rocks were too hard to yield to the pick-axe, and the miner was obliged to subdue their obstinacy with gunpowder, and often in places where nature had denied him footing, and where he was forced to begin his labours, suspended from above by ropes on the face of the horrible precipice. The bogs and moors had likewise their difficulties to overcome; but all were at length constrained to yield to the perseverance of our troops. military roads

\* Vide p. 100.



In some places, I observed, that, after the manner of the Romans, they left engraven on the rocks the names of the regiment each party belonged to, who were employed in these works : nor were they less worthy of being immortalized than the vexillatio's of the Roman legions ; for civilization was the consequence of the labours of both.

These roads begin at Dunkeld, are carried on through the noted pafs of Killicrankie, by Blair, to Dalnacardoch, Dalwhinie, and over the Coryarich, to Fort Augustus. A branch extends from thence eastward to Inverness, and another westward, over High-bridge to Fort William. From the last, by Kinloch-Leven, over the Black Mountain, by the King's house, to Tyendrum ; and from thence, by Glen-Urquie, to Inverary, and so along the beautiful boundaries of Loch-Lomond, to its extremity.

Another road begins near Crief, passes by Aberfeldy, crosses the Tay at Tay-bridge, and unites with the other road at Dalnacardoch ; and from Dalwhinie a branch passes through Badenoch to Inverness.

These are the principal military roads : but there may be many others I may have overlooked.

Rode through some little vales, by the side of a small river ; and from the appearance of fertility, have some relief from the dreary scenes of the rest of the day. Reach

Tyendrum, a small village. The inn is seated the highest of any house in Scotland. The Tay runs east, and a few hundred yards further is a little lake, whose waters run west. A lead-mine is worked here by a level to some advantage ; was discovered about thirty years ago : the veins run S. W. and N. E.

September 5th, continue my tour on a very fine road on a side of a narrow vale, abounding with cattle, yet destitute both of arable land and meadow ; but the beasts pick up a sustenance from the grass that springs up among the heath. The country opens on an approaching Glen-Urquie, a pretty valley, well cultivated, fertile in corn, the sides adorned with numbers of pretty groves, and the middle watered by the river Urquie : the church is seated on a knoll, in a large isle formed by the river : the manse, or minister's house, is neat, and his little demesne is decorated in the most advantageous places with seats of turf, indicating the content and satisfaction of the possessor in the lot Providence has given him.

In the church-yard are several grave-stones of great antiquity, with figures of a warrior, each furnished with a spear, or two-handed sword : on some are representations of the chase ; on others, elegant fret-work ; and on one, said to be part of the coffin of a M'Gregor is a fine running pattern of foliage and flowers, and excepting the figures, all in good taste.

On an eminence on the south side of this vale dwells M'Nabb, a smith, whose family have lived in that humble station since the year 1440, being always of the same profession. The first of the line was employed by the Lady of Sir Duncan Campbell, who built the castle of Kilchurn when her husband was absent. Some of their tombs are in the church-yard of Glen-Urquie ; the oldest has a hammer and other implements of his trade cut on it. At this place I was favoured with several Highland proverbs, inserted in the Appendix. After breakfast, at a good inn near the village, was there present at a christening, and became sponsor to a little Highlander, by no other ceremony than receiving him for a moment into my arms : this is a mere act of friendship, and no essential rite in the church of Scotland.

Pursue my journey, and have a fine view of the meanders of the river before its union with Loch-Aw : in an isle in the beginning of the lake is the castle of Kilchurn, which had been inhabited by the present Lord Breadalbane's grandfather. The great tower was repaired by his lordship, and garrisoned by him in 1745, for the service of the

Government,



government, in order to prevent the rebels from making use of that great pass across the kingdom; but is now a ruin, having lately been struck by lightning.

At a place called Hamilton's pass, in an instant burst on a view of the lake, which makes a beautiful appearance; is about a mile broad, and shews at least ten miles of its length. This water is prettily varied with isles, some so small as merely to peep above the surface; yet even these are tufted with trees: some are large enough to afford hay and pasturage; and in one, called Inch-hail, are the remains of a convent\*. On Fraoch-Elan†, the Hesperides of the Highlands, are the ruins of a castle. The fair Mego longed for the delicious fruit of the isle, guarded by a dreadful serpent: the hero Fraoch goes to gather it, and is destroyed by the monster. This tale is sung in the Erse ballads, and is translated and published in the manner of Fingal.

The whole extent of Loch-Aw is thirty miles, bounded on the north by Lorn, a portion of Argyleshire, a fertile country, prettily wooded near the water-side. On the N. E. are vast mountains; among them Cruachan‡ towers to a great height; it rises from the lake, and its sides are shagged with woods impending over it. At its foot is the discharge of the waters of this loch into Loch-Etive, an arm of the sea, after a turbulent course of a series of cataracts for the space of three miles. At Bunaw, near the north end, is a large salmon-fishery; also a considerable iron-foundry, which I fear will soon devour the beautiful woods of the country.

Pass by Scotstown, a single house. Dine at the little village of Cladish. About two miles hence, on an eminence in sight of the convent on Inch-hail, is a spot, called Crois-an-t-sleuchd, or the cross of bowing, because in Popish times, it was always customary to kneel or make obeisance on first sight of any consecrated place§.

Pass between hills finely planted with several sorts of trees, such as Weymouth pines, &c. and after a picturesque ride, reach

Inverary||, the castle the principal seat of the Dukes of Argyle, chief of the Campbells; was built by Duke Archibald; is quadrangular with a round tower at each corner; and in the middle rises a square one glazed on every side to give light to the staircase and galleries, and has from without a most disagreeable effect. In the attic story are eighteen good bed-chambers: the ground floor was at this time in a manner unfurnished, but will have several good apartments. The castle is built of a coarse lapis ollaris, brought from the other side of Loch-Fine, and is the same kind with that found in Norway, of which the King of Denmark's palace at Copenhagen is built. Near the new castle are some remains of the old.

This place will in time be very magnificent: but at the present the space between the front and the water is disgraced with the old town, composed of the most wretched hovels that can be imagined. The founder of the castle designed to have built a new town on the west side of the little bay the house stands on: he finished a few houses, a custom-house, and an excellent inn: his death interrupted the completion of the plan, which, when brought to perfection, will give the place a very different appearance to what it now bears.

\* The country people are still fond of burying here. Insular interments are said to owe their origin to the fear people had of having their friends' corpses devoured by wolves on the main land.

† This island was granted by Alexander III. in 1267, to Gillcrist M'Nahan and his heirs forever, on condition they should entertain the King whenever he passed that way.

‡ Or the great heap.

§ Druidical stones and temples are called Clachan, churches having often been built on such places: to go to Clachan is a common Erse phrase for going to church.

|| In the Gallic, Inner-aora.



From the top of the great rock Duniquaich is a fine view of the castle, the lawn sprinkled with fine trees, the hills covered with extensive plantations, a country fertile in corn, bordering on the loch, and the loch itself covered with boats. The trees on the lawn about the castle are said to have been planted by the Earl of Argyle: they thrive greatly; for I observed beech from nine to twelve feet and a half in girth, pines nine, and a lesser maple between seven and eight.

But the busy scene of the herring-fishery gave no small improvement to the magnificent environs of Inverary. Every evening \* some hundreds of boats in a manner covered the surface of Loch-Fine, an arm of the sea, which, from its narrowness and from the winding of its shores, has all the beauties of a fresh water lake: on the week days, the cheerful noise of the bagpipe and dance-echoes from on board; on the sabbath, each boat approaches the land, and psalmody and devotion divide the day; for the common people of the north are disposed to be religious, having the example before them of a gentry untainted by luxury and dissipation, and the advantage of being instructed by a clergy, who are active in their duty, and who preserve respect, amidst all the disadvantages of a narrow income.

The length of Loch-Fine, from the eastern end to the point of Lamond, is above thirty Scotch miles; but its breadth scarce two measured: the depth from sixty to seventy fathoms. It is noted for the vast shoals of herrings that appear here in July and continue till January. The highest season is from September to Christmas, when near six hundred boats, with four men in each, are employed. A chain of nets is used (for several are united) of an hundred fathoms in length. As the herrings swim at very uncertain depths, so the nets are sunk to the depth the shoal is found to take: the success therefore depends much on the judgment or good fortune of the fishers, in taking their due depths; for it often happens that one boat will take multitudes, while the next does not catch a single fish, which makes the boatmen perpetually enquire of each other about the depth of their nets. These are kept up by buoys to a proper pitch; the ropes that run through them fastened with pegs, and by drawing up, or letting out the rope (after taking out the pegs) they adjust their situation, and then replace them. Sometimes the fish swim in twenty fathom water, sometimes in fifty, and oftentimes even at the bottom.

It is computed that each boat gets about 40l. in the season. The fish are either salted, and packed in barrels for exportation, or sold fresh to the country people, two or three hundred horses being brought every day to the water-side from very distant parts. A barrel holds 500 herrings, if they are of the best kind: at a medium, 700; but if more, for sometimes a barrel will hold 1000, they are reckoned very poor. The present price 1l. 4s. per barrel; but there is a drawback of the duty on salt for those that are exported.

The great rendezvous of vessels for the fishery off the western isles is at Cambeltown, in Cantyre, where they clear out on the 12th of September, and sometimes three hundred busses are seen there at a time: they must return to their different ports by January 13th, where they ought to receive the premium of 2l. 10s. per ton of herrings; but it is said to be very ill paid, which is a great discouragement to the fishery.

The herrings of Loch-Fine are as uncertain in their migration as they are on the coast of Wales: they had for numbers of years quitted that water; but appeared again there within these dozen years. Such is the case with the lochs on all this western coast, not but people despair too often of finding them, from one or two unsuccessful trials in

\* The fishery is carried on in the night, the herrings being then in motion.



the beginning of the season; perhaps from not adjusting their nets to the depth the fish happen then to swim in: but if each year a small vessel or two was sent to make a thorough trial in every branch of the sea on this coast, they would undoubtedly find shoals of fish in one or other.

Tunnies \*, called here mackrel-flure, are very frequently caught in the herring season, which they follow to prey on. They are taken with a strong iron hook fastened to a rope and baited with a herring; as soon as hooked lose all spirit, and are drawn up without any resistance: are very active when at liberty, and jump and frolic on the surface of the water.

September 7. Crossed over an elegant bridge of three arches upon the Aray, in front of the castle, and kept riding along the side of the loch for about seven miles: saw in one place a shoal of herrings, close to the surface, perfectly piled on one another, with a flock of gulls busied with this offered booty. After quitting the water-side the road is carried for a considerable way through the bottoms of naked, deep and gloomy glens. Ascend a very high pass with a little loch on the top, and descend into Glen-Crow, the seat of melancholy, seldom cheered with the rays of the sun. Reach the end of Loch-Long, another narrow arm of the sea, bounded by high hills, and after a long course terminates in the Firth of Clyde.

Near this place see a house, very pleasantly situated, belonging to Colonel Campbell, amidst plantations, with some very fertile bottoms adjacent. On ascending a hill not half a mile farther, appears

Loch-Lomond. North Britain may well boast of its waters; for so short a ride as thirty miles presents the traveller with the view of four most magnificent pieces. Loch-Aw, Loch-Fine, Loch-Long, and Loch-Lomond. Two indeed are of salt-water; but, by their narrowness, give the idea of fresh-water lakes. It is an idle observation of travellers, that seeing one is the same with seeing all of these superb waters; for almost every one I visited has its proper characters.

Loch-Leven is a broad expanse, with isles and cultivated shores.

Loch-Tay makes three bold windings, has steep but sloping shores, cultivated in many parts, and bounded by vast hills.

Loch-Rannoch is broad and strait, has more wildness about it, with a large natural pine wood on its southern banks.

Loch-Tumel is narrow, confined by the sloping sides of steep hills, and has on its western limits a flat, rich, wooded country, watered by a most serpentine stream.

The Loch of Spinie is almost on a flat, and its sides much indented.

Loch-Moy is small, and has soft features on its banks, amidst rude environs.

Loch-Nefs is strait and narrow: its shores abound with a wild magnificence, lofty, precipitous, and wooded, and has all the greatness of an Alpine lake.

Loch-Oich has lofty mountains at a small distance from its borders; the shores indented, and the water decorated with isles.

Loch-Loch, wants the isles; its shores slope, and several straits terminate on its banks.

Loch-Aw is long and waving: its little isles tufted with trees, and just appearing above the water, its two great feeds of water at each extremity, and its singular lateral discharge near one of them, sufficiently mark this great lake.

Loch-Lomond, the last, the most beautiful of the Caledonian lakes. The first view of it from Tarbat presents an extensive serpentine winding amidst lofty hills: on the



*M'Gregors* north barren, black, and rocky, which darken with their shade that contracted part of the water. Near this gloomy tract, beneath Craig Roiston, was the principal seat of the M'Gregors, a murderous clan, infamous for excesses of all kinds; at length, for a horrible massacre of the Colquhouns \*, or Cahouns, were proscribed, and hunted down like wild beasts; their very name suppressed by act of council †; so that the remnant, now dispersed like Jews, dare not even sign it to any deed. Their posterity are still said to be distinguished among the clans in which they have incorporated themselves, not only by the redness of their hair, but by their still retaining the mischievous dispositions of their ancestors.

On the west side the mountains are clothed near the bottoms with woods of oak quite to the water edge; their summits lofty, naked and craggy.

On the east side the mountains are equally high, but the tops form a more even ridge parallel to the lake, except where Ben-Lomond ‡, like Saul amidst his companions, overtops the rest. The upper parts were black and barren; the lower had great marks of fertility, or at least of industry, for the yellow corn was finely contrasted with the verdure of the groves intermixed with it.

This eastern boundary is part of the Grampian hills, which extend from hence through the counties of Perth, Angus, Mearns, and Aberdeen. They take their name from only a single hill, the Mons Grampius of Tacitus, where Calgacus waited the approach of Agricola, and where the battle was fought so fatal to the brave Caledonians. Antiquarians have not agreed upon the particular spot; but Mr. Gordon § places it near Comrie, at the upper end of Strathern, at a place to this day called Galgachanmoor. But to return.

The road runs sometimes through woods, at others is exposed and naked; in some so steep as to require the support of a wall; the whole work of the soldiery: blessed exchange of instruments of destruction for those that give safety to the traveller, and a polish to the once inaccessible native.

Two great headlands covered with trees separate the first scene from one totally different; the last is called the Point of Firkin. On passing this cape an expanse of water bursts at once on your eye, varied with all the softer beauties of nature. Immediately beneath is a flat covered with wood and corn: beyond, the headlands stretch far into the water, and consist of gentle risings; many have their surfaces covered with wood, others adorned with trees loosely scattered either over a fine verdure, or the purple bloom of the heath. Numbers of islands are dispersed over the lake of the same elevated form as the little capes, and wooded in the same manner; others just peep above the surface, and are tufted with trees; and numbers are so disposed as to form magnificent vistas between.

Opposite Lufs, at a small distance from shore, is a mountainous isle almost covered with wood; is near half a mile long, and has a most fine effect. I could not count the

\* Vide Appendix.

† In the 1st of Charles I. c. 30. there was a strict act against these people confirming all former acts of council against them, suppressing the name, and obliging them to make compearance yearly on the 24th of July before the council after sixteen years of age, to find caution, or otherways if they be denounced for their failzy, declaring them to be intercommuned, and that none resort or assist them; and the act constitutes several justices in that part against them. In 1661, this was rescinded, but revived again in the first parliament of William and Mary, and the act recissory annulled. Abridg. Acts of Parliament, 45. I think that the act has been lately wholly repealed.

‡ Its height is 3240 feet.

§ Itin. Septent. 39. The reasons against the opinion of this able antiquary will be given in the other volumes.



number of islands, but was told there are twenty-eight : the largest two miles long, and stocked with deer.

The length of this charming lake is twenty-four Scotch miles ; its greatest breadth eight ; its greatest depth, which is between the point of Firkin and Ben-Lomond, is a hundred and twenty fathoms. Besides the fish common to the lochs are guiniads, called here poans.

At this time were living at the little village of Lufs the following persons, most amazing instances of cotemporary longevity ; and perhaps proofs of the uncommon healthiness of the place. These compose the venerable list :

Rev. Mr. James Robertson, minister, aged	-	-	90.
Mrs. Robertson, his wife,	-	-	86.
Anne Sharp, their servant,	-	-	94.
Niel Macnaughtan, kirk-officer,	-	-	86.
Christian Gay, his wife,	-	-	94.
Walter Maclellan,	-	-	90.

The country from Lufs \* to the southern extremity of the lake continually improves ; the mountains sink gradually into small hills ; the land is highly cultivated, well planted, and well inhabited. I was struck with rapture at a sight so long new to me : it would have been without alloy, had it not been dashed with the uncertainty whether the mountain virtue hospitality, would flourish with equal vigour in the softer scenes, I was on the point of entering on ; for in the Highlands every house gave welcome to the traveller.

On the road side near Lufs is a quarry of most excellent slates ; and near the side of the lake, about a mile or two farther, is a great heap of stones in memory of St. Mac-Kessog, bishop and confessor, who suffered martyrdom there A. D. 520, and was buried in Comstraddan church.

The vale between the end of the lake and Dunbarton is unspeakably beautiful, very fertile, and finely watered by the great and rapid river Leven, the discharge of the lake, which, after a short course, drops into the Firth of Clyde below Dunbarton : there is scarcely a spot on its banks but what is decorated with bleacheries, plantations, and villas. Nothing can equal the contrast in this day's journey, between the black barren dreary glens of the morning ride, and the soft scenes of the evening, islands worthy of the retreat of Armida, and which Rinaldo himself would have quitted with a sigh.

Before I take my last leave of the Highlands, it will be proper to observe that every entrance into them is strongly marked by nature.

On the south, the narrow and wooded glen near Dunkeld instantly shews the change of country.

On the east, the craggy pass of Bollitir gives a contracted admission into the Grampian hills.

On the north, the mountains near Loch-May appear very near, and form what is properly styled the threshold of the country ; and on the

West, the narrow road impending over Loch-Lomond forms a most characteristic entrance to this mountainous tract.

But the Erse or Gallic language is not confined within these limits ; for it is spoken on all sides beyond these mountains. On the eastern coast it begins at Nairn ; on the western extends over all the isles. It ceases in the north of Caithness, the Orkneys, and the Shetland islands† ; but near Loch-Lomond, is heard at Lufs, at Buchanan, east of the lake, and at Roseneth, west of it.

\* A tolerable inn on the borders of the lake.

† In the Shetland isles are still some remains of the Norse, or old Norwegian language.



The traveller, who has leisure, should ride to the eminence of Milleggs, to see the rich prospect between Loch-Lomond and the Clyde. One way is seen part of the magnificent lake, Ben-Lomond and the vast mountains above Glen-Crow. On the other hand appears a fine reach of the Clyde enlivened with shipping, a view of the pretty seats of Roseneth and Ardincapel, and the busy towns of Port-Glasgow and Greenock.

Cross the ferry over the Leven at Bonnel, and after a ride of three miles reach

Dunbarton, a small but good old town, seated on a plain near the conflux of the Leven with the Firth of Clyde; it consists principally of one large street in form of a crescent. On one side is the tolbooth, and at the south end the church with a small spire steeple; it had been collegiate, was founded about 1450 by Isabel Countess of Lenox, and Dutchess of Albany, and was dedicated to St. Patrick, who was born in this county. The waives of the town are bag-pipes, which go about at nine o'clock at night and five in the morning.

The castle is seated a little south of the town on a two-headed rock of a stupendous height, rising in a strange manner out of the sands, and totally detached from every thing else; is bounded on one side by the Clyde, on the other by the Leven. On one of the summits are the remains of an old light-house, which some suppose to have been a Roman pharos; on the other, the powder magazine: in the hollow between is a large well of water fourteen feet deep. The sides of the rocks are immense precipices, and often hang-over, except on the side where the governor's house stands, which is defended by walls and a few cannon, and garrisoned by a few invalids. It seems to have been often used as a state prison: the Regent Morton was secured there previous to his trial. From its natural strength, it was in former times deemed impregnable; so that the desperate but successful scalado of it in 1571\* may vie with the greatest attempts of that kind, with the capture of the Numidian fortress, in the Jugurthine war, by Marius; of the more horrible surprise of Fescamp †, by the gallant Bois-rosé, in 1693.

The Britons in very early times made this rock a fortress; for it was usual with them after the departure of the Romans to retreat to the tops of craggy inaccessible mountains, to forests, and to rocks on the shores of the sea: but Boethius makes the Scots possessed of it some ages prior to that, and pretends that it resisted all the efforts of Agricola, who laid siege to it. It certainly may claim a right to great antiquity, for Bede declares it to have been the best fortified city the Britons had during his days. Its ancient name was Alclud, or Arclud, or the place on the Cluid. But in after-times it acquired the name of Dun Britton, being the last place in these parts held by the Britons against the usurping Saxons. In 756, reduced by famine, it was surrendered to Edbert King of Northumberland.

From the summit of this rock is a fine view of the country, of the town of Dunbarton, the river Leven, the Frith of Clyde (the Glota of Tacitus) here a mile broad, and of the towns of Greenock and Port-Glasgow, on the opposite shore. The business of this country is the spinning of thread, which is very considerable. There is also a great salmon fishery: but in this populous country, so great is the demand for them that none can be spared for curing. Gillses come up the river in June, and continue in plenty about twenty days; and many salmon trout are taken from March to July. Phinocs, called here yellow fins, come in July, and continue about the same space of time as the gillses: the fishermen call them the young of some great sea trout. During May, parrs appear in such numbers in the Leven, that the water seems quite animated with them. There are besides in that river, perch and a few poans ‡.

\* Robertson's Hist. Scotland, II. 8vo. Guthrie's, VII. 231. † Sully's Memoirs, Vol. I. Book VI.

‡ At Dunbarton I was informed by persons of credit, that swallows have often been taken in midwinter, in a torpid state, out of the steeple of the church, and also out of a sand-bank over the river Endrich, near Loch-Lomond.



Sept. 8. Pass by the ruins of Dunglas \* castle, near the banks of the Clyde, which meanders finely along a rich plain full of barley and oats, and much inclosed with good hedges, a rarity in North Britain. At a distance are some gentle risings, interspersed with woods and villas belonging to the citizens of Glasgow. Cross the water of Kelvin at the village of Partic, and soon after reach

Glasgow.—The best built of any modern second-rate city I ever saw: the houses of stone, and in a good taste. The principal street runs east and west, and is near a mile and a half long, but unfortunately is not strait. The tolbooth is large and handsome. Next to that is the exchange; within is a spacious room with full length portraits of all our monarchs since James I.; and an excellent one, by Ramsay, of Archibald Duke of Argyle, in a judge's robe. Before the exchange is a large equestrian statue of King William. This is the broadest and finest part of the street; many of the houses are built over piazzas, but too narrow to be of much service to walkers. Numbers of other streets cross this at right angles, and are in general well built.

The market-places are great ornaments to this city, the fronts being done in a very fine taste, and the gates adorned with columns of one or other of the orders. Some of these markets are for meal, greens, fish, or flesh. There are two for the last which have conduits out of several of the pillars, so that they are constantly kept sweet and clean.

Near the meal-market is a public granary, to be filled on any apprehension of scarceness.

The guard-house is in the great street, which is kept by the inhabitants, who regularly do duty. An excellent police is observed here, and proper officers attend the markets to prevent any abuses.

The old bridge over the Clyde consists of eight arches, and was built 400 years ago by bishop Rea; another is now built. The tide flows three miles higher up the country, but at low water is fordable. There is a plan for deepening the channel, for at present the tide brings up only very small vessels; and the ports belonging to this city lie several miles lower, at Port Glasgow and Greenock, on the side of the Firth.

Near the bridge is a large alms-house, a vast nailery, a stone-ware manufacture, and a great porter brewery, which supplies some part of Ireland. Within sight, on the south side are collieries, and much coal is exported into the last mentioned island, and into America.

The great imports of this city are tobacco and sugar: of the former, above 40,000 hogsheds have been annually imported, and most part of it again exported into France and other countries. The manufactures here are linens, cambricks†, lawns, tapes, fustians, and striped linens; so that it already begins to rival Manchester, and has, in point of conveniency of its ports, in respect to America, a great advantage over it.

The college is a large building, with a handsome front to the street, resembling some of the old colleges in Oxford. Charles I. subscribed 200l. towards this work, but was prevented by the troubles from paying it; but Cromwell afterwards fulfilled the design of the royal donor. It was founded in 1450 by James II. Pope Nicholas V. gave the bull, but Bishop Turnbull supplied the money. There are about 400 students belonging to the college, who lodge in the town; but the professors have good houses in the college. Young gentlemen of fortune have private tutors, who have an eye to their conduct; the rest live entirely at their own discretion.

\* A British word; Dun glas, or the grey-hill.

† The greatest cambrick manufacture is now at Paisley, a few miles from this city.



The library is a very handsome room, with a gallery round it, supported by pillars. That beneficent nobleman the first Duke of Chandos, when he visited the college, gave 500l. towards building this apartment.

*public school*  
Messrs. Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers and booksellers to the university, have instituted an academy for painting and engraving; and, like good citizens, zealous to promote the welfare and honour of their native place, have at a vast expence formed a most numerous collection of paintings from abroad, in order to form the taste of their élèves.

The printing is a very considerable branch of business, and has long been celebrated for the beauty of the types and the correctness of the editions. Here are preserved in cases numbers of monumental and other stones\*, taken out of the walls on the Roman stations in this part of the kingdom; some are well cut and ornamented; most of them were done to perpetuate the memory of the *vexillatio*, or party who performed such or such works; others in memory of officers who died in the country.

The cathedral is a large pile, now divided into two churches. Beneath, and deep underground, is another, in which is also divine service, where the congregation may truly say, *clamavi e profundis*: the roof is fine, made of stone and supported by pillars, but the beauty much hurt by the crowding of the pews. Near this is the ruin of the castle, or bishop's palace.

The new church is a very handsome building with a large elegant porch, but the outside is much disfigured by a slender square tower; and, in general, the steeples of North Britain are in a remarkable bad taste, being, in fact, no favourite part of architecture with the church of Scotland. The inside of that just spoken of is most neatly finished, supported by pillars, and very prettily stuccoed: it is one of the very few exceptions to the slovenly and indecent manner in which Presbytery keeps the houses of God; reformation in manners of religion seldom observes mediocrity, here it was outrageous; for a place of worship commonly neat was deemed to favour of Popery; but, to avoid the imputation of that extreme, they run into another; for in many parts of Scotland our Lord seems still to be worshipped in a stable, and often in a very wretched one. Many of the churches are thatched with heath, and in some places are in such bad repair as to be half open at top; so that the people appear to worship, as the Druids did of old, in open temples.

Sept. 10. Went to see Hamilton-House, twelve miles distant from Glasgow: ride through a rich and beautiful corn country, adorned with small woods, gentlemen's seats, and well watered. Hereabout I saw the first muddy stream since I had left Edinburgh; for the Highland rivers running generally through a bed of rock or pure gravel, receive no other taint, in the greatest floods, than the brown crystalline tinge of the moors, out of which they rise.

See on the west, at a little distance from the road, the ruins of Bothwell castle, and the bridge, remarkable for the Duke of Monmouth's victory over the rebels in 1679. The church was collegiate, founded by Archibald Earl of Douglas, 1398, and is, as I heard†, oddly incrusted with a thin coat of stone.

Hamilton House, or Palace, as it is called here, is seated at the end of a small town; is a large disagreeable pile of building, with two deep wings at right angles with the centre. The gallery is of great extent, and furnished (as well as some other rooms) with most excellent paintings: that of Daniel in the lion's den, by Rubens, is a great performance.

\* Several have been engraven by the artists of the academy. The provost of the university did me the honour of presenting me with a set.

† Bishop Pocock's Manuscript Journal.



The fear and devotion of the prophet is finely expressed by his uplifted face and eyes, his clasped hands, his swelling muscles, and the violent extension of one foot; a lion looks fiercely at him with open mouth, and seems only restrained by the Almighty power from making him fall a victim to his hunger; and the signal deliverance of Daniel is more fully marked by the number of human bones scattered over the floor, as if to shew the instant fate of others, in whose favour the Deity did not interfere.

The marriage-feast, by Paul Veronese, is a fine piece; and the obstinacy and resistance of the intruder, who came without the wedding-garment, is strongly expressed.

The treaty of peace between England and Spain in the reign of James I. by Juan de Pantoja, is a good historical picture. There are six envoys on the part of the Spaniards, and five on that of the English, with their names inscribed over each; the English are the Earls of Dorset, Nottingham, Devonshire, Northampton, and Robert Cecil.

Earls of Lauderdale and Lanerk settling the covenant, both in black, with faces full of puritanical solemnity.

Several of the Dukes of Hamilton. James Duke of Hamilton, with a blue ribband and white rod. His son, beheaded in 1649. His brother, killed at the battle of Worcester. The Duke who fell in the duel with Lord Mohun.

Fielding, Earl of Denbigh\*, his hair grey, a gun in his hand, and attended by an Indian boy. It seems perfectly to start from the canvas, and the action of his countenance looking up has matchless spirit. He commanded the fleet in two expeditions for the relief of Rochelle. In the last, which was in 1628, he found an inferior fleet of the French king's lying before the harbour. These he promised the besieged to destroy as soon as a high tide and fit wind concurred. Both happened; but, instead of attacking the enemy, he made an inglorious retreat, and was pursued by a few French ships even to our own coasts. Yet, on the breaking out of the civil war, he behaved on land like a stout and gallant soldier; and died fighting valiantly in the royal cause in April 1643, in a skirmish not far from Birmingham. It is remarkable, that in the battle of Edge-hill, his son, espousing the contrary side, acted in the wing in which his father was posted.

His daughter married James Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Hamilton. Both their portraits are in this palace:

Old Duke of Chatelherault, with an order about his neck.

Two half lengths in black; one with a fiddle in his hand, the other in a grotesque attitude; both with the same countenances, good, but swarthy, mistakenly called David Rizzo's; but I could not learn that there was any portrait of that unfortunate man.

*Maria Dei gratia Scotorum Regina*; 1586. *Æt.* 43. a half length; a stiff figure, in a great ruff, auburn hair, oval but pretty full face, of much larger and plainer features than that at castle Braan, a natural alteration from the increase of her cruel usage, and of her ill health; yet still with a resemblance to that portrait. It was told me here, that she sent this picture, together with a ring, to the Duke of Hamilton, a little before her execution.

A head, said to be Anna Bullen, very handsome, dressed in a ruff and kerchief edged with ermine, and in a purple gown; over her face a veil, so transparent as not to conceal

The bloom of young desire and purple light of love.

\* The person who shewed the house called him governor of Jamaica; but that must be a mistake. If any errors appear in my account of any of the pictures, I flatter myself it may be excused; for sometimes they were shewn by servants; sometimes the owners of the house were so obliging as to attend me, whom I could not trouble with a number of questions.



Earl Morton, Regent of Scotland.

The rough reformer John Knox.

Lord Belhaven, author of the famous speech against the Union.

Philip II. at full length, with a strange figure of Fame bowing at his feet, with a label and this motto. *Pro merente adfco.*

About a mile from the house, on an eminence, above a deep wooded glen, with the Avon at its bottom, is Chatelherault; so called from the estate the family once possessed in France, is an elegant banqueting-house, with a dog-kennel, gardens, &c. and commands a fine view of the country. The park is now much inclosed; but I am told, that there are still in it a few of the breed of the wild cattle, which Boethius\* says were peculiar to the Caledonian forest, were of a snowy whiteness, and had manes like lions; they were at this time in a distant part of the park, and I lost sight of them.

Returned to Glasgow.

Sept. 11. Crossed the country towards Sterling. Passed through the village of Kylesith, noted for a victory gained by Montrose over the Covenanters. Through a bog, where numbers of the fugitives perished, is now cutting part of the canal that is to join the firths of Forth and Clyde. Saw the spot where the battle of Bannockburne was fought, in which the English under Edward II. had a shameful defeat. Edward was so assured of conquest, that he brought with him William Baston, a Carmelite, and famous poet, to celebrate his victory; but the monarch was defeated, and the poor bard taken and forced by the conqueror, *invitâ Minervâ*, to sing his success, which he did in such lines as these:

*Hic capit, hic rapit, hic terit, hic ferit, ecce dolores;  
Vox tonat; æs sonat; hic ruit; hic luit; arcto modo res.  
Hic secat; hic necat; hic docet; hic nocet; iste fugatur:  
Hic latet, hic patet; hic premit, hic gemit; hic superatur.*

At this place that unfortunate monarch James III. was defeated by his rebellious subjects; in his flight fell down from his horse, and, bruised by his fall, was drawn into a neighbouring mill, and soon after assassinated by a priest called in to receive his confession, and afford him spiritual assistance.

Went through the small town of St. Ninian†, a mile south of Sterling. The church had been the powder-magazine of the Rebels; who, on their return, blew it up in such haste, as to destroy some of their own people, and about fifteen innocent spectators.

Sterling and its castle, in respect of situation, is a miniature of Edinburgh; is placed on a ridged hill or rock, rising out of a plain, having the castle at the upper end on a high precipitous rock. Within its walls was the palace of several of the Scotch kings, a square building, ornamented on three sides with pillars resting on grotesque figures projecting from the wall, and on the top of each pillar is a statue, seemingly the work of fancy. Near it is the old parliament house, a vast room 120 feet long, very high, with a timbered roof, and formerly had a gallery running round the inside. Below the castle are the ruins of the palace belonging to the Earls of Mar, whose family had once the keeping of this fortress. There are still the Erskine arms, and much orna-

\* "Gignere solet ea silva boves candidissimos in formam leonis jubam habentes, cætera mansuetis simillimos verò adeo feros," &c. Deser. Regni Scotiæ, fol. xi.

† Apostle of the Picts, son of a prince of the Cumbrian Britains, converting the Picts as far as the Grampian hills. Died 432.



mental carving on parts of it. The town of Sterling is inclosed with a wall; the streets are irregular and narrow, except that which leads to the castle. Here, and at the village of Bannocburne, is a considerable manufacture of coarse carpets.

From the top of the castle is by far the finest view in Scotland. To the east is a vast plain rich in corn, adorned with woods, and watered with the river Forth, whose meanders are, before it reaches the sea, so frequent and so large, as to form a multitude of most beautiful peninsulas; for, in many parts, the windings approximate so close as to leave only a little isthmus of a few yards. In this plain is an old abby, a view of Alloa, Clackmannan, Falkirk, the Firth of Forth, and the country as far as Edinburgh. On the north, the Ochil-hills, and the moor where the battle of Dumblain was fought. To the west, the straith of Menteith, as fertile as the eastern plain, and terminated by the Highland mountains, among which the summit of Ben-Lomond is very conspicuous. The Sylva Caledonia, or Caledonian forest, begun a little north of Sterling, and passing through Menteith and Strathern, extended, according to Boethius, as far as Athol on one side, and Lochabar on the other. It is very slightly mentioned by the antients\*; but the supposed extent is given by the Scottish historian.

Lie at Falkirk, a large ill-built town, supported by the great fairs for black cattle from the Highlands, it being computed that 24,000 head are annually sold here. There is also a great deal of money got here by the carriage of goods, landed at Carron wharf, to Glasgow. Such is the increase of trade in this country, that about twenty years ago not three carts could be found in the town, and at present there are above a hundred that are supported by their intercourse with Glasgow.

In the church-yard, on a plain stone, is the following epitaph on John de Graham, styled the right hand of the gallant Wallace, killed at the battle of Falkirk in 1298 †:

Here ligs Sir John the Grame both wight and wise,  
Ane of the chief reskewit Scotland thrise.  
Ane better knight not to the world was lent,  
Nor was gude Grame of trueth, and of hardiment.  
Mente manueque potens, et Vallæ fidus Achates  
Conditur hic Gramus bello interfectus ab Anglis.  
22 Julii. 1298.

Near this is another epitaph, occasioned by a second battle of Falkirk, as disgraceful to the English as the other was fatal to the Scots: the first was a well disputed combat; the last, a panic on both sides, for part of each army flew, the one west, the other east, each carrying the news of their several defeats, while the total destruction of our forces was prevented by the gallant behaviour of a brigadier, who with two regiments faced such of the rebels as kept the field, and prevented any further advantages. The epitaph I allude to is in memory of Sir Robert Monro ‡, the worthy chief-tain

\* By Pliny, lib. iv. c. 16. and Eumenius, in his Panegyric on Constantius, c. 7.

† Fought between Falkirk and Carron works, at a place called to this day Graham's Moor.

‡ Conditur hic quod poterit mori  
ROBERTI MONRO de Foulis, Eq. Bar.  
Gentis sui Principis  
Militum Tribuni:  
Vitâ in castris curiaque Britannica  
Honestè productâ  
Pro Libertate religione Patriæ  
In acie honestissimè defunctâ  
Prope FALKIRK Jan xviii. 1746. Æt. 62.  
Virtutis consilique fama



tain of that loyal clan, a family which lost three brothers the same year in support of the royal cause. Sir Robert being greatly wounded in the battle was murdered in cool blood by the rebels, with his brother Dr. Monro, who, with fraternal piety, was at that time dressing his wounds; the third was assassinated by mistake for one who well deserved his death for spontaneous barbarities on Highlanders approaching according to proclamation to surrender their arms.

I have very often mentioned fields of battle in this part of the kingdom; scarce a spot has escaped unstained with gore; for, had they no public enemy to contend with, the Scots, like the Welsh of old, turned their arms against each other.

*Carron*  
*foundry* Carron iron-works lie about a mile from Falkirk; and are the greatest of the kind in Europe: they were founded about eight years ago, before which there was not a single house, and the country a mere moor. At present, the buildings of all sorts are of vast extent, and about twelve hundred men are employed. The iron is smelted from the stone, then cast into cannon, pots, and all sorts of utensils made in foundries. This work has been of great service to the country, by teaching the people industry and a method of setting about any sort of labour, which, before, the common people had scarce any notion of.

Carron wharf lies on the Forth, and is not only useful to the works, but of great service even to Glasgow, as considerable quantities of goods destined for that city are landed there. The canal likewise begins in this neighbourhood, which, when effected, will prove another benefit to these works.

At a small distance from the foundries, on a little rising above the river Carron, stood that celebrated antiquity called Arthur's Oven, which the ingenious Mr. Gordon \* supposes to have been a sacellum, or little chapel, a repository for the Roman insignia, or standards; but, to the mortification of every curious traveller, this matchless edifice is now no more; its barbarous owner, a Gothic knight, caused it to be demolished, in order to make a mill-dam with the materials, which, within less than a year, the Naides, in resentment of the sacrilege, came down in a flood, and entirely swept away.

Sept. 12. Saw near Callandar-House some part of Antoninus's Wall, or, as it is called here, Graham's Dyke †. The vallum and the ditch are here very evident, and both are of great size, the last being forty feet broad, and thirteen deep: it extended from the Firth of Forth to that of Clyde, and was defended at proper distances by forts and watch-towers, the work of the Roman legions under the command of Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius. According to Mr. Gordon, it began

In Montanorum cohortis Præfectura  
Quamdiu prælium FONTONÆUM memorabitur  
Perduratura;

Ob amicitiam et fidem amicis  
Humanitatem clementiamque adversariis  
Benevolentiam bonitatemque omnibus,  
Trucidantibus etiam,  
In perpetuum desideranda.

DUNCANUS MONRO de Obfalde, M. D. Æt. 59.

Frater Fratrem linquere fugiens,  
Sauciam curans, ictus inermis  
Commoriens cohonestat Urnam.

\* Itin. Septentr. p. 74. tab. iv.

† So called from Graham, who is said to have first made a breach in this wall soon after the retreat of the Romans out of Britain. Vide Boethius, cxxxi.



at old Kirk Patrick on the Firth of Clyde, and ended two miles west of Abercorn, on the Firth of Forth, being in length 36 miles, 887 paces.

Passed through Burrowstoness, a town on the Firth, enveloped in smoke from the great salt-pans and vast collieries near it. The town-house is built in form of a castle. There is a good quay, much frequented by shipping; for considerable quantities of coal are sent from hence to London; and there are besides some Greenland ships\* belonging to the town.

Ride near Abercorn, called by Bede the monastery of Abercurnig; of which no mention is made in the accounts of the Scotch religious houses, nor has there been for many centuries the least remains; for Buchanan says, that none of any kind were to be met with even in his time, except the ruins of a tower belonging to the Douglases.

Reach Hopeton-House, the seat of the Earl of Hopetoun; a house begun by Sir William Bruce, and finished by Mr. Adams, is the handsomest I saw in North Britain: the front is enriched with pilasters, the wings at some distance joined to it by a beautiful colonade; one wing is the stables, the other the library. In the last is a single piece of lead ore weighing five tons, got out of his Lordship's mines at the Lead-hills.

The great improvements round the house are very extensive, but the gardens are still in the old taste; trees and shrubs succeed here greatly, among others were two Portugal laurels thirty feet high. Nothing can equal the grandeur of the approach to the house, or the prospect from it. The situation is bold, on an eminence, commanding a view of the Firth of Forth, bounded on the north by the county of Fife; the middle is chequered with islands, such as Garvey, Inch Keith †, and others; and on the south-east is a vast command of East Lothian, and the terminating object, the great conic hill of North Berwick.

The whole ride from Sterling to Queen's Ferry (near Hopeton-House) is not to be paralleled for the elegance and variety of its prospects; the whole is a composition of all that is great and beautiful: towns, villages, seats, and antient towers decorate each bank of that fine expanse of water the Firth; while the busy scenes of commerce and rural economy are no small addition to the still life. The lofty mountains of the Highlands form a distant but august boundary towards the north-west, and the eastern view is enlivened with ships perpetually appearing or vanishing amidst the numerous isles.

Pass by Queen's-Ferry; fall into the Edinburgh road, and finish this evening in that capital, a most agreeable and prosperous tour. It was impossible not to recal the idea of what I had seen; to imagine the former condition of this part of the kingdom, and to compare it with the present state, and, by a sort of second-sight, make a probable conjecture of the happy appearance it will assume in a very few years. Nor could I forbear repeating the prophetic lines ‡ of Aaron Hill, who seemed seized with a like reverie.

\* This year the whale fishery began to revive; which for a few years past had been so unsuccessful, that several of the adventurers had thoughts of disposing of their ships. Perhaps the whales had till this year deserted those seas; for Marten, p. 185 of his voyage to Spitzbergen, remarks, "That these animals, either weary of their place, or sensible of their own danger, do often change their harbours."

† This isle is opposite to Leith. By order of council, in 1497, all venereal patients in the neighbourhood were transported there, *ne quid detrimenti res publica caperet*. It is remarkable, that this disorder, which was thought to have appeared in Europe only four years before, should make so quick a progress. The horror of a disease, for which there was then supposed to be no cure, must have occasioned this attention to stop the contagion; for even half a century after, one of the first monarchs of Europe, Francis I. fell a victim to it. The order is so curious, that we have given it a place in the Appendix.

‡ Written on a window in North Britain.



Once more, O North ! I view thy winding shores,  
 Climb thy bleak hills and cross thy dusky moors.  
 Impartial view thee with an heedful eye,  
 Yet still by nature, not by censure try.  
 England thy sister is a gay coquet,  
 Whom art enlivens, and temptations whet :  
 Rich, proud, and wanton, she her beauty knows,  
 And in a conscious warmth of beauty glows :  
 Scotland comes after, like an unripe fair,  
 Who sighs with anguish at her sister's air ;  
 Unconscious, that she'll quickly have her day,  
 And be the toast when Albion's charms decay.

Sept. 18. After a few days experience of the same hospitality in Edinburgh that I had met with in the Highlands, I continued my journey south, through a rich corn country, leaving the Pentland hills to the west, whose sides were covered with a fine turf. Before I reached Crook, a small village, the country grew worse ; after this, it assumed a Highland appearance, the hills were high, the vales narrow, and there was besides a great scarcity of trees, and hardly any corn ; instead, was abundance of good pasturage for sheep, there being great numbers in these parts, which supply the north of England. The roads are bad, narrow, and often on the edges of precipices, impending over the river Tweed, here an inconsiderable stream. Reach

Moffat, a small neat town, famous for its spaws ; one said to be useful in scrophulous cases, the other a chalybeate, which makes this place much resorted to in summer. Doctor Walker, minister of the place, shewed me in manuscript his natural history of the Western Isles, which will do him much credit whenever he favours the world with it.

Here the unfortunate nobleman Lord Viscount Kenmure set up the Pretender's standard on the 12th of October 1715, in fatal compliance with the importunities of the disaffected Lowlanders.

The country between Moffat and Lockerby is very good, a mixture of downs and corn-land, with a few small woods ; the country grows quite flat and very unpleasant ; but incessant rains throughout my journey from Edinburgh, rendered this part of my tour both disagreeable and unedifying. Cross a small river called the Sark, which divides the two kingdoms, and enter Cumberland.

About three miles farther cross the Esk over a handsome stone bridge, and lie at the small village of Longtown. The country is very rich in corn, but quite bare of trees, and very flat. Near this village, at Netherby, are the ruins of a Roman station, where statues, weapons, and coins are often dug up.

Cross the Eden to Carlisle, a pleasant city, surrounded with walls, like Chester, but they are very dirty, and kept in bad repair. The castle is antient, but makes a good appearance at a distance : the view from it is fine, of rich meadows, at this time covered with thousands of cattle, it being fair-day. The Eden here forms two branches, and insulates the ground ; over one is a bridge of four, over the other one of nine arches. There is besides a prospect of a rich country, and a distant view of Cold-fells, Cross-fells, Skiddaw, and other mountains.

The cathedral \* is very imperfect, Cromwell having pulled down part to build barracks with the materials. There remains some portion that was built in the Saxon times, with very massy pillars and round arches. The rest is more modern, said to

\* Begun by Walter, deputy of these parts, under William Rufus ; but the new choir was not founded till about 1354.



have been built in the reign of Edward III. who had in one part an apartment to lodge in. The arches in this latter building are sharp pointed; the east window remarkably fine.

The manufactures of Carlisle are chiefly of printed linens, for which near 3000*l.* per ann. is paid in duties. It is also noted for a great manufacture of whips, which employs numbers of children.

Salmons appear in the Eden in numbers so early as the months of December and January; and the London, and even Newcastle markets are supplied with early fish from this river; but it is remarkable, that they do not visit the Esk in any quantity till April, notwithstanding the mouths of both these waters are at a small distance from each other. I omitted in its proper place an account of the Newcastle fishery, therefore insert here the little I could collect relating to it. The fish seldom appear in the Tyne till February: there are about 24 fisheries on the river, besides a very considerable were, and the whole annual capture amounts to about 36,000 fish. I was informed that once the fish were brought from Berwick, and cured at Newcastle; but at present, notwithstanding all goes under the name of Newcastle salmon, very little is taken there, in comparison of what is caught in the Tweed.

The country near Carlisle consists of small inclosures, but a little farther on, towards Penrith, changes into coarse downs. On the east, at a distance, are ridges of high hills running parallel to the road, with a good inclosed country in the intervening space. Above Penrith is a rich inclosed tract, mixed with hedge-row trees and woods. On the south-west, a prospect of high and craggy mountains. After I left Lockerby, Nature, as if exhausted with her labours, in the lofty hills of Scotland, seemed to have lain down and reposed herself for a considerable space; but here began to rise again with all the sublimity of Alpine majesty.

Between the twelfth and thirteenth mile-stones is Plumpton. Plumpton park was leased by Henry VIII. to Jack Musgrave, Captain of Bewraith, an active man in his day, who settled on five of his sons as many tenements.

Old Penrith, the antient *Bremetenreium* and *Vorada* of Antonina, stood in this parish. On the road side, sloping towards the river Petrel, the vallum, foss, and gates are still very visible; and also great ruins of a town. The fort is called Castle Steeds; the town Old Penrith. Camden copied several inscriptions, for which I refer to his *Britannia* and to Dr. Burn's *History* of this county. Here are the faint vestiges of a military road which points towards Kewick and joined another, which were by Elenborough and Papcastle to Ambleside. This station was also the *Berada* of the *Ravenas*; and was garrisoned by a *Cuneus Armaturarum*, a cohort of the *Ala Petriana*, a body of horse completely armed, mentioned in the *notitia*, so must have been stationed here very late in the Roman empire.

About four miles farther is Penrith, &c. an antient town, seated at the foot of a hill: is a great thoroughfare for travellers, but has little other trade, except tanning, and a small manufacture of checks. In the church-yard is a monument of great antiquity, consisting of two stone pillars eleven feet six inches high, and five in circumference in the lower part, which is rounded; the upper is square, and tapers to a point; in the square part is some fret-work, and the relievo of a cross, and on the interior side of one is the faint representation of some animal. Both these stones are mortised at their lower part into a round one; they are about fifteen feet asunder; the space between them is inclosed on each side with two very large but thin semi-circular stones; so that there is left a walk between pillar and pillar of two feet in breadth.



breadth. Two of these lesser stones are plain, the two other have certain figures at present scarce intelligible.

These stones seem to have been monumental, and are evidently christian, as appears by the cross on the capital: fable says that they were to perpetuate the memory of Cefarius, a hero of gigantic stature, whose body extended from stone to stone: but it is probable, that the space marked by these columns contained several bodies, or might have been a family sepulchre.

Not far from these pillars is another called the Giant's thumb, five feet eight inches high, with an expanded head perforated on both sides; from the middle the stone rises again into a lesser head rounded at top, but no part has a tendency to the figure of a cross, being in no other part mutilated; so that it is difficult to judge of the use or design of this pillar\*.

The church is very neat: the galleries supported by twenty stones, each ten feet four inches high, and four feet two inches in circumference. On one of the walls is this melancholy record of a pestilence that wasted the country in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth:

A. D. M.DXCVIII ex gravi peste quæ regionibus hisce incubuit, obierunt apud Penrith 2260. Kendal 2500. Richmond 2200. Carlisle 1196 †.

Posterī  
avortite vos et vivite.

On consulting a very old register kept in this parish it appears that the plague raged here for fifteen months; from the 22d September 1597 to 5th January 1598, and that only 680 persons were buried in the parish during that time. It seems therefore probable that Penrith must have been the centre of some particular district, and that the numbers recorded on the wall must comprehend all that died within that space. Penrith now contains about 2000 souls. At a medium, 63 have died annually the last ten years, or 630 in the whole. In the ten years preceding the pestilence there were only 686 funerals; so that there was no great difference between the number of inhabitants at that and the present time. Some centuries previous to this Penrith had another visitation of the same nature. When the Scots under the Earl of Douglass in 1380 made an inroad into Cumberland, they surprized this place at the time of the fair ‡, and returned with immense booty; but suffered severely in consequence, for they introduced into their country the plague contracted in this town, which swept away one third of the inhabitants of Scotland §.

The castle is at the skirts of the town, and now very ruinous. It appears not to have been of a high antiquity; for in a compromise of certain differences between Henry III. and Alexander King of Scotland, it was stipulated that Henry should grant to Alexander 200 librates of land in Northumberland or Cumberland; if so much of Henry's land could be found in any of the places where no castle was situated; and Penrith was part of this grant. Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. resided frequently at this castle, and either was the founder, or repaired it greatly, for there is no mention of it before his time. The feignory of Penrith || was part of the great estate he had with his Dutchess Anne (afterwards queen, daughter to Richard Nevil the great Earl of War-

\* Vide tab. iii. of the 1st and 2d editions.

† Hollinshed 428.

|| Buck's Life of Richard III.

‡ It broke out in Carlisle October 3d.

§ Guthrie's Hist. Scotl. III. 123.



wick. By his residence here and his magnificent mode of living he gained great popularity in the north, and he seemed to depend greatly on the troops from that part, for he caused five thousand to march from thence to London to support his coronation. On his death, this and other neighbouring manors reverted to the crown : and remained in that state, till they were granted by King William to his favourite Bentinck Earl of Portland.

The castle was dismantled by Cromwell, but it does not appear in any history to have sustained a siege.

In this town lives Miss Calvin of exquisite skill and accuracy in painting of plants and flowers : a heaven-born genius obscure and unknown !

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,  
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear :  
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its sweetness in the desert air.

She communicated to me a most beautiful drawing of a species of water-ouzel shot in the neighbouring fells. It was less than the common kind, and the tail shorter. The throat white, crossed below with a dusky band : the belly mottled with black and white : the upper part of the neck, the back, and coverts of the wings, dusky, slightly edged with white : tail and primaries black.

Cross over the Eimot at Eamont bridge. The river and bridge take their name from the Saxon Ea or Eye, water, and mont, as the water flows out of a mountainous region. On passing the bridge I immediately enter the county of

#### WESTMORELAND.

September 21, At a small distance beyond the bridge, near the road side, is the circle called Arthur's round table, consisting of a high dike of earth, and a deep foss within, surrounding an area twenty-nine yards in diameter. There are two entrances exactly opposite to each other ; which interrupt the ditch in those parts filled to a level with the middle. Some suppose this to have been designed for tilting matches, and that the champions entered at each opening. Perhaps that might have been the purpose of it ; for the size forbids one to suppose it to be an encampment.

A little to the north of this, on the summit of a small hill, is Mayborough, a vast circular dike of loose stones : the height and the diameter at the bottom is stupendous : it slopes on both sides, and is entirely formed of pebbles, such as are collected out of rivers. There is an entrance on the east side leading into an area eighty-eight yards in diameter. Near the middle is an upright stone nine feet eight inches high, and seventeen in circumference in the thickest part. There had been three more placed so as to form (with the other) a square. Four again stood on the sides of the entrance, viz. one on each exterior corner ; and one on each interior ; but, excepting that at present remaining, all the others have long since been blasted to clear the ground.

The use of this accumulation seems to have been the same with that called Bryn-gwyn at Trer Dryw in Anglesea \*, a supreme consistory of Druidical administration, as the British names import. That in Anglesea is constructed in the same manner with this ; but at present there are no remains of columns in the interior part. Tradition is entirely silent about the origin of this place : nothing can be collected from the name, which is Saxon, and given long after its construction.

\* *Mona Antiqua*, 2d ed. 90.



Almost opposite to Mayborough on the Cumberland side of the Eimot is a vast cairn or tumulus, composed of round stones; and surrounded with large grit stones of different sizes, some a yard square; which all together form a circle sixty feet in diameter.

Cross the Lowther or Loder, and in about three or four miles distance pass Clifton Moor, where the rebels in 1745 sacrificed a few men to save the rest of their army.

Reach Shap or Heppe, a long village with the ruins of the priory of Premonstrensian canons and its beautiful tower placed in a sequestered bottom to the north-west of the road. The religious of this house were originally placed at Preston in Kendal by Thomas son of Gospatric; and afterwards removed to this valley, which in old times was called the valley of Mary Magdalene, and was granted to them by Robert de Veteripont in the thirteenth year of King John.

On the common near the road side half a mile beyond the village are certain large circles, and ovals formed of small stones: and parallel to the road commences a double row of granites of immense sizes, crossed at the end by another row, all placed at some distance from each other. This alley I may call it, extended once above a mile; passing quite through the village; persons now living remember to have seen some stones that formed part of the lines, but now blasted in order to clear the ground. The space between the lines at the south end is eighty-eight feet: they converge towards each other, for near Shap the distance decreases to fifty-nine feet; and it is probable that they met and concluded in a point forming a wedge. That this monument was Danish may be inferred from the custom of the Northern nation of arranging their recording stones in forms that they seemed to determine should be expressive of certain events: those that were placed in a strait and long order commemorated the emulations of champions: squares shewed equestrian conflicts: circles, the interments of families: wedge-shaped, a fortunate victory\*. Success might have attended the Northern invaders in this place, which gave rise to their long arrangement: the fall of some con sanguineous heroes in the action caused the grateful tribute of the stony circles.

Pass over Shap fells, more black, dreary and melancholy than any of the Highland hills, being not only barren, but destitute of every picturesque beauty. This gloomy scene continues for several miles: leave on the right the narrow valley of Long Sladale, and at a distance the mountain of Kenmere fell, famous for its slate quarries. The prospect grows more cheerful within a small distance of

Kendal, a large town, seated in a beautiful valley prettily cultivated, and watered by the river Ken. The principal street is above a mile long, running north and south: the houses old and irregular, mostly plastered. Yet the whole has an air of neatness and industry without the least ostentation of wealth; none appear meanly poor, or insultingly rich. The number of inhabitants is about seven thousand; chiefly engaged in manufactures of linsies, worsted stockings woven and knit, and a coarse sort of woollen cloth called cottons, sent to Glasgow, and from thence to Virginia for the use of the negroes. The carding and the friezing mills, the rasping and cutting of logwood by different machines are well worth seeing: and the tenter fells all round the town, where the cloth is stretched, shew the extent of the manufactures, which employ great quantities of wool from Scotland and Durham.

Yet the place labours under great disadvantages; the country near it yields no corn except oats: the fuel is in general peat; for the coals being brought from Wigan and other distant places, cost nineteen shillings per ton: yet notwithstanding, it has flourished in manufactures from the time of Richard the Second to the present: Camden honours it with this encomium, *Lanificii Gloria, et Industria præcellens.*

\* Olaus Magnus de Gent. Septentr. lib. i. c. 18.



I am surprized that Doctor Burn should omit the mention of a native of this town who would have done honour to any country. Thomas Shaw, the celebrated traveller, was born here in 1693. He was son of Gabriel Shaw, sheerman and dyer, a reputable and profitable business. The merit of his travels in Barbary, Egypt, and the Holy-land, are justly in the highest estimation \*, and beyond the danger of being either deprectiated or superseded. He became fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and was promoted to the headship of Edmund Hall, and in 1751 died in high reputation for knowledge, probity, and pleasantry. His countenance was grotesque, but marked most strongly with jocularity and good humour, so as to diffuse into the company the full effects of his innocent and instructive mirth. The print prefixed to his works is a faithful representation of this excellent and able character.

The church is large, divided into five aisles. The most remarkable tomb is one in the altar form of black marble, with various arms on the side and end, supposed to be that of William Parr, ancestor of William Parr Marquis of Northampton, and his sister Queen Catherine, wife to Henry VIII.

The ruins of the castle are on the summit of a round hill on the east side of the town. It is of great antiquity; but the founder is not known. It appears to me to have been built on an artificial mount raised on the top of the hill, with a deep fosse round the base. The barony of Kendal was granted by William the Conqueror to Ivo de Talebois; one of his followers, whose descendants frequently resided in the castle. From them it passed by marriage to the Rosses, and from them to the Parrs: and when in their possession Catherine afterwards Queen of England was born here; a lady who had the good fortune to descend to the grave with her head, in all probability merely by outliving her tyrant. It does not appear that this castle sustained any siege: but in 1774 the Scots, under Duncan Earl of Fife, entered and plundered the town; broke open the churches, put all the inhabitants to the sword, sparing neither age nor sex †.

Take a very pleasant walk to Water-Crook, a mile distant, along the sides of the Ken. This had been the Concangium of the Notitia, a station on the east side of the river, whose vestiges are almost worn away by the plough. Altars, coins, and other antiquities have been found here. I saw in the walls of the barn of the farm house, the monumental inscription preserved by Mr. Horsely, p. 300, supposed by him to have been in memory of two freed-men; and that there was added the penalty of a fine on any who presumed to bury in that sepulchre. Here is preserved an altar un-inscribed, but ornamented with beautiful festoons: and I also saw the remains of the statue supposed of Bacchus or Silenus.

Cross the river and walk over some fine meadows. Pass by some large round hillocks, one appearing artificial: ascend to gain the heights, above the town: leave below me near the skirts a well called the Anchorite's, probably from some hermitage once in its neighbourhood. Reach Castlehow hill, a great artificial mount above the town, and opposite to the castle. The summit is flat: just within its verge is a circular ditch: and another transverse, probably the place of the foundation of a tower. Round the base is a deep foss and high dike, and on the east side of the dike two bastions to give it additional strength. Immediately below is a spot called Battle place, but tradition does not preserve the reason of the name.

At a very small distance from Kendal I crossed the Ken; pursued my journey over End-moor, and passed through the township of Preston Richard, in the parish of Havertham, remarkable for being, from the reign of Henry II. to that of Edward III.

\* See British Zoology, i. p. 216. 4to. or 253. 8vo.

† Holinshed's Chron. 91.



a space of two hundred years, owned by persons of the name of Richard de Preston. Soon after, went through the small market town of Burton in Kendal, in the parish of Burton, the most southern of any in Westmoreland. At a small distance enter

LANCASHIRE.

After travelling an uninteresting stage reach its capital Lancaster, a large and well built town, seated on the Lune, a river navigable for ships of 250 tons as high as the bridge. The Custom-house is a small but most elegant building, with a portico supported by four Ionic pillars, on a most beautiful plain pediment. There is a double flight of steps, a rustic surbase and coins; a work that does much credit to Mr. Gillow, the architect, an inhabitant of this town.

The church is seated on an eminence, and commands an extensive but not a pleasing view. The castle is entire, the courts of justice are held in it; and it is also the county jail. The front is very magnificent, consists of two large angular towers, with a handsome gateway between.

Eleven miles farther is the village Garstang, seated on a fertile plain, bounded on the east by the fells, on the west by Pelling moss, which formerly made an eruption like that of Solway. The adjacent country is famous for producing the finest cattle in all the county. A gentleman in that neighbourhood has refused 30 guineas for a three year old cow: calves of a month old have been sold for 10: and bulls from 70 to 100 guineas, which have afterwards been hired out for the season for 30; so, notwithstanding his misfortune, well might honest Barnaby celebrate the cattle of this place.

Veni Garstang ubi nata:  
Sunt Armenta fronte lata,  
Veni Garstang, ubi malè  
Intrans forum bestiale.  
Fortè vacillando vico  
Huc et illuc cum amico,  
In Juvencæ dorsum rui  
Cujus cornu læsus fui.

A little to the east is a ruined tower, the remains of Grenehaugh castle, built, as Camden supposes, by Thomas Stanley first Earl of Derby, to protect himself from the outlawed nobility, whose estates had been granted him by Henry VII.

September 22d, hastened through Preston, Wigan, Warrington, and Chester, and finished my journey with a rapture of which no fond parent can be ignorant, that of being again restored to two innocent prattlers after an absence equally regretted by all parties.

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APPENDIX.—NUMBER I.

*Of Scotch Pines.*

By JAMES FARQUHARSON, Esq.; of INVERCAULD.

IT is generally believed that there are two kinds of fir trees, the produce of Scotland, viz. the red or resinous large trees, of a fine grain, and hard solid wood: the other, a white wooded fir with a much smaller proportion of resin in it, of a coarser grain, and a soft spongy nature, never comes to such a size, and much more liable to decay.



decay. At first appearance, this would readily denote two distinct species, but I am convinced that all the trees in Scotland, under the denomination of Scotch fir, are the same; and that the difference of the quality of the wood, and size of the trees, is certainly owing to circumstances, such as the climate, situation, and soil they grow in. These finest fir-trees appear in the most mountainous parts of the Highlands of Scotland, in glens or on sides of hills generally lying to a northerly aspect, and the soil of a hard gravelly consistence, being the natural produce of these places; the winged seeds are scattered in quantities by the winds, from the cones of the adjacent trees, which expand in April and May, with the heat of the sun; these seedlings when young, rise extremely close together, this makes them grow straight, and free from side branches of any size, to the height of 50 or 60 feet before they acquire the diameter of a foot: even in this progress to height, they are very slow, occasioned by the poorness of the soil, and the numbers on a small surface, which I may say makes them in a constant state of war for their scanty nourishment, the stronger and tallest by degrees overtopping the weaker, and when the winds blow they lash against one another; this assists in beating off any horizontal branches that might damage the timber with knots, as well as by degrees crushes the overtopped trees. In such state of hostility they continue struggling until the master trees acquire some space around them; then they begin to shoot out in a more bushy manner at the top, gradually losing their spiral form, increasing afterwards more in size of body than height, some acquiring four feet diameter, and above sixty feet of height to the branches, fit for the finest deal board. The growth is extremely slow, as is plainly proved by the smallness of the grain of the wood, which appears distinctly in circles, from the centre to the bark. Upon cutting a tree overclose at the root, I can venture to point out the exact age, which in these old firs comes to an amazing number of years, I lately pitched upon a tree of two feet and a half diameter; as this is near the size of a planted fir of fifty years of age mentioned, and I counted exactly two hundred and fourteen circles or coats, which makes this natural fir above four times the age of the planted one. Now as to planted firs, these are raised first in dressed ground from the seed, where they stand two seasons or more, then are planted out in the ground they are to continue in at regular distances, have a clear circumference round them for extending both roots and branches; the one gives too quick nourishment to the tree which shoots out in luxuriant growths, and the other allows many of the branches to spread horizontally, spoiling the timber with knots; besides, this quick growth occasions these thick yearly circular coats of wood, which form a coarse grain, of a spongy soft nature. The juices never after ripen into a proportional quantity their resinous preservative balm: so that the plantations decay before the wood acquires age, at a valuable size, and the timber when used in work has neither strength, beauty, nor duration. I believe the climate has likewise a great share in forming the nature of the best wood, which I account for in the following manner. The most mountainous parts of the Highlands, particularly the northerly hanging situations, where these fine fir trees are, have a much shorter time of vegetation than a more southerly exposure, or the lower open countries, being shaded by high hills from the rays of the sun even at mid-day for months together, so that with regard to other vegetables nature visibly continues longer in a torpid state there than in other places of the same latitude. This dead state of nature for so long a time yearly appears to me necessary to form the strength and health of this particular species of timber. No doubt they may at first show a gratefulness for better soil and more sun by shooting out spontaneously, but if the plant or tree is so altered by this luxury that it cannot attain any degree of perfection fit for the purposes intended, the attempt certainly proves in vain.

From



From what is said above, it is not at all my intention to dissuade from planting Scotch fir, but to encourage those that have the proper soil and situation to do so, being of opinion that where these circumstances agree, and there, planting not in lines, but irregularly and thicker than common, the trees will come to be of equal size and value with the natural ones. In confidence of this, I have planted several millions on the sides of hills out of reach of seed from the natural firs.

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER II.

### *Of Elgin and the Shire of Murray.*

By the Rev. Mr. SHAW, Minister of Elgin.

THE parish of Elgin can afford little matter for answering Mr. Pennant's queries, and therefore I extend my view through the whole province or country of Murray, extending by the coast from the river of Spey to the east, to the river of Beaully to the west, which is the boundary of the province of Ross: and extending to the south-west as far as the north end of Loch-Lochy, and comprehending the countries of Strathspey, Badenoch, Strathern, Strath-nairn, and Strath-nerick, all which were the seats of the ancient Moravienfes. I shall make my answers to the queries in order, and advance nothing but what consists with my personal knowledge, or for which I have unquestionable authority.

I. This province is naturally divided by the rivers of Spey, Lossy, Findern, Nairn, Nefs, and Beaully. The river of Spey rising on the borders of Lochaber is more than sixty Scotch miles, or a hundred English in length, but too rapid to be navigable. Upon this river great floats of fir and birch wood are carried down to the firth; the float is guided by a man sitting in a courach, of which Solinus, cap. 22. says of the Irish, "Navigant vimineis alveis, quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubulorum," a short but exact description of the courach. It is in shape oval, about four feet long and three broad, a small keel from head to stern, a few ribs cross the keel, and a ring of pliable wood round the lip of it, the whole covered with the rough hide of an ox or a horse. The rower sits on a transverse seat in the middle, and holds in his hand a rope, the end of which is tied to the float, and with the other hand he manages a paddle, and keeps the float in deep water and brings it to shore when he pleases. The rivers of Lossy, Findern and Nairn, have nothing remarkable in them, but the river of Nefs is observable on the following accounts, viz. It runs from Loch-Nefs, a lake 23 miles long, and from 2 to 3 broad; this loch is fed by a river running from Loch-Eoch, into which a river falls from Loch-Garrie, into which a river enters from Loch-Queich: Loch-Nefs and the river running from it never freeze, but the water is warm in the keenest frost. There are many other lakes in this province, of which one called the lake Dundelchack is remarkable: the inhabitants of the neighbourhood told me that this lake is never covered with ice before the month of January, but in that month and February one night's strong frost covers it all over with ice: this lake stands in the parish of Durris, within two miles of Loch-Nefs. On the east side of Loch-nefs, a large mile above the loch, is the water-fall of Foher, where the river Feach Len falls over a steep rock about 80 feet in height; and the water breaking upon the shelves, rarifies like a fog. In this province are several chalybeate mineral springs, as at Tinland in Lambride parish, at Auchterblare in Duthel parish, at Relugos in Edenkeely parish, at Muretown in Inverness parish.



II. In the parish of Drainie there is a large cave open to the sea, of a considerable length, breadth, and height. There are many natural caves in the hills, within which hunters, herds and thieves take shelter in time of storm: there is an artificial cave in the lands of Raits in Badenoch, in which fugitives and thieves were wont to rest; but it is now demolished in part. Of the mountains in this province I shall name but two or three: the Carngorm in Strathspey is remarkable for its height, and for the stones found upon it; I have seen these stones of blue, green, yellow, and amber colours; some so large as to make big snuff-boxes or small cups; some of a hexagonal or pentagonal figure, and tapering to a point at each end. These are now well known to the curious and to jewellers. Another mountain is Benalar in Badenoch, which I imagine is the highest ground in Scotland, for waters running from it fall into the sea at Dundee, at Inverlochy, and at Garmoch in Murray. On the west side of Loch-Nefs there is a hill called Meafuarvoney: Mr. Gordon the geographer was imposed upon by being told that it is two miles perpendicular above the lake, and that on the top of it, there is a small lake which could never be founded, and communicates with Loch-Nefs: but I can assure you it is not near one mile above the loch, and there is no such lake on the top of it. For picturesque scenes, worth drawing, I know none except Loch-Nefs: with the rocks, woods, cascades of rills of water, and some plots of corn land, on both sides of the loch, which make a delightful scene to one sailing the loch in the King's yacht, or in a barge.

III. No earthquake, that I can learn, was ever felt in this province. No whirlwind any way remarkable: there are several echoes, but scarcely worth the mentioning. About the 1733 or 4, flashes of lightning so struck the house of Innes near Elgin, as by entering into crevices in the wall to drive out big stones, likewise to rent a considerable long vault, and to toss a large cap-stone above forty yards from the house, as the late Sir Harry Innes of that ilk told me.

IV. The common diseases in our country are fevers, rheums, cold, scrofula, hysteric and hypocondriac; bites of serpents, and mad dogs. Our natural physicians cure fevers, by making the patient drink plentifully of barley water or wangrefs, and when the fever rises high the patient drinks a large draught of cold water which brings out a profuse sweat, that ends in a crisis. For rheums, they twice a-day bathe the part affected, pouring cold water upon it, and after it is dried, rubbing it till it is warm, and covering it with plaiding or flannel. For colds, they keep bed for two days, drinking warm, and if they sweat not, they take the cold bath in a river or brook, which produces sweat. The scrofula they find incurable, but in young persons, by washing often with lime water, it cures in a few years. Hysterics and hypocondriacs, in my opinion, are the effects of tea, coffee, sloth and laziness, but these diseases are never known in our Highlands. When one is bit by a serpent or snake, if he can reach the wound, he sucks the blood, covers the wound, and often fomentes the part wounded, and members round it, with a decoction of the buds and leaves of ash trees. When one is bit by a mad dog, as often happens in the Highlands, he with a razor immediately cuts out the flesh of the part wounded, sucks the blood in plenty, and covers the wound with a handfull of cobwebs: or if he has not courage to cut out the flesh, and thereby to prevent the poison from mixing with the blood, he causes the wound to be well sucked, and then fomentes it with warm oil or melted butter. I have seen these cures performed with remarkable success. We have had, fifty years ago, a terrible disease called the Civans, which broke out into blotches in several parts of the body, and often turned into a gangrene in the face: this disease was brought by the military returning from Flanders, and



and was cured only by a plentiful salivation with mercury, but now we are happily free from it.

V. In the parish of Elgin, William Calanch, a farmer, died about the year 1740, at the age of about 119 years; we have had many who lived to an 100 years; we have some who have two thumbs on each hand, or two great toes on each foot.

VI. and VII. In this town of Elgin the number of inhabitants increases, occasioned by strangers living in the borough and many poor people coming from the country into it. But in the parish to landward the number appears to decrease, by reason of tenants taking up larger farms than formerly: the number now is above 5000.

VIII. The corns raised in this province are wheat, barley, oats, peas and beans, and rye. Of these in good years we have enough to serve the country, and to export above 20,000 bolls, besides serving the Highland countries. Our manufactures are linen in considerable quantities, wool and common stuffs, and now at Inverness a flourishing sail manufactory, and a ropery. Our fishery is considerable, for of white or sea-fish there is great plenty to serve the country and towns, and sometimes to export a little. And our salmon on the rivers of Spey, Findern, Ness, and Beaul, serves the towns and country, and we export annually to the value of about 12,000*l*.

IX. Near the frith, the farmers manure with sea ware or weeds, which produces richly; in other parts they use marle, lime, dung of cattle, and in the Highlands tathing, i. e. keeping their cattle in summer and autumn within pinfolds on barren or rested ground, that by their dung they may enrich the soil; and in many parts they use green earth mixed with the dung of black cattle and horses.

X. We cultivate some hemp, much flax, of which we not only make linen for home consumption, and have three bleaching fields within the province, besides private bleaching, but we sell great quantities of linen yarn to the merchants of Glasgow and others. We likewise cultivate potatoes in great plenty to serve the country.

XI. From the Lowlands of the province few or no cattle are sent out of the country, but from the Highland glens and valleys, several hundreds of black cattle, some horses, but no swine, are annually sold into England and the southern counties of Scotland.

XII. There are in this province several small mounts or mottes, of which I cannot determine whether any of them be artificial or not; they generally stand about 40 paces one from another; I shall name only the following: viz. Near the town of Elgin are two little mounts called the shooting-buts, and two of the same kind are near the kirk of Petty. I am inclined to think, that, before the invention of fire-arms, these were marks for shooting at with bows and arrows; but that in time of Druidism, they were the seats on which the Druids met to determine questions in law and property; and they are in the Gaelic language called Tomavoed, i. e. the court hill; and in the south, they are called Laws, as North Berwick Law, Largo Law, &c. I may add the Omnis terra, or Mote-hill at Scoon. We have few military entrenchments worth the mentioning, as the Romans encamped little, if at all, so far north. Druidical circles have been very frequent in this province. The stones were generally about four feet in length, and eighteen inches in breadth; for the most part, the stones are removed by the country people, and I shall name but one or two; viz. at Stonny-field near Inverness, there was a large circle about thirty feet diameter, some of the stones as yet stand. In Durris, at the north end of Loch-Ness, is a Druid temple of three concentric circles: in all these druidical circles, there was an altar-stone at the centre, but that at Durris is taken away, and near the centre is a hollowed stone, which either was a laver to wash in, or a basin to receive the blood of the sacrifice. Besides circles, there were



many druidical cairns in this country, on which, at their solemn festivals, they offered their sacrifices; these cairns were about five feet high, and about thirty feet in circumference, and hedged around with stones pitted in the earth to prevent the falling out of the stones of the cairn; such a cairn stands in the parish of Alves, four miles from Elgin; another in the parish of Birney, two miles from that town; and two or three near Avemore, in the parish of Duthel in Strathspey. From these circles and cairns many churches are to this day called Clachan, i. e. a collection of stones; and as they stood in time of druidism in groves and woods, a church in Wales was called Lhan, probably from Lhuin a grove. There is within a half-mile to the east of the town of Forres, an obelisk called Seven's stone. The height of it cannot now with certainty be known, it is said to be twelve feet sunk in the corn-field. When some years ago it was likely to fall, the Countess of Murray caused it to be erected, and much sunk to prevent falling: it is about twenty-three feet above ground, about four feet broad; what is above ground is visibly divided into seven parts, whereof the lowest is almost hid by the stones supporting it; the second division contains many figures, but much defaced; in the third compartment are figures of men, and some of beasts with human heads; the fourth contains ensigns and military weapons; and in the fifth, sixth, and seventh, the figures are scarce discernible; on the reverse there is a cross, beneath which are two human figures of a Gothic form; this seems to be a monument of a battle fought in that place, by King Malcolm II. of Scotland against the Danes, about the year 1008. There are about two or three obelisks of six or seven feet high below the kirk of Alves, probably as monuments of skirmishes, and the burying of men of some figure.

XIII. In this province we had two bishopricks, one abby, three priories, once præceptory, and several convents. The first bishopric was that of Murthlack, now Mortlich, erected by K. Malc. II. An. 1010, when he had given a total defeat to the Danes in that valley: the diocese consisted only of three parishes, and after three bishops had served there it was translated to Aberdeen, an. 1142. As an account of it will be fully given by others, I insist not further.

The second bishoprick was that of Murray. In the fourth century the bishop affected a pre-eminence over his fellow presbyters, and an equality in many things to sovereign princes: as princes had their thrones, were crowned, wore crowns, had their palaces, their ministers of state, their privy council, and their subjects; so bishops had a solium, a consecration, a mitre, palaces, dignified clergy, chapter, and inferior clergy. The episcopal bishopric of Murray, was, in my opinion, erected by K. Alexander I.; and the bishops of it were in succession.

(1.) Gregorius, who is a witness in a charter of K. David I. to Dumfermline, confirming K. Alexander's charter to that abby; there he is called Gregorius Moravienfis Episcopus: and in the foundation charter of the priory of Schoon, an. 1115, Gregorius Episcopus is a witness, who probably was the same with the formerly mentioned.

(2.) William was made apostolic legate, an. 1159, and died 1162. I find not what time he was consecrated.

(3.) Felix, is witness in a charter by K. William, *Wilielmo filio fresken, de terris, de Strablock, Rosoil, Inskele, Duffus Machare, et Kintray*. He died about an. 1170.

(4.) Simcon de Toney, monk of Melrose, elected 1171, and died an. 1184, he was buried in Birney.

(5.) Andrew, consecrated an. 1184, and died 1185.

(6.) Richard, consecrated Idi. Martii, an. 1187, by Hugo bishop of St. Andrew's, and died an. 1203, and was buried in Spynie.



(7.) Bricius, brother of William lord of Douglas, and prior of Lessmahego, elected an. 1203, and died an. 1222, and was buried at Spynie. He had represented to the pope that the former bishops had no fixed see, or cathedral, some residing at Birney, some at Kinnedar, and some at Spynie; and he obtained that Spynie should be the bishop's see; he appointed the dignified clergy and canons, and founded a college of canons, eight in number.

(8.) Andrew (son of William Murray of Duffus, dean of Murray,) consecrated an. 1223. He founded the cathedral church at Elgin, added fourteen canons to the college, and assigned manse and prebends for them, and for the dignified clergy, and died an. 1242.

Here it will be proper to give some account of the cathedral church at Elgin; for it does not appear that Briceus built any church at Spynie. Bishop Andrew was not pleased with the situation of Spynie for a cathedral, and therefore petitioned the Pope, that, because the distance from the burgh of Elgin, which would divert the canons from their sacred functions to go and buy provisions in the burgh, that he might allow the cathedral to be translated to the *Ecclesiæ sancta Trinitatis prope Elgin*: Pope Honorius granted his request, and by his bull dated 4<sup>to</sup> Idu<sup>m</sup> Aprilis 1224 empowered the bishop of Caithness, and the dean of Rosemary, to make the desired translation. These met at the place desired, on the 14th of the kalends of August, an. 1224; and finding it "*in commodum Ecclesiæ*," declared the church of the holy Trinity to be the cathedral church of the diocese of Murray in all times coming: it is said that bishop Andrew laid the foundation-stone of the church on the same day above-mentioned, but it does not appear what the form or dimensions of that first church were.

(9.) Simon dean of Murray succeeded and died 1252, and was buried in the choir of the cathedral near to bishop Andrew.

(10.) Archibald dean of Murray, consecrated an. 1253, and died December 5th, an. 1298, and was buried in the choir. This bishop having no palace, built one at Kinnedar, and lived there. In his time William Earl of Ross, having done great harm to the parson of Petty, was obliged to do penance, and for reparation gave the lands of Catholl in Ross to the bishops of Murray in perpetuum.

(11.) David Murray, consecrated at Avignon in France, by Boniface VIII. anno 1299, and died January 20, anno 1325.

(12.) John Pilmore, consecrated 3<sup>rd</sup> kal. Aprilis, anno 1326, and died at Spynie on Michaelmas-eve, 1362.

(13.) Alexander Bar, doctor decretorum, consecrated by Urban V. an. 1362, died at Spynie, May 1397. In his time, viz. an. 1390, Alexander Stewart (son of king Robert II.) lord Badenoch, commonly called the Wolf of Badenoch, keeping violent possession of the bishop's lands in that country, was excommunicated in resentment, in the month of May, an. 1390. He with his followers burnt the town of Forres, with the choir of that church, and the archdeacon's house; and in June that year burnt the town of Elgin, the church of St. Giles, the hospital of Maison-Dieu, the cathedral church, with eighteen houses of the canons in the college of Elgin. For this he was made to do penance, and, upon his humble submission, he was absolved by Walter Trail, bishop of St. Andrews, in the black friars church of Perth (being first received at the door, barefoot, and in sackcloth, and again before the high altar in presence of the king and his nobles,) on condition that he would make full reparation to the bishop and church of Murray, and obtain absolution from the pope. Bishop Bar began the



rebuilding of the church, and every canon contributed to it, as did every parish in the diocese.

(14.) William Spynie, chanter of Murray, D. I. C. consecrated at Avignon by Benedict the IXth, Sept. 13th, 1397, and died Aug. 20th, an. 1406. He carried on the reparation of the cathedral, but the troubles of the times caused it to make slow advances. On July 3, an. 1402, Alexander III. son of the lord of the isles, plundered Elgin, burnt many houses, and spoiled the houses of the canons: he was excommunicated, and offered a sum of gold, as did every one of his captains, and he received absolution: this money was applied for erecting a cross and a bell in that part of the canonry which lies next the bridge of Elgin.

(15.) John Innes, parson of Duffus, archdeacon of Caithness, and LL. D. was consecrated by Benedict the XIIIth, Jan. 22d, an. 1406, and died April 25th, an. 1414, and was buried in his own isle in the cathedral, where his statue at large still remains with this inscription, "*Hic jacet reverendus in Christo Pater et Dominus D. Johannes Innes de Innes, hujus ecclesiæ Episcopus, qui hoc notabile opus incepit, et per septennium ædificavit.*" He built that isle and a part of the great steeple or tower. After his death, the chapter met, and all were sworn, that on whomsoever the lot should fall to be bishop, he should annually apply one third of his revenues until the building of the cathedral should be finished.

(16.) Henry Leighton, parson of Duffus, and LL. D. was consecrated in Valentia by Benedict XIII. March 8th, an. 1415: he diligently carried on the building, and finished the great tower, and was translated to Aberdeen, an. 1425. The cathedral church having been completely finished in the time of this bishop, I shall here describe that edifice, which was all in the Gothic form of architecture. It stood due east and west, in the form of a passion or Jerusalem cross: the length of it 264 feet; the breadth 35 feet; the length of the traverse 114 feet. The church was ornamented with five towers, whereof two parallel towers stood on the west end, one in the middle, and two at the east end: the two west towers stand entire in the stone work, and are each 84 feet high; what the height of the spires was I do not find; probably they were of wood, and fell down long since. The great tower in the centre of the nave stood on two arched pillars crossing at top, and was including the spires, 198 feet in height; the two turrets in the east end are still entire, and each has a winding staircase leading to a channel or passage in the walls round the whole church. The height of the side-walls is 36 feet. The great entry was betwixt the two towers in the west end; this gate is a concave arch, 24 feet broad in base, and 24 in height, terminating in a sharp angle; on each side of the valves in the sweep of the arch are 8 round, and 8 fluted pilasters, 6½ feet high, adorned with a chapter, from which arise 16 pilasters that meet in the key of the arch. Each valve of the door was 5 feet broad, and about 10 feet high. To yield light to this large building, besides the great windows in the porticos, and a row of windows in the wall above, each 6 feet high, there was above the gate a window of an acute angled arch 19 feet broad in base, and 27 in height; and in the east end between the turrets, a row of five parallel windows, each 2 feet broad and 10 high; above these five more each 7 feet high, and over these a circular window near 10 feet diameter: the grand gate, the windows, the pillars, the projecting table, pedestals, cordons, are adorned with foliage, grapes, and other carvings. The traverse, in length as above, seems to have been built by the families of Dunbar and Innes, for the north part of it is called the Dunbar's isle, and the south part the Innes' isle.



The chapter-house, in which the bishop's privy council met, stands on the north side of the choir : it is a curious piece of architecture, communicating with the choir by a vaulted vestry. The house is an exact octagon, 34 feet high, and the diagonal breadth within walls 37 feet : it is almost a cube arched and vaulted at top, and the whole arched roof supported by one pillar in the centre of the house. Arched pillars from every angle terminated in the grand pillar, which is 9 feet in circumference, crufted over with 16 pilasters, and 24 feet high ; adorned with a chapter from which arise round pillars that spread along the roof, and join at top ; and round the chapter are engraven the arms of several bishops. There is a large window in each of the seven sides, the eighth side communicating, as was said, with the choir ; and in the north wall are five stalls cut in niches for the bishop's ministers of state, viz. the dean, chapter, archdeacon, chancellor, and treasurer, the dean's stall raised a step higher than the other four. This structure of the cathedral came to decay in the manner following : viz. The Regent Earl of Murray being obliged to levy some forces, and being straitened in money, appointed by his privy council February 14, 1567, 8, the sheriffs of Aberdeen and Murray, with other gentlemen, to take the lead, thatch or covering off the cathedrals of Aberdeen and Murray, and to sell it for paying the troops, which was done, and shipped for Holland ; but the ship soon after launched in the sea, sunk with the lead, which it is thought was done by a superstitious Roman catholic who was captain of it. Of this whole edifice, the chapter-house, the walls of the choir, the western steeples, and the eastern turrets remain as yet entire, but the side walls of the nave and the traverse, are most part fallen, and Peace Sunday, an. 1711, the great tower or steeple in the middle fell from the foundation.

The cathedral stood within the precinct of the college, near the river side of Loffey : this precinct was walled round with a strong stone wall, and was about 1000 yards in circumference, a part of the walls still remains entire ; it had four gates, every one of which probably had (as is apparent the eastern had) an iron gate, a portcullis, and a porter's lodge : within the precinct the dignified clergy and all the canons had houses and gardens, and without the precinct, towards the town of Elgin, there was a small burrow with a cross, where the churchmen purchased their provisions. The bishop's palace stood at Spynie a large mile from Elgin ; when it stood entire, it was the most stately I have seen in any diocese in Scotland. The area of the buildings was an oblong square of 60 yards ; in the south-west corner stood a strong tower vaulted, the wall 9 feet thick, with an easy winding stair-case, a cape-house at top, with a battlement round. In the other three corners are small towers with narrow rooms. In the south side of the area, there was a chapel and tennis-court ; and in other parts were stables and all necessary offices. The gate or entry was in the middle of the east wall, secured by an iron grate and a portcullis ; over the gate stand the arms of bishop John Innes and the initial letters of his name, which affords a conjecture that he was the first who built any part of this court. Around the palace was a spacious precinct, with gardens, and walks, and which now pay twelve pounds sterling to the crown. The lands of Spynie and the precinct were granted by the crown to one gentleman after another till the revolution, and since that time, the precinct continues in the crown, and the lands belong to Mr. Brodie of Spynie, now of Brodie ; but the iron grate, the roof, the joists, and all the timber-work were carried off by the former lessees, and now all is in decay.

The diocese of Murray comprised the counties of Murray and Nairn, and the greatest part of the counties of Bamff and Inverness, and had fifty-six pastoral charges.



What the revenue of this bishoprick was before the reformation cannot now be well known; for Patrick Hepburn, the last popish bishop, fewed and sold at least a third part of the lands of the bishoprick, including what he was obliged to give to the Regent of Scotland, an. 1568, for harbouring his intercommuned uncle James Earl of Bothwell, who married our unfortunate Q. Mary, an. 1563, when an account of all dignified clergy's revenues was called in by the parliament, the revenues of the bishoprick of Murray, as then given up, were as follows: viz. In money, 1646l. 7s. 7d. Scots; wheat 10 bolls; barley, 77 chalders, 6 bolls, 3 firlots, and 2 pecks; oats, 2 chalders, 8 bolls; salmon, 8 lafts; poultry, 223. Besides the emoluments of the regality of Spynie, and of the commissaries of Spynie and Inverness, and the great teinds of the parish of Elgin, and of St. Andrew's in Murray, Ogston, Laggon, and the bishop's share of the revenues of the common kirks.

The only abbey we had was at Kinlofs, which stood in what is now called the parish of that name. It was founded by K. David I. 10<sup>th</sup> kal. Januarii, an. 1150. The abbot was mitred, and had a seat in parliament; the monks were of the Cistercian order, called *Monachi Albi*. K. David endowed it, as did K. William, with many lands. Afelinus was the first abbot, and Robert Reid was the last. The revenues of the abbey, an. 1561, were found to be, in money, 1152l. 1s. od. Scots; barley and meal, 47 chalders, 11 bolls, 1 firLOT, and 3 pecks; oats 10 bolls, 3 firlots; wedders, 34; geese, 41; capons, 60; and poultry, 125. The abbot had a regality within the abbey lands; Mr. Edward Bruce was made commendator, and afterwards lord of Kinlofs, an. 1604; from whom Alexander Brodie of Lethen purchased the lands of Kinlofs, and the superiority of the other abbey lands. The ruins of the building are so small, that it cannot be known what it was when entire; for an. 1651 and 1652, the stones of it were sold, and carried to build Cromwell's fort at Inverness, and nothing now remains but confused ruins.

The oldest priory we had in this province was at Urquhart, three miles east of Elgin. It was founded by K. David I. an. 1125, in honour of the Trinity. It was a cell of Dumfermline with Benedictine monks. K. David endowed it liberally. The revenues thereof were not given up in an. 1563, and so I can give no account of them. The priory lands were erected into a regality, but no vestige of the buildings now remains. In 1565, Alexander Seton was made commendator, and 1591, created Lord Urquhart, and an. 1605 Earl of Dumfermline; but the honours being forfeited in 1690, Seton of Barns claimed the lordship, and about an. 1730 it was purchased by the family of Gordon.

The next priory was at Pluscarden, founded by K. Alexander II. an. 1230, and named *Vallis Sancti Andræ*. It was planted by *Monachi Vallis Caulium*. None but the prior and procurator were allowed to go without the precinct; the monks becoming vicious were expelled, and other monks brought from Dumfermline. The lands of this priory were very considerable, and they had a grangia and a cell of monks at Grange-hill. The revenue of this priory, given up an. 1563, was in money 525l. 10s. 14d. Scots; wheat, 1 chalders, 1 boll, 2 firlots; malt, meal, and barley, 51 chalders, 4 bolls, 3 firlots, 1 peck; oats, 5 chalders, 13 bolls; dry multures, 9 chalders, 11 bolls; salmon, 30 lafts. The buildings stood four miles S. W. from the town of Elgin, in a warm valley called the glen of Pluscarden. The walls of the precinct make a large square, and are pretty entire. The church stands about the middle of the square, a fine edifice in the form of a cross, with a square tower, all of hewn ashlar. The oratory and refectory join to the south end of the church, under which is the dormitory. The chapter-house is of curious work, an octagonal cube, vaulted roofs supported



supported by one pillar, all as yet entire. They had a regality in the priory lands and a distinct regality in Grange-hill, called the regality of Staneforenoon. At the reformation Sir Alexander Seton was, An. 1565, made commendator. The lands of Plufcarden and Old Milns near Elgin passed through several hands, and are now the property of James Earl of Fife.

The third priory was at Kingussie, founded by George Earl of Huntly, about an. 1490. Of what order the monks were, or what were the revenues of the priory, I have not learned. The few lands belonging to it being the donation of the family of Huntly, were at the reformation re-assumed by them, and continue to be their property.

There were likewise within this province several convents of religious orders. In the town of Elgin were Grey Friars, Black Friars, Red Friars, Templars Houses, and a Nunnery of the religious of St. Catherine of Sienna. There were other convents at Forrers and Inverness.

Close by the town of Elgin stood the præceptory of Maison-Dieu. It was a hospital for entertaining strangers, and maintaining poor infirm people. The buildings are now gone to ruins. They had considerable lands in the parishes of Elgin, Laubride, Knockando, and Dundurkus, all which were by King James VI. and Charles I. granted to the town of Elgin, and now hold few of them.

In this province we had four royal forts; the first stood on a round hill that overlooks the town of Elgin; and some of the walls, all of run lime, do as yet remain. The Earls of Murray since the year 1313 were constables of it, and had considerable lands for their salary. Their office continued till 1748, when heritable offices were annexed to the crown, and now they have no more but the hill called Lady hill, which yields a small rent annually. Another fort stood in the town of Nairn, but no vestiges of it now remain. Mr. Campbell of Calder (and formerly the Thanes of that ilk) was constable, and in 1748 was paid a compensation for that office. The third fort was at Inverness, of which the Earls of Rois were formerly constables; and after their forfeiture, the Earl of Huntly obtained the office of constable, with very considerable lands as a salary, and continued to be constable till 1629. I need not here speak of Cromwell's fort at Inverness, of which no doubt others will give a full account. The fourth fort was at Urquhart, on the west-side of Loch-Nefs: the buildings were pretty large, and in a great part as yet stand. In the time of David II. Alexander Boes was governor of this fort; afterwards, Chisolm of that ilk was governor: but since the middle of the fifteenth century I do not find it had any governor, and now the lands of Urquhart are the property of Sir Ludowick Grant of Grant. Besides these forts we had many old castles within this province commonly called Fortalice. One stood at Duffus, three miles north of Elgin, and was the seat of the chief of the Moravienfes as early as the eleventh century. The castle stood on a green mote, on the bank of the loch of Spynie: it was a square, the wall about 20 feet high, and 5 feet thick, with a parapet, a ditch, and a draw bridge: within the square were buildings of timber for accommodating the family, and also necessary offices. The walls are as yet pretty entire. Such Fortalices were also at Balveny in the parish of Murtlich, at Abernethy in that parish, at Lochindorb in the parish of Cromdill, at Raet in Nairn parish, and at Ruthven in Kingussie parish. All which were large squares, and many rooms built with timber within the walls.

I shall give no account of the modern forts of Fort George at Arderfair, or Fort Augustus at the south end of Loch-Nefs, and shall only describe a promontory in the parish of Duffus, four miles from Elgin. Our historians call it Burgus, it juts into the frith, and rises above low water about sixteen yards. To the west and north it is a perpendicular



pendicular rock, to the east the ascent is steep but grassy, to the south towards land the ascent is more easy. The area on the top is near a rectangular figure, in length about 100 yards, and in breadth about 50. After the Danes had defeated the Scots army at Forres about an. 1008, they sent for their wives and children, and made this promontory an asylum to them and a place of arms. It was at top surrounded with a strong rampart of oaken logs, of which some are as yet digged up: by a trench cut on the south side they brought the sea round the promontory, and within this, had other trenches, and they fortified it to the east. The trenches are now filled up. After the battle of Mortlich in the year 1010, the Danes abandoned it, and left the country of Murray. To return.

(17.) Columba Dunbar succeeded, and died An. 1435.

(18.) John Winchester, L. B. and chaplain to King James II. was consecrated 1438, and died 1458. In 1452, the King erected the town of Spynie into a free burgh of barony, and erected all the lands of the bishoprick into the regality of Spynie.

(19.) James Stewart, dean, consecrated 1458, died an. 1460.

(20.) David Stewart, parson of Spynie, succeeded in 1461, built the high tower of the palace, and died an. 1475.

(21.) William Tulloch, translated from Orkney, an. 1477, was Lord Privy Seal, and died 1482.

(22.) Andrew Stewart, dean of Murray and Privy Seal, succeeded an. 1483, and died 1498.

(23.) Andrew Forman, commendator of Dryburgh, succeeded an. 1501, and was translated to St. Andrew's an. 1514.

(24.) James Hepburn succeeded, and died an. 1524.

(25.) Robert Shaw, son of Sauchy, and abbot of Paisly, was consecrated 1525, and died 1528.

(26.) Alexander Stewart, son of the Duke of Albany, succeeded, and died an. 1535.

(27.) Patrick Hepburn, uncle to James Earl of Bothwell, and commendator of Scoon, was consecrated an. 1537. He dilapidated, fewed, or set in long leases a great part of the church lands, and died An. 1573, on the 20th June.

I have seen several catalogues of the popish bishops of Murray, both printed and manuscript, but all imperfect; comparing these with the writings of Sir James Dalrymple, Sir Robert Sibbald, Bishop Keith, the chartulary of Murray, and the chronicle of Melrose, the above catalogue may I think be depended upon. To return to the queries.

XIV. There are in this province manuscript histories of several families, which might be of some service in compiling a general history; as of the families of Dunbar, Innes, Brodie, Calder, Kilravock, M'Intosh, and Grant. With regard to ancient weapons, I have seen in the house of Grant, of Kilravock, and in other houses, steel helmets, habergeons, and coats of mail, and of buff leather. Adder stones, glass beads, &c. are but amulets not worth regarding.

XV. I know not one picture worth regarding, except a picture of the Virgin Mary in the house of Castle Grant.

XVI. No battle in the parish of Elgin, but many within this province, as at Forres, about an. 1003, betwixt the Scots and Danes; at Mortlich, an. 1010, between the same; at Spey-mouth, an. 1078, the King against the Moravienfes; again an. 1110, against the same people; and, an. 1160, on the Muir of Urquhart, King Malcolm IV. against the same Moravienfes; at Cleanlochlochie, an. 1544, betwixt the Frazers and M'Donalds; at Glenlivet, an. 1594, the King against the Earls of Huntly, Errol,



Errol, and Angus; at Aulder, an. 1645, the covenanters against Montrose; at Cromdel, an. 1690, the King's troops against the Highlanders and at Culloden, an. 1745, the Duke of Cumberland against the rebels.

XVII. Druidism having been the form of religion in this country before Christianity, the people still retain some superstitious customs of that Pagan religion. As Bel-tien: on the first of May the herds of several farms gather dry wood, put fire to it, and dance three times southwards about the pile. In the middle of June farmers go round their grounds with burning torches in memory of the Cerealia. On Hallow even they have several superstitious customs. At the full moon in March, they cut withes of the mistle-toe or ivy, make circles of them, keep them all year, and pretend to cure hecicks and other troubles by them. And at marriages and baptisms they make a procession around the church, Deafoil, i. e. sunways, because the sun was the immediate object of the Druids' worship.

XVIII. Their sports are hunting, firing at marks, foot-ball, club-ball, &c. And the only annual festival they observe is Christmas; spent more as the Saturnalia were of old, than as Christ's birth ought to be.

XIX. We have no true marble in this country, nor any asbestos: but we have granite, talcum, lapis specularis, and at Stadfield within four miles of Elgin there was lately found lead ore, and in Glen-garry they have for several years had an iron forge and made pigs of iron; likewise about 40 years ago, a company from England set up a mill and forge for iron in Abernethy in Strathspey, and made very good bars of iron, but through their own extravagance they abandoned it. There is through all this province great plenty of iron ore. I have often seen the ignis fatuus, which is a piece of rotten birch wood, lying in a mire, and shining in a dark night, like a flame of firs: likewise ignis lambens, which is an unctuous vapour falling upon a man's wig, or mane of a horse, which shines bright, but by a slight rub it is extinguished.

XX. Great plenty of the particulars in the 20th query may be found on the sea coast in this province, if any will take the trouble to collect them.

XXI. I know no species of wood remarkable, and peculiar to this province, except Red Slauch, or fallow, which is no less beautiful than mahogany, and is much more firm and tough, and not so brittle; it receives a fine polish, and in colour resembles light-coloured mahogany; it grows in rocks, and is very rare. But we have great forests of firs and birches: and as the Grampian hills divide in Athol into one branch running northward, and another eastward; in the former branch are great woods of fir and birch in Breadalbane, Rannoch, Strathspey, Badenoch, Glen-moriston, Strathglass, and Strath-carron in Sutherland; and in the other branch are such forests in Brae-mor, Glen-Muik, Glen-tanner, &c. I am inclined to think that these are the remains of the ancient Sylva Caledonia. Among other vegetables, we have in great plenty, in the heaths and woods, the following berries, viz. wild rasps, wild strawberries, blueberries, bugberries, uva ursæ, &c. And we have one root I cannot but take notice of, which we call Carmele: it is a root that grows in heaths and birch woods to the bigness of a large nut, and sometimes four or five roots joined by fibres; it bears a green stalk, and a small red flower. Dio, speaking of the Caledonians, says, "*Certum cibi genus parant ad omnia, quem si ceperint quantum est unius fabæ magnitudo, minime esurire aut sitire solent.*" Cæsar de Bel. Civ. lib. 3<sup>to</sup>. writes, that Valerius's soldiers found a root called Chara, "*quod admistum lacte multam inopiam levebat, id ad similitudinem panis efficiebant.*" I am inclined to think that our Carmele (i. e. sweet root) is Dio's Cibi genus, and Cæsar's Chara: I have often seen it dried, and kept for journeys through hills where no provisions could be had: I have likewise seen it

pounded



pounded and infused, and when yeast or barm is put to it, it ferments, and makes a liquor more agreeable and wholesome than mead. It grows so plentifully, that a cart load of it can easily be gathered, and the drink of it is very balsamic.

XXII. Sea fowl in this province resort in winter to lakes and lochs, as loch of Spynie, Loch-Nefs, Loch Nadorb, &c. Eagles and falcons breed in high rocks and inaccessible mountains, as Scorgave in Rothemurchus. There are some species of fowls, if not peculiar to this province, at least rare in other countries: such as, the Caperkyly, as large as the domestick turkey; it frequents the fir woods, and perches in the top of very tall trees, but the hen breeds in the heath. Another fowl is the black cock, which frequents birch woods in hills, is of the size of a capon, of a shining blue colour: it is by some authors called *Gallus Scoticanus*. A third fowl is tarmagan, of the size of a partridge, haunts the high rocky hills, is of a colour spotted brown and white. These three fowls are very harmless, and make delicious food.

N. B. In answering query IV. it is omitted that our natural physicians, when they find a toe or finger hurt, and beginning to corrupt, they strike it off with a chissel and sere the wound with a hot iron, and soon cure it. Instead of bleeding by lancets, they scarify the flesh about the ankle, and they take blood from the nasal vein by cleaving the quill of a hen and binding it into four branches, and scarifying the nostrils thereby. For vomits, they use a decoction of groundfill, of the bark of the service tree, and a decoction of Holborn saugh; and for purgatives, the decoction of service bark and a decoction of mugwort boiled in new whey. In answering query I. I omitted to say, that the river of Bewly was anciently called Farar: it rises in the hills towards Glenelg, and runs through Glenstrathfarar; and I am inclined to think that in Ptolemy's Geographical Tables the Murray frith is called *Æstuarium Vararis* from the river Farar (changing the F into V) that falls into the head of it. And the river was called Bewly, when An. 1230, a priory of the monks Vallis Caulium was settled there, who called their seat Beaulieu, i. e. Bello loco; and then the old name of Farar was discontinued except among the Highlanders.

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER III.

*The Life of James Crichton, of Clunie, commonly called the Admirable Crichton\*.*

THIS gentleman was descended from a very ancient family; his father Robert Crichton of Clunie and Elicok, was one of those who commanded Queen Mary's army at the battle of Langside in the year 1568. He was born at Clunie†, his paternal inheritance, in the shire of Perth, in the year 1551. He was taught his grammar at the school of Perth, and his philosophy at the university of St. Andrews‡ under Mr.

\* This compilation was some years ago printed at Aberdeen. I have had opportunity of comparing it with most of the authorities quoted in support of the history of so extraordinary a person, and find them used with judgment and fidelity. Excepting a few notes, I present it to the readers in the state I found it: and shall only acquaint them that the life of this glory of North Britain may be found in the 81st number of the *Adventurer*, treated in a more elegant, but far less comprehensive manner.

† The present house of Clunie stands in an island in a lake of the same name. But the old house or castle stood on one side of the water: and its place is distinguished by nothing but a mound and imperfect moat.

‡ Vid. *Ald. Manut. Epist. Ded. Paradox. Cicero; Dist. Critiq. & Histor. par M. Bayle; Dempster Hist. Eccles. p. 1876. Joani imperialis Mus. Histor. p. 241. Sir Thomas Urquhart's Vindication of the Scots Nation, &c.*



John Rutherford \*. He had hardly attained to the 20th year of his age, when he had run through the whole circle of the sciences, and could speak and write to perfection in ten different languages: but this was not all; for he had likewise improved himself to the utmost degree in riding, dancing, singing, and playing upon all sorts of instruments.

*majority*  
Having thus established himself at home, his parents sent him abroad to accomplish him further by travelling. And coming to Paris, it is not to be imagined what consternation he raised in that famous university; as we have it from an eye witness, who gives us this account of it †: "There came," says he, "to the college of Navarre, a young man of 20 years of age, who was perfectly well seen in all the sciences, as the most learned masters of the university acknowledged: in vocal and instrumental music none could excel him, in painting and drawing in colours none could equal him; in all military feats he was most expert, and could play with the sword so dexterously with both his hands, that no man could fight him; when he saw his enemy or antagonist, he would throw himself upon him at one jump of 20 or 24 feet distance: He was a master of arts, and disputed with us in the schools of the college upon medicine, the civil and canon law, and theology; and although we were above fifty in number, besides above three thousand that were present; so pointedly and learnedly he answered to all the questions that were proposed to him, that none but they that were present can believe it. He spake Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages most politely; he was likewise an excellent horseman, and truly if a man should live an hundred years without eating, drinking, or sleeping, he could not attain to this man's knowledge, which struck us with a panick fear; for he knew more than human nature could well bear; he overcame four of the doctors of the church; for in learning none could contest with him, and he was thought to be Antichrist."

*72 languages*  
Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty giving an account of this dispute, says, that Crichton, when he came to Paris, caused fix programs on all the gates of the schools, halls and colleges belonging to the university, and on all the pillars and posts before the houses of the most renowned men for literature in the city, inviting all those who were well versed in any art or science, to dispute with him in the college of Navarre, that day six weeks, by nine of the clock in the morning, where he should attend them, and be ready to answer to whatever should be proponed to him in any art or science, and in any of these twelve languages, Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish or Slavonian, and that either in verse or prose, at the discretion of the disputant; and during all this time instead of making a close application to his studies, he minded nothing, but hunting, hawking, tilting, vaulting, riding of a well managed horse, tossing the pike, handling the musket, and other military feats, or in house games, such as balls, concerts of music vocal and instrumental, cards, dice, tennis, and the other diversions of youth; which so provoked the students of the university, that they caused write beneath the program that was fixt on the Sorbonne gate, "If you would meet with this monster of perfection, to make search for him either in the tavern or bawdy-house, is the readiest way to find him." Yet upon the day appointed he met with them in the college of Navarre, and acquit himself beyond expression in that dispute, which lasted from nine till six of

\* Aldus calls Crichton first cousin to the King, and says that he was educated along with his Majesty under Buchanan, Hepburn, Robertson and Rutherford.

† Steph. Pafch. Disquis. lib. 5, cap. 23.



the clock at night : At length, the Præses having extolled him highly, for the many rare and wonderful endowments that God and nature had bestowed upon him, he rose from his chair, and accompanied by four of the most eminent professors of the university, gave him a diamond ring and a purse full of gold, as a testimony of their love and favour, which ended with the acclamations and repeated huzzas of the spectators. And ever after that he was called, the admirable Crichton. And my author says, that he was so little fatigued with that day's dispute, that the very next day he went to the Louvre, where he had a match of tilting, an exercise in great request in those days, and in the presence of some princes of the court of France, and a great many ladies, he carried away the ring fifteen times on end, and broke as many lances on the Saracen.

The learned M. du Launy, in his history of the college of Navarre, finding the history of this dispute recorded in a MS. history of the college of Navarre, and the like account of a Spaniard in Trithemius, confounds the two together, and robs our author of the glory of this action, and places it in the year 1445, whereas it should be in the year 1571, as we have reason to believe, from the authority of those that were cotemporary with him, and knew him, and have recorded this of him ; but we need not be surprized at M. du Launy's denying him the glory of this action, when we find M. Baillet, another learned Frenchman, denying there ever was such a man as our author\*, notwithstanding that Aldus Manutius dedicates his book of Cicero's paradoxes to him in the year 1581, and that the most of the eminent men in Italy in that age were acquainted with him, as we shall show in the remaining part of the history of his life. About two years after his dispute at Paris, Trajano Boccalini in his advertisements from Parnassus, tells us, that he came to Rome, Boccalini being then at Rome, himself, and by a placard which he affixed upon all the eminent places of the city, he challenged all the learned men in Rome, in the following terms, " Nos Jacobus Crichtonus Scotus, cuicumque rei propositæ ex improvizo respondebimus." That is to say, he was ready to answer any question that could be proposed to him, without being previously advertised of it. Upon which the wits put a paper in Pasquin's† hand, endeavouring to ridicule him ; but that noways discouraging him, he came at the time and place appointed by his placard, and in the presence of the pope, many cardinals, bishops, doctors of divinity, and professors in all the sciences ; he gave such surprising instances of his universal knowledge, that they were no less surprized with him, than they had been at Paris.

From Rome he goes to Venice, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Aldus Manutius, Laurennius Massa, Speron Speronius, and several other learned men, to whom he presented several poems in commendation of the city and university, and among the rest, one to Aldus Manutius, which we have still extant in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum* ‡. This poem gave him a very agreeable surprize, being presented by a stranger, whom he judged by the performance to be a person of an extraordinary genius ; but when he came to discourse with him, he was struck with admiration, and finding him known in every thing, he brought him to the acquaintance of all the people of learning of note that were in Venice, and all of them were so surprized with him, that they thought him, as he really was, the wonder of the world, and never spoke of him but with admiration ; at length being brought before the doge and senate, he made

\* Hist. des Enf. Celeb.

† The pasquinade was to this effect, written beneath the challenge. And he that will see it let him go to the signe of the Faulcon and it shall be shewn. This, says Boccalini, made such an impression on Crichton, that he left the place where he was so grossly affronted as to be put on a level with jugglers and mountebanks.

‡ Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ubi supra.



a handsome speech to them, which being accompanied with all the graces and beauties of eloquence and nature \* that appeared in his person in their utmost lustre, he received the thanks of the senate, and nothing was talked through the whole city, but of this prodigy of nature. Having staid for some time at Venice, he went to Padua to visit the learned men that were at that famous university; and he had no sooner arrived there, but there was a meeting of all the learned men in the city, in the house of Jacobus Moysius Cornelius, to wait upon him, and converse with him. He opened the assembly with an extemporary poem in praise of the city, university, and the assembly that had honoured him with their presence at that time; and after six hours of a dispute, which he sustained against them, in whatever they could propose to him in all the sciences, he concluded with an extemporary oration in praise of ignorance, that Aldus Manutius† says that they all thought that they were in a dream, and that he had almost persuaded them that it was better to be ignorant, than learned and wise. Some time after this he fixed a paper on the gates of St. John and St. Paul's churches, wherein he offered to prove before the university, that there was an infinite number of errors in Aristotle's philosophy, which was then only in vogue, and in all his commentaries, both in theological and philosophical matters, and to refute the dreams of several mathematicians; He likewise made an offer to dispute in all the sciences, and to answer to whatever should be proposed to him, or objected against him, either in the common logical way, or by numbers and mathematical figures, or in a hundred sorts of verses as they pleased.

Aldus Manutius, who was present at this dispute, says ‡, that he performed all that he had promised, to their greatest amazement: and he tells us likewise of another dispute that he had before a great concourse of people in the Bishop of Padua's house, without mentioning the occasion or particulars of it; but Joannes Imperialis tells us §, that he was informed by his father, who was present at this dispute, that it was with one Archangellus Mercenarius, a famous philosopher, upon philosophical subjects, in which he acquitted himself so well, that his adversary owned before the assembly that he had overcome him.

From Venice he went to Mantua; at this time there was a gladiator at Mantua, who had foiled in his travels the most famous fencers in Europe, and had lately killed in that city three persons who had entered the lists with him; the Duke of Mantua was highly offended that he had granted this fellow his protection, since it had such a fatal consequence: Crichton being informed of this, offered his service to the Duke, to rid not only his dominions, but Italy of this murderer, and to fight him for fifteen hundred pistoles: though the Duke was unwilling to expose such a fine gentleman as our author, to such a hazard, yet relying upon the report of his performances in all warlike achievements, it was agreed to; and the time and place being appointed, the whole court were witnesses to the performance. In the beginning of the combat, Crichton was upon the defensive, and the Italian attacked him with such vigour and eagerness, that he began to grow faint, having overacted himself; then our author attacked him with such dexterity and vigour, that he run him through the body in three different places, of which he immediately died. The huzzas and acclamations of the spectators were extraordinary upon this occasion, and all of them acknowledged, that they had never seen art, grace, nor nature second the precepts of art with so much liveliness as they had seen that day; and to crown the glory of this action,

\* Joan Imperial. ubi supra.

† Ubi supra.

‡ Aldus Man. Præf. in Cicer. Parad.

§ Ubi supra.



Crichton bestowed the prize of his victory upon the widows who had lost their husbands in fighting with this gladiator. *Liberty*

These and his other wonderful performances, moved the Duke of Mantua to make choice of him for preceptor to his son Vincent de Gonzagua, a prince of a riotous temper and dissolute life. The court was highly pleased with the Duke's choice, and for their diversion he composed a comedy, wherein he exposed and ridiculed \* all the weaknesses and failures of the several employments that men betake themselves to; which was looked upon as one of the most ingenious satires that ever was made upon mankind; but that which was most wonderful and astonishing was, that he himself personated the divine, *essentially of talent* philosopher, lawyer, mathematician, physician, and soldier, with such an inimitable grace, that every time he appeared upon the theatre, he seemed to be a different person; but from being the principal actor of a comedy, he became the woful subject of a most lamentable tragedy, being most barbarously murdered by his pupil, which happened thus:

One night as he was walking along the streets in the time of the carnarval, and playing upon his guittare, he was attacked by half a dozen people in masks; but they found that they had not an ordinary person to deal with, for they were not able to stand their ground against him, and having disarmed the principal person amongst them, he pulled off his mask, and begged his life, telling him, that he was the Prince his pupil. Crichton, who immediately knew him, fell down upon his knees, and told him that he was sorry for his mistake, and that what he had done was only in his own defence, and that if he had any design upon his life, he might always be master of it; and then taking his own sword by the point, he presented him with it; which the prince taking in his hand, and not being able to overcome his passion for the affront that he thought he had sustained, in being foiled with all his attendants, he immediately *executed* run him through the heart.

What moved the prince to this ungenerous and brutal action, is variously conjectured; for some think it was jealousy, suspecting that he was more in favours with a young lady whom he passionately loved than he was. Others say, that it was only to try his valour, and the effect of a drunken ramble; but whatever was the cause of it, 'tis certain that thus he died, in the beginning of the month of July, in the year 1583, in the thirty-second year of his age, or, as Imperialis says, in the twenty-second.

\* The unhappy effect that this humour had on two maids of honour is admirably told by Sir Thomas Urquhart, a second Rabelais, and best translator of that extravagant author. *Urquhart*

"They heard in him alone the promiscuous speech of fifteen several actors, by the various ravishments of the excellencies whereof, in the frolickness of a jocund strain beyond expectation, the logofascinated spirits of the beholding hearers and auriculate spectators, were so on a sudden seized upon in their risible faculties of the soul, and all their vital motions so universally affected in this extremity of agitation, that to avoid the inevitable charms of his intoxicating ejaculations, and the accumulative influences of so powerful a transportation, one of my Lady Dutchess's chief maids of honour, by the vehemencie of the shock of those incomprehensible raptures burst forth into a laughter, to the rupture of a veine in her body; and another young lady, by the irresistible violence of the pleasure unawares infused, where the tender receptibility of her too tickled fancie was left able to hold out, so unprovidedly was surprised that, with no less importunate of ridibundal passion then (as hath been told) occasioned a fracture in the other young lady, she, not able longer to support the well beloved burden of so excessive delight, and intrinsinc such joys of such Mercurial exhilarations through the ineffable extatic of an overmastered apprehension, fell back in a swoon, without the appearance of any other life into her, then what by the most refined wits of theological speculators is conceived to be exercised by the purest parts of the separated enteleshies of blessed Saints in their sublimest conversations with the celestial hierarchies: this accident procured the incoming of an apothecarie with restoratives, as the other did that of a surgeon with consolidative medicaments."

Vindication of the honour of Scotland, &c. p. 111, 112.

His



His death was extraordinarily lamented by all the learned men in Europe, and from these Italian writers, who knew, and were cotemporary with him, it is, that I have most of all that I have said of him. Joannes Imperialis, a doctor of medicine of Vicenza in Italy, who has wrote our author's life, and who could not but know the truth of all, or most of what he has said of him, since he lived upon the places in which they were acted, and who had them from his father, who was an eye and ear witness to them, says \*, "That he was the wonder of the last age, the prodigious production of nature, the glory and ornament of Parnassus in a stupendous and an unusual manner, and as yet in the judgment of the learned world, the Phoenix of literature, and rather a shining particle of the Divine Nature and Majesty, than a model of what human nature and industry can attain to. And what can be more," continues he †, "above our comprehension, than in the 21st year of his age to be master of ten languages, and to be perfectly well seen in philosophy, mathematicks, theology, the belles-lettres, and all the other sciences; besides, was it ever heard of in the whole compass of this globe, that one with all this, should be found expert to admiration, in fencing, dancing, singing, riding, and the other exercises of the gymnastick art? Besides all this, he is said to have been one of the most beautiful, and one of the handsomest gentlemen the world ever saw, so that Nature had taken as much care about his body, as she had done about his mind; and in one word, he was the utmost that man could come to." M. Bayle says ‡, that he was one of the greatest prodigies of wit that ever lived; and Fælix Aftolfus that he had such a prodigious memory § that he retained more books upon his mind, than any of his age had read; *Plures libros memoriter tenebat quam quisquam ea ætate legerat.*

And Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, having insisted on all the particulars of our author's life in a fustian and bombastical strain, tells us, that in the comedy which he composed, and was an actor in before the court of Mantua, in the fifth and last act, he himself personated no less than thirteen different characters of persons and employments in their different habits.

And in his character of him, he tells us, that he gained the esteem of all kings and princes, by his magnanimity and knowledge; of all noblemen and gentlemen, by his courtliness and breeding; of all knights, by his honourable deportment and pregnancy of wit; of all the rich, by his affability and good fellowship; of all the poor, by his munificence and liberality; of all the old, by his constancy and wisdom; of all the young, by his mirth and gallantry; of all the learned, by his universal knowledge; of all the soldiers, by his undaunted valour and courage; of all the merchants and artificers, by his upright dealing and honesty; and of all the fair sex, by his beauty and handsomeness; in which respect, he was a master-piece of nature. "The reader," says he, "perhaps will think this wonderful, and so would I too, were it not that I know as Sir Phillip Sidney says, that a wonder is no wonder in a wonderful subject, and consequently not in him, who for his learning, judgment, valour, eloquence, beauty and good fellowship, was the perfectest result of the joint labours of Pallas, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Venus and Bacchus, that hath been since the days of Alcibiades; and he was reported to have been enriched with a memory so prodigious that any sermon, speech, harangue, or other manner of discourses of an hour's continuance he was able to recite without hesitation, after the same manner of gesture and pronunciation in all points, wherewith it was delivered at first; and of so stupendous a judgment, that nothing escaped his

\* Museum Histor. p. 241.

† Museum Histor. Imper. Joa. ibidem. Venetiis apud Juntas 1650, in 4to.

‡ Bib. Crit.

§ Officina Hist. p. 102.

knowledge:"



knowledge:" and for the truth of all this, he appeals to above two thousand witnesses, that were still alive, and had known him. And speaking of his death, which he attributes to an amour, he tells us that it was in the thirty-second year of his age; that the whole court went in mourning for him; that the epitaphs and elegies that were composed upon his death, if collected, would exceed the bulk of Homer's works, and that his picture was still to be seen in the most of the bed-chambers and galleries of the Italian nobility, representing him upon horseback, with a lance in one hand, and a book in the other\*.

Dempster, who was cotemporary with him, and a professor of the civil-law at Bononia in Italy, agrees as to the most of what we have said of him; but he tells us †, that he was for some time at Geneva, as he was on his travels to Italy, and that they offered him a considerable salary, if he would remain with them; but that he refused it, and that no man offered to detract from his just praises, but Trajano Boccilini; but that he being a person of no erudition, it was rather a glory than any disgrace upon him to be so treated by a person of his character. Yet the same Dempster blames our author very much, not for his boasting of the endowments of his mind, but for his affirming, that he was descended from the royal family of Scotland. Many poems and epitaphs were composed upon him, but I shall only insert that of our countryman, Dr. John Johnston, in his inscriptions upon heroes, who makes him die in the year 1581.

## JACOBUS CRITONIUS CLUNIUS.

*Musarum pariter ac Martis Alumnus, omnibus in studiis, ipsis etiam Italis admirabilis,  
Mantua a Ducis Mantuani nocturnis insidiis occisus est, anno Christi 1581.*

ET genus et censum dat Scotia, Gallia pectus.  
Excolit: admirans Itala terra virum.  
Ambit, et esse suum vellet; gens æmula vitam.  
Abstulit; an fatis hoc dicat ut illa suum  
Mantua habet cineres scelus execrata nefandum,  
At tumuli tanto gaudet honore tamen.

I have nothing of this author that is extant, but two poems, one in praise of the city of Venice, and the other addressed to Aldus Manutius †. Both which are in the first volume of the *Delitia Poetarum Scotticorum*.

\* The print given by Mr. Pennant was taken from a picture in possession of Lord Elicok, Lord of Sessions, copied from an original belonging to Mr. Graham of Airth. I am told that there is a very fine portrait of this celebrated person the property of Mr. Morrison of Bogny, which was sent from Italy by Crichton a short time before he was killed.

† Hist. Eccles. Gen. Scot. ubi supra.

‡ Crichton replies to one of the Naiads of the Po, who appeared to him on his arrival at Venice:

————— Fateor me, candide Naias,  
Promeritum quæcunque fero: nec turpis egestas.  
Infandumve scelus, servi mea pectora vexat.  
At me quis miserum magna cognoscit in urbe:  
Aut quis ad æquoreas stentem solatur arenas??

The Naid directs him to Aldus:

Hunc pete, namque regens filo vestigia cæca  
Diriget ille tuos optato in tramite gressus.  
Iude via pendet. Sequere hunc quæcunque jubentem.  
Sic te Diva monet lævam quæ Gorgona gestat,  
Quæ plerumque tuis presens erit optima votis.

Dempster



Dempster gives us the following catalogue of his works; where it plainly appears, that he makes three books out of that placard which he affixed upon the gates of St. John and St. Paul's churches in Padua.

*The Catalogue of his Works.*

- I. ODÆ ad Laurentium Massam plures.
- II. Laudes Patavinæ, Carmen extempore effusam, cum in Jacobi Moyssii Cornelli domo experimentum ingenii coram tota Academiæ frequentia non sine multorum stupore faceret.
- III. Ignorationis Laudatio, extemporale Thema ibidem redditum post sex horarum disputationes, ut præfentes somnia potius fovere quam rem se veram videre affirmarint, ait Manutius.
- IV. De appulsu suo Venetias. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. vol. i. p. 268.
- V. Odæ ad Aldum Manutium. Del. Poet. Scot. vol. i. p. 269.
- VI. Epistolæ ad Diverfos.
- VII. Præfationes solemnes in omnes scientias sacras et profanas.
- VIII. Judicium de Philosophis.
- IX. Errores Aristotelis.
- X. Armis an Literæ præstant, Controversia oratoria.
- XI. Refutatio Mathematicorum.
- XII. A comedy in the Italian language.

APPENDIX.—NUMBER IV.

*On the Murder of a Laird of Innes.—As related in the old Account.*

JOHN Lord INNES, having no children, settles his estate upon his next heir and cousin Alexander Innes of Cromy, and seems to suffer him to enjoy his title and possessions in his life time. Robert Innes of Innermarky, another cadet of the family, is disgusted to see Innes of Cromy endowed with so much power and preferred to him. He alarms Lord John, and makes him repent so far of what he had done, that he joins in conspiracy with Innermarky to assassinate his cousin Alexander. The author says, "John being brought over to his minde, (viz. Innes's of Innermarky,) there wanted nothing but a conveniency for putting y<sup>e</sup> purpose to execution, which did offer itself in y<sup>e</sup> month of Apryle 1580, at w<sup>ch</sup> tyme Alex, being called upon some business to Aberdeen, was obliged to stay longer there then he intended, by reasone that his only sone Robert, a youth of 16 yeirs of age, had fallen sick at the college, and his father could not leave the place untill he saw q<sup>u</sup> became of him. He hade transported him out of the old toune, and hade brought him to his own lodgeing in the new toune; he had also sent severall of his servants home from tyme to tyme to let his Lady know the reasone of his stay, by means of these servants it came to be known perfectly at Kinnardy in q<sup>u</sup> circumstance Alexander was at Aberdeen, q<sup>u</sup> he was lodged, and how he was attended, which invited Innermarky to take the occasione. Wherefore getting a considerable number of assistants with him, he hade Laird John ryde to Aberdeen: they enter the toun upon the night, and about midnight came to Alexander's lodgeing.

"The outer gate of the clois they found oppen, but all the rest of the doors shutt; they wer afraid to break up doors by violence, least the noise might alarm the neighbourhed, but choised rather to ryfe up such a cry in the clois as might obleidge those who wer within to oppen the door and see q<sup>u</sup> it might be. The feuds at that tyme betwixt the familys of Gordone and Forbes wer not extinguished, therfor they ryfed  
a cry,



a cry, as if it had been upon some outfall among these people, crying, 'Help, a Gordon, a Gordon,' which is the gathering word of the friends of y<sup>e</sup> familie.

"Alexander, being deeply interested in the Gordon, at the noise of the cry started from his bedd, took his sword in his hand and opened a back door that led to y<sup>e</sup> court below, stept down three or four steps, and cryed to know q<sup>t</sup> was the matter. Innermarky who by his word new him, and by his whytt shirt decerned him perfectly, cocks his gun and shootts him through the body in ane instant, As many as could get about him fell upon him and butchered him barbarously. Innermarky perceaveing in the mean tyme y<sup>e</sup> Laird John stood by, as either relenting or terrified, held the bloody dagger to his throat that he had newly taken out of the murthered body, swearing dreadfully y<sup>e</sup> he would serve him the same way if he did not as he did, and so compelled him to draw his dagger, and stab it up to the hilts in the body of his nearest relatione, and the bravest that boare his name. After his example all who wer ther behooved to do the lyke, that all might be alyke guilty; yea in prosecutione of this, it has been told me that Mr. John Innes, afterwards Coxtoune, being a youth than at schooll, was ryfed out of his bedd, and compelled by Innermarky to stab a daggar unto the dead body, that the more might be under the same condemnatione; a very crafty cruelty.

"The next thing looked after was the destructione of the sick youth Robert, who had lyein y<sup>e</sup> night in a bedd by his father, but upon the noyse of q<sup>t</sup> was done, hade scrambled from it, and by the help of one John of Culdreacons, or rather some of the people of the hous, had got out at ane unfrequented bak door into the garden, and from y<sup>e</sup> into a neighbour's hous, q<sup>t</sup> he hade shaltered; the Lord in his providence preserving him for the executing vengeance upon these murthurers for the blood of his father.

"Then Innermarky took the dead man's signet ring, and sent it to his wife, as from her husband, by a servant whom he had purchased to that purpose, ordering her to send him such a particular box q<sup>ch</sup> contained the bond of tailie, and all y<sup>e</sup> hade followed thereupon betwixt him and Laird John, whom the servant said he hade left w<sup>th</sup> his m<sup>r</sup> at Aberdeen: and y<sup>e</sup> for dispatch he hade sent his best hors with him, and hade not taken leifure to writ, but sent the ring. Though it troubled the woman much to receave such a blind meafage, yet her husband's ring, his own servant and his hors, prevailed so with her, togither with the man's importunity to be gone, that shee delivered to him q<sup>t</sup> he fought, and let him go.

"There happened to be then about the hous a youth related to the family, who was courious to go to the lenth of Aberdeen, and see the young Laird who had been sick, and to whom he was much addicted. This youth hade gone to the stable to interceed with the servant that he might carrie him behind him, and his discourfs hade found the man under great restraint and confusion of minde, sometyme fayeing he he was to go no further than Kinnardy (which indeed was the truth,) and at oy<sup>r</sup> times that he behooved to be immediately at Aberdeen.

"This brought him to be jealous, though he knew not q<sup>t</sup>, but further knowledge he behoved to have, and therfor he stept out a little beyond the entry, watching the servant's comeing, and in the by-going suddenly leapt on behind him, and would needs either go alonges with him, or have satisfeing reasone, why he refused him.

"The contest became such betwixt them, that the servant drew his durk to ridd him of the youth's trouble, q<sup>ch</sup> the other wrung out of his hands, and down right killed him w<sup>th</sup> it, and brought back the box w<sup>th</sup> the writs and hors to the hous of Innes (or Cromie, I know not q<sup>ch</sup>.)



"As the lady is in a confusione for q<sup>r</sup> had fallen out, ther comes aneother of the servants from Aberdeen, who gave ane account of the slaughter, so that she behooved to conclude a speciall hand of Providence to have been in the first pasage. Her next courfs was to secure her husband's writs the best she could, and flee to her friends for shalter, by whos means she was brought w<sup>t</sup> all speed to the King, befor whom shee made her complaint. And q<sup>r</sup> is heir set down is holden by all men to be true matter of fact.

"The Earl of Huptly imediatly upon the report of the slaughter concerned himself becaufs of his relatione to the dead, and looked out for his son, whom he instantly carried to Edinburgh, and put him for shalter into the family of the Lord Elphinstoune, at that tyme Lord High Treasurer of the kingdome.

"Innermarky and Laird John, after the slaughter, came back to the Lord Saltoun's hous, who lived then at Rothimay, and is thought to have been in the knowledge of q<sup>r</sup> they had been about, for certain it is they wer supported by the Abernethys, ay until the law went against them. From Rothimay they went with a considerable party of hors, and reposcest Laird John in all parts of the estate of Innes. And Innermarky, to make the full use of q<sup>r</sup> he hade so boldly begun, did, upon the seventein Maii 1580, which was 5 weeks after the slaughter, take from Laird John a new dispositione of the estate of Innes.

"By what is said, Innermarky may appeir to have been a man full of unrighteousness, craft, and cruelty; yet some say for alleviatione of his fact, that he having his chieff's favour, hade got the first disposition of his estate failieing airs of himself, but that Cromy had taken a posterior right and hade supplantad Innermarky, for q<sup>ch</sup> he in revenge had killed him, &c. But falseness of the allegiance (mean as it is) is plaine past contradiction, from the above narraited writ, q<sup>ch</sup> was given to Innermarky but 40 days after the slaughter of Cromy.

"For two full yeirs Innermarky and John hade posselt the estate of Innes, strenthening themselves with all the friendship they could acqyre; but being in end declared out laws, in the 3<sup>d</sup> yeir Robert Laird of Innes, the son of Alex<sup>r</sup>, came north with a commission against them and all others concerned in the slaughter of his father. This Robert was a young man well endued w<sup>t</sup> favour and understanding, which had ingaged the Lord Treasurer so far to wedd his interest, that he first weded the young man to his daughter, and then gote him all the assistance requisit to possess him of his estate, q<sup>ch</sup> was no sooner done but he led wast the possessions of his enemies; burning and blood shed was acted by both partys with animously enough.

"In the mean tyme Laird John had run away to seek some lurking place in the south, q<sup>r</sup> he was discovered by the friends of the Lord Elphinstoune, and by them taken and sent north to the Laird Robert, who did not put him to death, but took him bound to various sorts of performances, as appears by the contract betwixt them in anno 1585: one grofs was, y<sup>t</sup> that he should deliver up the chartor chift, and all the old evidents, q<sup>ch</sup> he and Innermarky had seased, and which I doubt if ever he faithfully did, els this relation hade been with less pains and more fully instructed.

"As to Innermarky, he was forced for a while to take the hills, and when he wearied of that, he hade a retreat of a difficult access within the hous of Edinglassy, q<sup>r</sup> he slept in little enough security; for in September 1584, his hous was surprysed by Laird Robert, and that reteiring place of his first entered by Alexander Innes, afterwards of Cotts, the same who some yeirs before had killed the servant who came from Innermarky with the false token for y<sup>e</sup> writs, and who all his lyfe was called Craigg in peirill, for venturing upon Innermarky then desperat, and whos cruelty he helped to repay



it in its own coine ; there was no mercy for him, for slain he was, and his hoar head cut off and taken by the widdow of him whom he hade slain, and carried to Edinburgh and casten at the King's feett ; a thing too masculine to be commended in a woman."

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER V.

### *Of Caithness, Stráthnaver, and Sutherland.*

By the Rev. Mr. ALEXANDER POPE, Minister of REAY.

AS the Picts possessed the northern parts of Scotland of old, as they did the most fertile parts of the south, and were expelled in the year 839, we have very little of their history : what preserves the remembrance of that people is only the round buildings wherein they dwelt, of which there are numbers all over the north, particularly Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney.

It is observable in these buildings, that there is no mortar of any kind, neither clay nor lime ; nor had they any notion of casting an arch. They consist of the best stones they could find, well laid and joined ; the wall was sometimes fourteen feet thick, and the great room, which was quite round, twenty-two feet diameter ; the perpendicular wall twelve feet high ; and the roof was carried on round about with long stones, till it ended in an opening at the top, which served both for light and a vent to carry off the smoke of their fire. Where the stones were long and good, they had small rooms for sleeping in the thickness of their wall. The door or entry was low, three feet for ordinary, shut up by a large broad stone. There is one of them entire in the parish of Loth, which the Bishop of Ossory visited and examined. It is the only one that is so, as far as I could find, excepting one at Suigil in the parish of Kildonnán. It is to be observed, that where the stones were not flat and well bedded, for fear the outer wall should fail, they built great heaps of stones to support it, so that it looks outwardly like a heap without any design, which is the case at Loth beg, in the parish of Lothian. At the desire of the Bishop of Ossory I measured several of them, and saw some quite demolished. We found nothing in them but hand-mills, or what the Highlanders call Querns, which were only eighteen inches diameter, and great heaps of deer bones and horns, as they lived much more by hunting than any other means.

What are styled forest, or hunting-houses, are supposed to have been used by the antient inhabitants for retreats in the hunting countries. They consist of a gallery, with a number of small rooms on the sides, each formed of three large stones, viz. one on each side, and a third by way of covering. These are made with the vast flags this country is famous for. At the extremity is a larger apartment of an oval figure, probably the quarters of the chieftain. The passage or gallery is without a roof ; a proof that they were only temporary habitations. Their length is from fifty to sixty feet. These buildings are only in places where the great flags are plentiful. In Glen-Loch are three, and are called by the country people Uags.

I beg leave to make a few more remarks on the round edifices. They were large or small, according to the size or goodness of the stones in their neighbourhood. The stones that formed the roof were placed thus : the largest lay lowest, the remainder grew successively smaller and thinner to the top ; so that there was no danger of its falling in by too great a pressure. The builders took great pains to bed their stones



well; and, where two met, they were wont to band them above by another, and to pin them tight to make them firm. The doors were always on the east side, and only three feet wide at the entrance, but grew higher within, and were closed with a great flag. They usually introduced water into these houses, where they formed a well, and covered it with a flag-stone. A deep ditch surrounded the outsides of many of these buildings. The dead were interred at some distance from the houses. The cemeteries were of two kinds. In some places the deceased were placed within great circles of stones of a hundred feet diameter, and the the corpses covered with gravel. In other places they were interred in cairns of a sugar-loaf form; sometimes bones have been found in them, sometimes urns with ashes, a proof that burning and the common species of interment was usual. Sometimes the remains of iron weapons have been found, but so corroded that their form could not be distinguished. In one was found a brazen head of a spear nine inches long.

If these buildings were the work of the Picts, they originally extended over many parts of Scotland south of this country. The last have been so long in a state of cultivation, that it is not surprising that we see none of these houses at present, the stones having been applied to various uses. Even in these remote parts, they are continually destroyed as farming gains ground, they offer a ready quarry to the husbandman for making inclosures, or other purposes of his business.

From the extirpation of the Picts to the year 1266, Scotland was harassed by invasions from the Norwegians and Danes, particularly the north part; for Harold the Fair, King of Norway, seized Orkney in the latter end of the ninth century. From Norway swarms came to Orkney, and the passage being so short, all the north of Scotland was continually in arms. As nothing can be expected in that period but fighting, bloodshed, and rapine, we cannot look for improvements of any kind, and for that reason it is needless to attempt any particular history of it. It is true, Torfæus gives us some account of that time, which is all that we have.

As to the family of Sutherland, they have possessed that country since the expulsion of the Picts, and have continued as Thanes and Earls to this time. That they are originally of German extraction, is evident from their arms. Dr. Abercrombie, in his History of the Scots Heroes, mentions Donald Thane of Sutherland married to a niece of King Kenneth II. May that good family continue and prosper.

Lord Reay's family derive their original from Ireland, in the twelfth century, when King William the Lion reigned. The occasion of their settling in the north is mentioned by Torfæus, as captains of a number of warriors to drive the Norwegians out of Caithness.

The Sinclairs Earls of Caithness are only of a late date. The family of Roslin is their original in Scotland; but their coming into England is as early as the year 1066; for I find them mentioned among the commanders in the army of William the Conqueror, in the roll of Battel abbey. They were first Earls of Orkney, then Earls of Caithness, and still continue in the person of William Sinclair of Ratter, who carried the peerage before the British parliament this present year 1772.

As for the history of these parts, I shall begin with

Edrächilis\*.—This parish, which belongs to the family of Reay, is all forest and rocks, little arable, and scarcely any plain ground, excepting the town of Scoury. The pasture is fine, and plenty of red deer, but the country at some distance looks as if one

\* Properly Eider dar choilles, i. e. between two woods.



hill was piled upon another. The firth that runs far into the land abounds with good fish, and herring in their season.

Torfæus mentions a bloody battle fought in this firth, at a place called Glen du, by two pirates; one of them he calls Odranus Gillius, the other Suenus, wherein the latter was victorious. There is likewise a tradition of some bloody engagement betwixt the Mackays and Macleods.

Parish of Diurness.—This parish was of old a grass room or shealing to the bishop of Caithness, and was disposed of to the family of Sutherland by bishop Andrew Stuart, and the family of Sutherland gave it to Lord Reay's family. Two pieces of antiquity are to be seen in this parish: 1st, Dornadilla's Tower, or hunting house, which stands in Strathmore; a very strange kind of building, well worth the seeing\*. It is certain that the finest pasture is in the hills of Diurness, which rendered it the best forest in Scotland of old. Our antient Scots kings hunted there frequently, and it appears that this was a custom as far back as the time of King Dornadilla. 2d, There is on the side of a hill called Bui spinunn, a square piece of building, about three feet high and twelve square, well levelled, called Carn nri, or king's carn; which probably was the place where his Majesty sat or stood, and saw the sport, as he had from hence an extensive prospect. Torfæus mentions that one Suenus from Orkney waited on the King of Scotland as he was diverting himself in the hunting season in the hills of Diurness. This should be in the days of Malcolm II.

At Loch-eribol, on the north side, there is a plain rock which is still called Lech vuaias, where they say that Hacon King of Norway slaughtered the cattle he took from the natives in his return to Orkney, after the battle of Largs in the year 1263. Torfæus gives a journal of that expedition, and mentions King Hacon's landing there. But there is a tradition that a party of Norwegians, venturing too far into that country, were cut to pieces; and that the place is called Strath urradale, from the name of the Norwegian commander: a custom very common of old.

The greatest curiosity in this parish is a cave called Smow. It is a stupendous arch or vault, and runs under ground so far that the extremity of it was never found.

Donald Lord Reay, the first of that family, made an attempt, and we are told he proceeded very far, meeting with lakes, and passing through them in a boat: but, after all, was obliged to satisfy himself with seeing a part.

Here are several caves that run far under ground, but Smow is the most remarkable. I am told that of late they have discovered in the manor or mains of Diurness, a hole of great depth: it was of old covered with large stones, but these it seems have mouldered away. So that it is the conjecture of many, that there are numbers of cavities of great extent, under ground, in this parish.

This parish is all upon the lime stone, and abounds in marble; the part called strictly Diurness, is a plain, the soil good, and the grass incomparable, therefore capable of the highest improvement. The lakes are stored with the finest fish, and full of marle. The hills afford the best pasturage for sheep, and the seas are well stored with fish. But the great disadvantage to this country is, that it is exposed to the north-west storms, which drive the sand upon it, and have by that means destroyed several good farms, and threaten more harm daily.

In this parish is a firth called Loch-Eriboll; Torfæus calls it Goas-fiord, or the firth of Hoan, an island opposite to it. This is one of the finest and safest roads for shipping in Europe; the navy of Great Britain can enter it at low water, and find good anchor-

\* A further account of this tower will be given in the *Tour and Voyage* of 1772.



*harbour* ing. It is a loss that this incomparable bay has not been surveyed, and the different anchoring places marked. It would be a mighty blessing to mariners, being so near Cape Wrath, one of the most stormy capes in the world. For it would be a safe retreat to vessels, in time of storm, either sailing towards the cape, or to those that had the misfortune to receive any damage off it. Cape Wrath is also in the parish of Durness.

Parish of Tongue. The antiquities of this parish are few. There is an old Danish building upon the summit of a hill, called Castle varrich, or Barr castle: for the Danes or Norwegians possessed that country for some time. Tongue is the seat of Lord Reay's family. This parish is rather better for pasture than tillage, but what corn-ground they have is extremely good. Of old there was a fine forest in it, and there is still plenty of deer. The ancestors of Lord Reay's family drove the Danes from these parts.

In this parish is a loch, called Loch-Hacon; in it an island, called Illan Lochan Hacon, in which there is the ruin of a stone building with an artificial walk in it, called Grianan, because dry and exposed to the sun. From which it appears that Earl Hacon, who possessed Orkney and Caithness, had a hunting-house in this island, and lodged there with his warriors, in the hunting season. The sea-coast for the greatest part is all rock, of a rough granite, or what we call whin. Here is a promontory or cape, called Whiten head, very stormy when it is a hard gale.

There was formerly a chapel in an island near Skerray; the common people call it the isle of Saints; it goes by the name of Island comb.

Another island, called Illan na nroan, all of a high rock, but good land, and plenty of water and moss. It might be rendered impregnable. Both these islands are in the parish of Tongue. I have been in Illan comb. If the sand had not over-run a part, it would be a charming place.

A bloody battle was fought in this parish of old, by one of the ancestors of Lord Reay, against one Agnus Murray, a Sutherland man, wherein the Sutherland men were cut to pieces. The field of battle is called Drim na coib. And in the same place there was a skirmish betwixt Lord Reay's men, and a number of Frenchmen that were on board the Hazard sloop of war, in 1746: some of the French were killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

This parish is remarkable for an excellent ebb, where they have the finest cockles, muscles, spout fish, and flounders, or floaks; which is a great blessing to the poor, and no small benefit to the rich. And in the firth of Tongue there is a fine island, abounding with rabbits, called Rabbet Isle. It has many lochs, or fresh water lakes, full of the finest trout and salmon.

Parish of Far.—The whole of these four parishes was of old called Strathnaver, from the river Navar, which was so called, as some think, from the name of one of King Kenneth the Second's warriors. It is a noble body of water, well stored with salmon, having many fruitful and beautiful villages on the banks of it, and is so inhabited for eighteen miles.

At a place called Langdale there were noble remains of a druidical temple, being a circle of 100 feet diameter, and surrounded with a trench, so that the earth formed a bank; in the midst of it a stone was erected like a pillar, where the Druids stood and taught. The country people have now trenched or delved that ground, and sown it with corn. There was in that town a large round building, and a place where they buried of old.

This parish is of great extent, rather a country for pasture than tillage. A great battle was fought of old at a place called ———, Harald or Harald's field or plain, betwixt



betwixt Reginald King of the Isles, and Harald Earl of Orkney and Caithness. Harald was well-drubbed; and the field of battle is full of small cairns, where the slain are buried, and some large stones erected like pillars shew where persons of note were interred. Torfæus tells a long story about this affair; it seems that they had bloody skirmishes at ———, and near the manse of Far, as appears from the number of cairns in both these places. There is a most curious sepulchral monument in the churchyard of Far, which may be of that date; it is of hard hill granite, well cut, considering the æra of it. But what the meaning of the sculpture is, we know not. Only we may guess, that the person for whose sake it was erected, was a christian, because of the cross upon the stone; and that he was a warrior, because we see a shield or target upon it. I have taken a draught of it.

In this parish, in old times, was a chapel at a town called Skail, upon the river Naver; another in the extremity thereof, at Moudale; and another at Sarthie, the most beautiful and fertile part of the parish.

Betwixt Far and Kirtomy, in this parish, is a most singular curiosity, well worth the pains of a traveller to view, being the remains of an old square building or tower, called Borve, standing upon a small point joined to the continent by a narrow neck of land not ten feet wide. This point or head is very high, consisting of rock, and some gravel on the top; on both sides is very deep water, and a tolerable harbour for boats. This tower seems to be built by the Norwegians; and the tradition is that one Thorkel, or Torquil, a warrior mentioned by Torfæus, was the person that built it. They speak likewise of a lady that was concealed there; she is said to be an Orkney woman, and Thorkel was an Orkney man. But what is most curious, is, that through the rock upon which the tower stands, there is a passage below of 200 feet in length, like a grand arch or vault, through which they row a boat. The writer has been one of a company that rowed through it. The passage is so long, that when you enter at one end, you fancy that there is no possibility to get out at the other et vice versa. How this hard rock was thus bored or excavated, I cannot say; but it is one of the most curious natural arches, perhaps, in the known world.

In this parish there is also a promontory, called Strathy head; Ptolemy the geographer calls it Vervadrum, as he calls Cape Wrath, Tarvedrum, and Dungsby head, Berubium. These three promontories run in a line, from N. W. to north, and jut far out into the sea, having most rapid tides upon them. In Strathy head is a stately cave, called Uai nei, or cave where they find driven wood or timber. The entrance into this cave is very grand, the natural rock almost forming itself like the sway of an arch: the writer hereof has admired the beauty of it. This promontory is the finest pasture for sheep and goats in the north of Scotland.

To the north-east of Strathy there is a stone erected near the highway, with a cross upon it, which shews its antiquity as a sepulchral monument. Erected stones were the distinguishing marks of the graves of persons of note in time of Paganism. And after Christianity was planted in this kingdom, the distinction of Pagan from Christian was that a cross was cut upon the sepulchral monuments of the latter. I have seen many with this distinguishing badge.

No doubt there are mines in this country, if persons of skill examined our shores and rocks; as yet no pains have been taken. I have been told that there is at Loch-Eribol plenty of iron stone, and something like a tin mine. As I do not understand these things, I chuse to pass them over. As for sea-fish and shells, we have none extraordinary. It is true, in Caithness, John a Groat's buckies are very curious and beautiful, of which we shall take notice in the parish of Cannessby.

Parish



Parish of Reay. Some part of this parish lies in the shire of Sutherland, but the greatest part in that of Caithness; that part in Sutherland is called Strath-Halladale, from Halladha Earl of Orkney, a Norwegian, slain in battle in the beginning of the tenth century. The field of battle is full of small cairns, or heaps of stone. The commander in chief, and principal warriors slain in that action, are buried in a place apart from the field of battle: I have frequently seen the place. The tradition is, that Halladha is buried in a spot inclosed with a circular trench ten or twelve feet wide, and that his sword lies by his side. There was a stone erected in the middle of this circle, part of which still remains. Near the field of battle stands a little town, called Dal Halladha, or Halladha's field. A river runs through Strath-Halladale, which is rather pasture ground on the sides of it, for the eleven miles it is inhabited.

The boundary betwixt Sutherland and Caithness, to the north, is called Drim Hallistin. Caithness is a flat plain country, having few hills; the soil good, and producing great quantities of corn in fruitful seasons; it lies upon quarries of a black slate kind, and perhaps no country on earth excells it for smooth thin flags or slates of great dimensions. As these flags may be seen in all part of the country, it is needless to describe them. The soil not being deep, and the country flat, renders our highways very deep in winter, and very dry in summer. That part of the parish of Reay in the shire of Caithness, is excellent corn ground through the whole of it. It appears that many battles have been fought in it in former times, but we have no tradition concerning them. In later times some bloody skirmishes happened betwixt M'Kay of Strathnaver, and Keith Earl Mareschal; and also betwixt the Caithness and Strathnaver people.

The following chapels stood in this parish of old; St. Mary's at Lybster; St. Magnus's at Shebsber: one at Shail, another at Baillie, and a third in Shurerie; besides the parish kirk dedicated to St. Colman, at Reay. There is an old castle at Dunreay, and modern houses both at Bighouse and Sandside.

Lead mines are frequent in Caithness; but the country is so flat, that there is no working them for water. The most promising mine is at Sandside, being in the face of a rock near the sea. It might prove of value, if proper pains were taken to work it. The highways run near it.

It seems that the Saxons, in the fifth century, plagued this country; and it is probable that Thurfo is so called from Horfa the Saxon general, who landed in the river of Thurfo, or Inver-Horfa, the landing-place of Horfa. And when the Saxons plundered Caithness, it seems they had a bloody conflict with the natives. In this parish there is a place called Tout Horfa, or Horfa's grave, where they say that some great warrior was slain and buried; in the place is a great stone erected. Probably he was one of Horfa's captains. This is the tradition.

Parish of Thurfo. Thurfo, or Inver-Aorfa, so called from the Saxon general, is a town of an old date; we find mention made of it as a populous place in the eleventh century, and from it the parish is denominated. Formerly a strong castle stood in it, called *Castrum de Thorfa*; but no vestige of it is now extant. The Earls of Caithness had a fine square at Thurfo East now demolished. The Bishop of Caithness had a strong castle at Scrapster, near Thurfo, called the castle of Burnside, built in the thirteenth century, by Gilbert Murray, Bishop of Caithness: the ruins are still extant. Another castle stood at Ormly, near Thurfo: lately demolished. At Murkil, to the east of Thurfo, there were great buildings of old; it was a seat of the late Earl of Caithness, and at Hamer he had a modern house. An old tower, still extant, stands at Brines, three miles west of Thurfo.



As for chapels and places of worship, one stood at Crofs Kirk, one at Brines, another at Gwic, and a small chapel stood in the parks of Thurso East, where Earl Harold the younger was buried. The walls are fallen down; but Mr. Sinclair of Ulbster, very generously is determined to enclose that spot, because that young nobleman is interred there. The church of Thurso was the bishop's chapel; and when he resided in Caithness, he often preached there. I was told by the late Earl of Caithness, that there was a nunnery in ancient times near his seat at Murkil. The country people call the place the Glosters; but no vestige of the building is extant, excepting the remains of the garden wall, which enclosed a rich spot of ground. Torfæus says that a Queen of Norway lived some time at Murkil. He relates that Harold the Bloody, son to Harold the Fair, was banished for his cruelty, with his Queen; and that his brother Hacon succeeded to the throne: but after Harold the Bloody was slain in England, his Queen returned to Orkney, and resided some time at Murkil in Caithness.

The same author mentions great battles fought in this parish; one in the eleventh century, on the plains of Thurso East, betwixt Thorfinnus Earl of Orkney, and one Karl or Charles; he calls him King of Scotland, or a general of the Scots army. Another bloody battle at Claredon, near Thurso East, betwixt the Earls Harold the elder and younger. I have already told that Earl Harold the younger is buried near the field of battle, and a chapel erected over his grave, which is now to be enclosed by Mr. Sinclair of Ulbster, a most promising youth.

The bishop of Caithness, since the reformation, lived in a small house at Scrabster, which is still extant, and belongs to the crown. He had a grass room in the Highlands, called Dorary, where stood a chapel, called Gavin's Kirk, or Temple Gavin; the walls are still standing. The river of Thurso abounds with salmon, ten and eleven lasts of fish have been caught.

Parish of Olig. A fine corn country, two miles and a half in length, and a mile broad, or thereabouts. Nothing memorable in it.

Parish of Dunnet. The northerly winds have covered a great part of this parish with sand; a large tract of ground is ruined and not likely to be recovered. In this parish stands Dunnet head, or what Ptolemy calls Berubium, a large promontory, with a most terrible tide on the point of it. A hermit in ancient times lived upon it, the ruins of his cell are extant. It is a fine sheep pasture. The parish itself is an excellent corn country. At Ratter is the seat of the present Earl of Caithness.

Parish of Canisbey is a fine corn country. Here was the ancient residence of one of the governors of Caithness, under the Norwegian lords that held Orkney and Caithness. They dwelt at Dungsbey, and their office was called the *Præfectura de Dungalsbæis*. Torfæus mentions bloody battles fought betwixt the Scots and Norwegians, near Dungisby, in the tenth century. And Ewin, King of Scotland, fought an army of Orkney men, at Huna in this parish, and destroyed their King and his army. Here was, formerly, besides the parish church, a chapel at St. John's head, near Mey, and another at Frefwick.

At Mey there is a beautiful, strong castle, belonging to Sir John Sinclair. Here a kind of coal is found, like the Lanstaffen coal in Wales. At Frefwick stands a large modern house, the seat of Mr. John Sinclair. And there is a strong old castle, built on a high rock joined to the continent by a narrow neck of land to the south of Frefwick. Torfæus calls it *Lambaburgum sive castrum agnorum*. It sustained a memorable siege in the twelfth century. In later times it was possessed by Mouat of Bucholly. The common people call it Buccle's castle, a corruption of Buchollie's castle. In Dungisby, the rapid tides of the Pentland throw up vast quantities of most beautiful sea shells,



*In a groat* abundance of which are carried south for shell work. They are called John a Groat's buckies. The town and ferry belonged of old to a gentleman of the name of Groat.

An island belongs to this parish, called Stroma, in which there is a vault where they bury, built by one Kennedy of Carnmuch. The coffins are laid on stools above ground. But the vault being on the sea edge, and the rapid tides of the Pentland firth running by it, there is such a saltish air continually, as has converted the bodies into mummies: in-fomuch, that one Murdo Kennedy, son of Carnmuch, is said to beat the drum on his father's belly.

Parish of Wick, an excellent corn country, and a fruitful sea; 2000 barrels of herrings were caught here in the year 1771. There was a chapel near Castle Sinclair, called St. Tay, another at Ulbster, and a third at Kilnister. The castle of Girnigo is the oldest building in this parish. I cannot find out by whom it was erected. It is probable some strong building stood here before the present ruinous house was erected. It stands on a rock in the sea. Near it stood Castle Sinclair, built by George Earl of Caithness; a grand house in those days. Not far from it stood the castle of Akergil, built by Keith Earl Mareschal: but this place is now rendered a most beautiful and convenient seat, by Sir William Dunbar of Hemprigs, the proprietor. In the old tower is the largest vault in the North of Scotland, beautified with elegant lights and plaistering, by Sir William; so that it is now the grandest room in all this part of the country.

The town of Wick is a royal burgh, now rising since the herring fishery has prospered. To the south of it stands an old tower, called Lord Olifant's castle. A copper ore was discovered there, and wrought for some time, but I do not find they have proceeded in it.

In this parish there is a haven for fishing boats, called Whaligo, which is a creek betwixt two high rocks. Though the height of one of these rocks is surprising, yet the country people have made steps by which they go up and down, carrying heavy burdens on their back; which a stranger, without seeing, would scarcely believe. This is a fine fishing coast.

There was a battle fought at Old Namerluch, in 1680, betwixt the Earl of Caithness, and Lord Glenurchy.

Parish of Lathrone, eighteen miles long; partly pasture, partly corn ground. It has a chapel at Easter Clyth, and another at the water of Dunbeath, besides the parish kirk.

At the loch of Stemster, in this parish, stands a famous Druidical temple. I have viewed the place: the circle is large, above 100 feet diameter: the stones are large and erect; and to shew that the planetary system was observed by them, they are set up in this manner, 1: 2: 3: 4: 5: 6: 7. Then the same course begins again; 1: 2: 3: 4: &c. Few of the stones are now fallen. Near the temple there is a ruin, where the Arch-Druid, it seems, resided. I find no such large Druid temples in the country: as for small ones, they are generally found in many places.

Upon a rock in the edge of the sea, in Easter Clyth, there is an old building, called Cruner Gunn's castle. This gentleman of the name of Gunn was coronator or justiciary of Caithness: he was basely murdered, with several gentlemen of the name, and of other names, in the kirk of St. Teay, near castle Sinclair, by Keith Earl Mareschal. The story is told at full length in the history of the family of Sutherland. This happened in the fifteenth century. At Mid Clyth there was a large house, built by Sir George Sinclair of Clyth. At Nottingham there is an elegant new house, built by Captain Sutherland of Farfe: near this is the parish kirk. There is a strong old castle at Dunbeath; and near Langwall is a strong old ruin, said to be Ronald Cheir's castle;

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he lived in the fourteenth century, and was a great hunter of deer, as will be told when we come to speak of the parish of Halkirk. He had a third part of Caithness in property : his great estate was divided betwixt his two daughters ; one of which became a nun, the other married the ancestor of the Lord Duffus.

There is an old building at Lathrone, called Harold tower, said to have been built by wicked Earl Harold, in the twelfth century.

We read of bloody encounters in this parish, betwixt the Caithness men, and Hugo Freskin Earl of Sutherland : and likewise many conflicts betwixt the two countries in after-times. Torfæus says that King William the Lion marched into Caithness with a great army, and encamped at Ousdales, or Eiskensdale. This expedition of his Majesty's was to drive out wicked Earl Harold the elder, who had slain Harold the younger. The king seized Caithness as a conquest, then Earl Harold submitted himself to him.

Parish of Loth, a fine corn country ; much harassed of old by the Danes or Norwegians. In it are St. Ninian's chapel at Navidale, John the Baptist's at the river Helmsdale, St. Inan's at Easter Gartie, and St. Trullen's at Kintradwel, besides the parish kirk. The castle of Helmsdale was built by Lady Margaret Baillie, Countess of Sutherland : and there was a square or court of building at Craig, erected by Lady Jane Gordon, Countess of Sutherland ; no vestige of it now extant.

There is fine fishing in the rivers of Helmsdale and Loth. The latter has a very high cataract, where the water pours from a high rock, and falls into a terrible gulph below. If this could be removed, this river would afford excellent salmon fishing. The hills in this parish were of old famous for hunting. At — there is a hunting house, probably built by the Picts, consisting of a great number of small rooms, each composed of three large stones. These buildings prove that a tribe lived here in the hunting season. Near it stands a large Pictish castle, called Carn Bran. It seems that this Bran, or Brian, was some great man in those days, and that all these accommodations were of his building. The quarry from whence the stones were carried to build this castle, is still to be seen, and the road for their carriage visible, being like a spiral line along the side of the hill.

I read of no battles in this parish : some bloody conflicts are told us, and these are to be seen in the history of the family of Sutherland. Near the milln of Loth-beg is the entire Picts house, which the bishop of Ossory entered. There is a fine cascade as you travel along the shore under Loth-beg, which makes a charming appearance when there is any fall of rain, or in time of a keen frost.

Parish of Clyne, partly corn ground, and partly fit for pasture. There was a chapel at Dol, called St. Mahon. No considerable buildings in this parish. Sutherland of Clyne had a good house ; and Nicolas Earl of Sutherland had a hunting seat in the Highlands called Castle Uain, but now demolished.

There is a tradition that a battle was fought at Kilalmkill, in this parish, wherein the country people routed the Danes. The common marks of a battle are visible there, viz. a number of small cairns. Another bloody battle was fought at Clyne Milton, betwixt the Sutherland and Caithness men ; the slaughter was great, and the cairns, still to be seen there, cover heaps of slain.

The river of Brora affords a fine salmon fishery : it falls into the sea at Brora. Within two large miles is the loch of that name, which abounds with salmon. From the loch the river lies to the west ; and at a place called Achir-na-hyl, is a most charming cascade : here also they fish for pearls. On the top of a small hill near the house of Clyne, is a lime-stone quarry ; and in the heart of the stone, all sorts of sea shells known in these parts are found. They are fresh and entire, and the lime-stone within



the shell resembles the fish. The bishop of Offory employed men to hew out masses of the rock, which he broke, and carried away a large quantity of shells. Near the bridge of Brora there is a fine large cave called Uai na Calman. The bishop of Offory admired it, and said there were such caves about Bethlehem in Palestine. The coal work and salt work are obvious here. But at Strathleven, near the sea, there is a hermit's apartment, cut artificially in the natural rock, well worth a visit from any curious traveller.

I need not mention the artificial islands in the loch of Brora, made by the old thanes of Sutherland, as a place of refuge in dangerous times. Near that loch stands a high hill or rock, Creig baw ir, on the summit of which there is great space. This rock is fortified round; and as the neck that joins it to another rock is small, it seems that when they were invaded by enemies, they fled to this strong hold, and drove their cattle likewise into it for safety. Others say it was a place for keeping of a watch.

Parish of Golspie, this is a fine corn country. The parish kirk was of old at Culmalie; and at Golspie the family of Sutherland had a chapel of ease, dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle. In this parish stands the seat of the Earls of Sutherland, at Dunrobin; but during the Danish wars, they lived at a greater distance from the sea. This parish affords no other great buildings; nor is there any tradition concerning any battles fought in it: small skirmishes have happened here; particularly in the year 1746, when the Earl of Cromarty was taken prisoner. Most remarkable is the devastation done by sand; large tracts of corn around have been quite spoiled thereby, and more mischief is threatened yearly.

Parish of Dornoch, in this parish stands the cathedral church of Caithness. The Norwegians having murdered bishop John at Scrabster, and bishop Adam at Halkirk, in the year 1222; Gilbert Murray, the succeeding bishop, built the cathedral at Dornoch, which was when entire, a neat compact building. It was burnt in troublesome times, and never fully repaired. The bishop had a summer residence at Skibo; but in winter he lived in his castle at Dornoch, the ruins of which are to be seen. There was a stately fabrick of a church, built in that town, in the eleventh century, by St. Bar, bishop of Caithness; but bishop Murray thought it too small: it stood where the council house now stands. We are told that the diocese of Caithness was not divided into parishes till the days of bishop Murray; and that he translated the psalms and gospels into the Irish language, or Scots Gaelic. The dignified clergy had houses and glebes in Dornoch; these made up his chapter when there was occasion to call one. It is a loss that we have none of their records; nor indeed is it a great wonder, considering the daily invasions of the Danes, which ended not till 1266.

In bishop Murray's time there was a bloody battle fought at Hilton near Embo; he and William Earl of Sutherland fought there against the Danes, and cut them to pieces. The Danish general was killed, and lies buried in Hilton. There was a stone erected over his grave, which the common people called Ree cross, or cross in Ri, or King's cross, fancying that the King of Norway was there buried. A brother of the bishop was also killed in this battle; his body lies in a stone coffin in the east aisle of the cathedral, above ground, near the font. The hewn stone erected to the east of Dornoch is a trophy of this victory: it has the Earl of Sutherland's arms on the north side, still very visible, and the bishop of Caithness's arms on the south side, but the heat of the sun has quite destroyed the sculpture.

The driving of sand is very hurtful to this parish, and threatens still more harm. The only old building in it, excepting those already mentioned, is Skibo. Hugo Freskin, Earl of Sutherland, gave these lands to bishop Gilbert Murray, then archdeacon of Murray, in 1186. It passed through several hands, till at last it came to Lord Duffus's,



and now it returns to the family of Sutherland. It was a great pile of building, surrounded with a rampart. The present modern house is still habitable. The situation is most beautiful, and a fine house there would have a noble effect. Cyder-hall is only a modern house. The plantations here, and at Skibo, are the most thriving in this parish. At the latter place a house was lately built in a very elegant taste. Embo is an old building, the seat of the knights of Embo. It is a pity that it has neither plantations nor policy about it.

Parish of Creich has no great buildings in it: Pulcroffi is the best. The great cataract at Invershin is a grand sight: such a large body of water pouring down from a high rock cannot miss affording entertainment. The river of Shin abounds with large salmon, and sturgeons are often seen there. In the 11th or 12th century lived a great man in this parish, called Paul Meutier. This warrior routed an army of Danes near Creich. Tradition says that he gave his daughter in marriage to one Hulver, or Leander, a Dane, and with her the lands of Strahohee; and that from that marriage are descended the Clan Landris, a brave people, in Ross-shire. The gentlemen of the name of Gray possessed Mertil-Creich of an old date; and at Mrydol there was a good house and orchard, which I believe are still extant. I find no other memorabilia in the parish of Creich.

Parish of Larg. The most remarkable thing in it is Loca-Shin, which is computed to be eighteen miles long, with fine pasture-ground on each side of it. What skirmishes have happened in this parish are mentioned in the history of the family of Sutherland.

Parish of Rogart consists of good pasture and good corn land. A bloody battle was fought here, near Knochartol, in the days of Countess Elizabeth. Tradition says, that upon the field of battle such a number of swords were found, that they threw numbers of them into a loch; and that in dry summers they still find some of them. There is a place in this parish called Morinefs, and Ptolemy the geographer places there a people called the Morini. He also calls the river Helmsdale, Ileas; and the natives call it in the Gaelic, Illie, Avin Illie, Bun-Illie, Stra Illie.

Parish of Kildonnan consists of a valley, divided into two parts by the river Helmsdale, or Illie, only fit for pasture. The parish kirk is dedicated to St. Donan. A tribe lived here called Gunns, of Norwegian extraction: they have continued here upwards of five hundred years, and contributed to extirpate the Danes out of Sutherland. They were in all times satellites to the Earls of Sutherland. Their chieftain is lately dead, and represented by two boys: it were to be wished that some generous person would take care of their education. The most remarkable piece of history relating to this parish is what Torfæus mentions, viz. that Helga, Countess of Orkney, and her sister Frauhaurk, lived at Kinbrafs, and supported a grand family there. This lady had a daughter called Margaret, who was educated in these deserts, and there married Maddadius Earl of Athole, uncle's son to King David I. of Scotland. These buildings were burnt, and reduced to heaps, so that we cannot discern what their model has been; at present, they are called Cairn-shuin: and Torfæus says that one Suenus burnt and demolished them.

What small skirmishes have happened in this parish are not worth mentioning, excepting what Torfæus mentions relative to Kinbrafs, betwixt Suenus an Orkney man and Aulver Rosta captain of a guard, which an old wicked lady, called Frauhaurk, kept to defend her. This lady, we are told, had ordered a party to go and murder Olafus, the father of Suenus, at Dungsbeay, which party Aulver commanded. They came to Dungsbeay, and burnt that brave man, and six more with him, in his own house. Luckily the lady of the house was absent, being invited to an entertainment in the days of Christmas. Her son Gunnus, the ancestor of the Gunns, was with her, and Suenus was also  
absent.



absent. After many years Suenus comes with a party, attacks Aulver, and after a smart engagement defeats him, so that he fled, and as many as could make their escape with him. Suenus after this burns Frauhaulr and all her family, and made a heap of the buildings: and though the ruins are great, yet no man can tell of what kind they were; that is, whether round like the Pictish houses, or not. This happened in the 12th century.

Parish of Halkirk, partly corn land, partly pasture. Many places of worship have been in this parish; such as the parish kirk of Skinnan, the hospital of St. Magnus at Spittal, the walls of the church belonging to it being still extant; the chapel of Olgrim-beg; the chapel of St. Trostin, at Westfield; the chapel of St. Querin, at Strathmore; another chapel at Dilred: and as the bishop of Caithness lived of old at Halkirk, his chapel was called St. Kathrin, of which there is no vestige left but a heap of rubbish.

The Norwegian lords that were superiors of Caithness built the castle of Braal. Here lived Earl John, who is said to have caused the burning of the bishop of Caithness. This bishop, whose name was Adam, lived near the place where the minister's house stands, too near the bloody Earl. It is said he was severe in exacting tithes, which made the country people complain; whereupon the Earl told them that they should take the bishop and boil him. Accordingly they went on furiously, and boiled the bishop in his own house, together with one Serlo a monk, his companion, in the year 1222. King Alexander II. came in person to Caithness, and, it is said, executed near eighty persons concerned in that murder. The Earl fled, but afterwards pardoned by the King. However, some time after he was killed in the town of Thurso by some persons whom he designed to murder. At Braal there was a fine garden, beside which they catch the first salmon from the month of November to the month of August. The situation is most beautiful, very well adapted for the seat of a great man. The castle of Dilred was built by Sutherland of Dilred, descended from the family of Sutherland: it is a small building on the top of a rock. His son, Alexander Sutherland, forfeited his estate; and these lands were given to the ancestor of Lord Reay, but now belong to Mr. Sinclair of Ulbster.

Up the river stands an old ruin, called Lord Chein's, or Ronald Chein's, hunting-house: he was the Nimrod of that age, spending a great part of his time in that exercise. The house stood at the outlet of a loch, called Loch-more, the source of the river of Thurso, which abounds with salmon. Ronald Chein had a cruive on this river, with a bell so constructed, that when a fish tumbled in the cruive the bell rang. The tradition is, that all these highlands were then forest and wood, but now there is scarcely any wood. This loch is about half a mile long, and near that in breadth, and is the best fish pond in Britain; many laiks are caught every year on the shore of this loch by the country people. Sixty nets are for ordinary shot on it in a night, and fish in every one. Many gentlemen claim a property in it, for which cause it is a common good to the country in general.

There is in the town of North Calder an old ruin, called Tulloch-hoogie. Torfæus says that Ronald Earl of Orkney was treacherously murdered there by a ruffian he calls Thiorbiornus Klerkus, and a smart skirmish ensued. Thiorbiornus fled, and being hotly pursued, was burnt in a house where he took shelter, and eight more with him. This was in the 12th century. Two battles were fought by the Danes in the dales of the parish of Halkirk: one at Toftin-gale, the grave of the foreigners. A Scots nobleman, whom Torfæus calls Comes Magbragdus, commanded on one side, and a Norwegian, called Liotus, on the other: Liotus was mortally wounded, and buried at Sten-hou, near the kirk of Watten. The other battle was fought at Halfary. The large stones erected



erected at Rangag and thereabout, are sepulchral monuments, where persons of note are buried. There was a battle fought in the 16th century, by the Gunns and others, at a place called Blarnandos, near Harpisdale, wherein the Gunns were routed. The beautiful river of Thurso runs through this parish, and numbers of salmon are caught in it. Pictish houses are very numerous along the shore, but all fallen down. It is a most beautiful parish, and must have of old abounded with game and fish, which invited people to settle in it. Mr. Sinclair, of Ulbster, is proprietor of one half of it.

Parish of Bower: here the archdeacon of Caithness resided. The pope of Rome was of old patron. I have in my possession two presentations from his holiness to the archdeacon of Bower. It was anciently a very extensive parish, but now Watten is part of it. I know of no other place of worship, besides the parish kirk, excepting the chapel of Dun, where a clergyman officiated, before the erection of the parish of Watten. I know of nothing memorable concerning it. If there ever were any grand buildings in it, no vestiges of them now remain. Torfæus mentions a great man that lived here in the 12th century, named Maddan; one of whose sons was stiled Magnus the Generous, the other Count Ottar of Thurso. His daughter Helga married Harold the orator, Earl of Orkney. Another married Liotus, a noble Dane, that lived in Sutherland; and the third was married to a Dane that lived in ——— in Orkney.

Parish of Watten, a country fit for both tillage and pasture. The chapel of Dun stands now in it. Here are no buildings but of a modern date. The only memorable thing in this parish is the grave of Liotus, Earl of Orkney. At Sten-hou, near the kirk of Watten, stands a great rock upon a green spot of ground, which is said to be the sepulchral monument of this Earl. The monkish tradition is, that St. Magnus converted a dragon into this stone. This is as true as what they relate of his crossing the Pentland Firth upon a stone, and that the print of the saint's feet is visible on the same stone in the kirk of Burrich, in South Ronaldshaw in Orkney.

N. B. In the history of the family of Sutherland mention is made of one Sir Paul Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, who discovered a silver mine in Sutherland, and found it to be rich, but death prevented his working it. It seems he covered the place where he found it, and no person of skill has observed it since that time. It is probable that Creig-nargod is the place where this mine may be, and that this discovery was the cause of this appellation; for I can see no other reason for that name or designation. Persons of skill ought to examine these bounds. Creign-airgid, or the silver hill, is above Cullmalie.

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER VI.

##### *The Life of Sir Ewen Cameron, of Lochiel\*.*

SIR EWEN CAMERON was born in February 1629. He lived with his foster-father for the first seven years, according to an old custom in the Highlands, whereby the principal gentlemen of the clan are entitled to the tuition and support of their chief's children during the years of their pupillarity. The foster-fathers were also frequently at the charge of their education during that period; and when the pupils returned

\* This memoir, so descriptive of the manners of the times, and the wild war carried on between the hero of the piece and Cromwell's people, was communicated to me by a gentleman of Lochaber. It merits preservation not solely on account of its curiosity; but that it may prove an instructive lesson to the present inhabitants of that extensive tract, by shewing the happiness they may enjoy in the present calm, after the long storm of war and assassination their forefathers were cursed with.



home, these fathers gave them a portion equal to what they gave their own children ; as the portion consisted in cattle, before they came to age it increased to a considerable height.

Before his years of pupillarity expired, he was put under the charge and management of the Marquis of Argyle, the same who was executed soon after the Restoration. The marquis intending to bring him up in the principles of the Covenanters, put him to school at Inverary, under the inspection of a gentleman of his own appointment ; but young Lochiel preferred the sport of the field to the labours of the school. Argyle observing this, brought him back to himself, and kept a watchful eye over him, carrying him along with him wherever he went.

After the defeat of the royalists at Philiphaugh in 1645, it happened that as the parliament sat at St. Andrew's, on the trial of the prisoners of distinction there seized, Lochiel, who went there with the marquis, found means to pay a visit to Sir Robert Spotswood, one of the prisoners, a few days before his execution. Then and there it was he received the first intelligence concerning the state and principles of parties in Scotland. Sir Robert, happy to see his young visitant, the son of his old acquaintance John Cameron, took the opportunity to relate, in an eloquent manner, the causes of the present rebellion, and its history from its first breaking out, with a view of the tempers and characters of the different factions that had conspired against the crown. He explained the nature of our constitution, insisted much on the integrity and benevolence of the King, but inveighed bitterly against his Scotch enemies ; and concluded with expressing his astonishment how Lochiel's friends could put him under the charge of Argyle, and conjuring him to abandon that party as soon as he could. This discourse had such an impression on the mind of Lochiel, that it continued all his life-time.

Some time after, Argyle addressed his pupil in a different tone, but had little influence over him : he never could be satisfied why so many brave fellows were executed, as he heard no confessions of guilt, as thieves and robbers are wont to make ; but dying with the courage and resolution of gentlemen. After this Lochiel was anxious to return to his country, inflamed with a desire of exerting himself in the royal cause, and of joining Montrose for that end. Upon the application of his uncle Breadalbane, and the Camerons, Argyle parted with his pupil ; and he returned to Lochaber to head his clan in the 18th year of his age.

An opportunity of acting the chief soon occurred. Glengary and Reppoch, heads of two numerous tribes of the M'Donalds, refused to pay Lochiel certain taxations for some lands they held of him : Lochiel armed a body of the Camerons, with a view to compel them. Glengary and Reppoch, finding him thus bold and resolute, thought proper to settle their affairs amicably, and gave him no further trouble for the future. By such determined conduct, Lochaber enjoyed a profound peace for some little time, while the whole of Scotland besides was a scene of war and bloodshed.

In 1651 Lochiel was honoured with a letter from King Charles II., inviting him and his clan to use and put themselves in arms, for the relief of their country and sovereign ; in consequence of which, early in spring 1652, after collecting his men, he was the first who joined Glencairn, who had just then set up the royal standard in the Highlands. In the different encounters his lordship and the royalists had with Lilburne, Morgan, and others, Lochiel displayed more conduct and vigour than could be expected from one so young, and as yet unexperienced in the art of war. He distinguished himself in a particular manner in a skirmish which happened between Glencairn and Col. Lilburne at Brae-mar, where he was posted at a pass, which he defended with great spirit, till Glencairn and his army retreated to a place of security. Lilburne, in the mean time, getting



getting between Lochiel and the army, and finding it impossible to draw out the general to an engagement, made a violent attack upon Lochiel: Lochiel, after making a bold resistance for some time, at last retreated gradually up the hill, with his face to the enemy, who durst not pursue him on account of the ruggedness of the ground, and the snow that then covered it. — Glencairn's army was at this time full of factions and divisions, occasioned by the number of independent chiefs and gentlemen in his army; who would not condescend to submit to one another either in opinion or action. Lochiel was the only person of distinction that kept himself disengaged from these factions; for in order to avoid them, he always chose the most distant parts, where his frequent successes had endeared him to the general, who recommended him in a strong manner to the King, as appears by the following letter his majesty sent him.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved the laird of Lochiel.

“ CHARLES R.

“ Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what notable courage and affection to us you have behaved yourself at this time of tryal, when our interest and the honour and liberty of your country is at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of such your good courage, and return you our princely thanks for the same; and we hope all honest men who are lovers of us and their country will follow your example, and that you will unite together in the ways we have directed, and under that authority we have appointed to conduct you for the prosecution of so good a work, so we do assure you we shall be ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service, and so we bid you farewell. Given at Chantilly, Nov. 3, 1653, in the fifth year of our reign.”

When General Middleton came from Holland, 1654, to take the command of the king's troops in Scotland, Lochiel joined him with a full regiment of good men, while many of the other heads of clans made their peace with General Monk, who had marched into the Highlands at the head of a small army, giving another composed of horse and foot to General Morgan. Many trifling conflicts ensued between these two generals and the Highlanders; but Lochiel being of the party who had opposed Morgan, an active and brave officer, run several hazards, and encountered many difficulties; but his presence of mind and resolution never forsook him.

Monk left no method unattempted to bribe him into a submission. These proposals were so engaging, that many of his friends importuned him to accept of them; but he despised them all, and would not submit. Monk finding all his attempts ineffectual, resolved to plant a garrison at Inverlochy, where Fort William now stands, in order to keep the country in awe, and their chief at home. Lochiel being informed of this design, thought the most advisable plan would be to attack the enemy on their march from Inverness, imagining they would come from that place or that way; but the sudden arrival of the English at sea disconcerted all his measures. They brought with them such plenty of materials, and were in the neighbourhood of so much wood, that in a day's time after their landing, Col. Bigan, their commander, and the governor of the new fort to be erected, had secured his troops from all danger.

Lochiel saw all their motions from a neighbouring eminence, and seeing it impracticable to attack them with any probability of success, retired to a place three miles westward, to a wood on the north side of Lochiel, called Achdalew; from this he could have a full view of his enemy at Inverlochy. All his men he dismissed to remove their cattle farther from the enemy, and to furnish themselves with provisions, excepting



about thirty-eight persons whom he kept as a guard. He also had spies in and about the garrison, who informed him of all their transactions. Five days after their arrival at Inverlochy, the governor dispatched three hundred of his men on board of two vessels which were to sail westward a little, and to anchor on each side of the shore near Achdalew. Lochiel heard their design was to cut down his trees and carry away his cattle, and was determined if possible to make them pay well for every tree and every hide : favoured by the woods, he came pretty close to the shore, where he saw their motions so perfectly that he counted them as they came out of the ship, and found the number of the armed exceed one hundred and forty, besides a number of workmen with axes and other instruments.

Having fully satisfied himself, he returned to his friends to ask their opinion. The younger part of them were keen for attacking ; but the older and more experienced remonstrated against it, as a most rash and hazardous enterprise. Lochiel then enquired of two of the party, who had served for some time under Montrose, if ever they saw him engage on so disadvantageous terms ; they declared they never did. He, however, animated by the ardour of youth, or prompted by emulation (for Montrose was always in his mouth), insisted, in a short but spirited harangue, that if his people had any regard for their king or their chief, or any principle of honour, the English should be attacked : " for," says he, " if every man kills his man, which I hope you will do, I will answer for the rest." Upon this none of his party made further opposition, but begged that he and his brother Allan should stand at a distance from the danger. Lochiel could not hear with patience the proposal with regard to himself, but commanded that his brother Allan should be bound to a tree, and that a little boy should be left to attend him ; but he soon flattered or threatened the boy to disengage him, and ran to the conflict.

The Camerons being some more than thirty in number, armed partly with musquets, and partly with bows, kept up their pieces and arrows till their very muzzles and points almost touched their enemies' breasts, when the very first fire took down above thirty. Then they laid on with their swords, and laid about with incredible fury. The English defended themselves with their musquets and bayonets with great bravery, but to little purpose. The skirmish continued long and obstinate ; at last the English gave way, and retreated towards the ship, with their faces to the enemy, fighting with astonishing resolution. But Lochiel, to prevent their flight, commanded two or three of his men to run before, and from behind a bush to make a noise, as if there was another party of Highlanders to intercept their retreat. This took so effectually that they stopped, and animated by rage, madness, and despair, they renewed the skirmish with greater fury than ever, and wanted nothing but proper arms to make Lochiel repent of his stratagem. They were at last, however, forced to give way, and betake themselves to their heels : the Camerons pursued them chin deep in the sea ; 138 were counted dead of the English, and of the Camerons only five were killed.

In this engagement Lochiel himself had several wonderful escapes. In the retreat of the English, one of the strongest and bravest of the officers retired behind a bush, when he observed Lochiel pursuing, and seeing him unaccompanied with any, he leaped out and thought him his prey. They met one another with equal fury. The combat was long and doubtful. The English gentleman had by far the advantage in strength and size ; but Lochiel exceeded him in nimbleness and agility, in the end tript the sword out of his hand : upon which his antagonist flew upon him with amazing rapidity ; they closed and wrestled till both fell to the ground in each other's arms. The English officer got above Lochiel and pressed him hard ; but stretching forth his neck by attempting



attempting to disengage himself, Lochiel, who by this time had his hands at liberty, with his left hand seized him by the collar, and jumping at his extended throat, he bit it with his teeth quite through, and kept such a hold of his grip, that he brought away his mouthful; this, he said, was the "sweetest bite he ever had in his life-time." Immediately afterwards, when continuing the pursuit after that encounter was over, he found his men clin deep in the sea; he quickly followed them, and observing a fellow on deck aiming his piece at him, plunged into the sea and escaped, but so narrowly that the hair on the back part of his head was cut, and a little of the skin ruffled. In a little while a similar attempt was made to shoot him: his foster-brother threw himself before him, and received the shot in his mouth and breast, preferring his chief's life to his own.

In a few days afterwards, resolving to return to General Middleton, he ordered all his men to assemble and join him; but while he waited for their return, he cut off another party of the garrison soldiers, who were marching into the country, at Auchentore, within half a mile of the fort, killed a few, and took several prisoners. His former engagements with the general obliged him at last to join, which he did, with a great number of his clan; but was not long with him when he had certain information that the governor of Inverlochy availed himself of Lochiel's absence, by making his troops cut down the woods, and collect all the provisions in the country. His return to Lochaber being necessary, Middleton agreed to it, upon condition he would leave the greatest part of his men behind him. This he did, and set out privately for his country with only one hundred and fifty men. He soon found his information was too true: in order to obtain redress, he posted his men, early in the morning of the day after his arrival, in different parts of a wood called Stronnevils, within a mile of the garrison, where the soldiers used to come out every morning to cut and bring in wood. Four or five hundred came in the ordinary manner. Lochiel, observing them from a convenient part of the wood where he rested, gave the signal at a proper time. His men soon made the attack, the enemy were soon routed, and a great slaughter made; one hundred fell upon the spot, and the pursuit was carried on to the very walls of the garrison. It is remarkable that not an officer escaped, they being the only active persons that made resistance. Thus continued Lochiel for some time a pest to the garrison, frequently cutting off small detachments, partly by stratagem, partly by force; but his name carried so much terror with it, that they gave him no opportunity for some time of doing them much harm.

General Middleton being at this time extremely unsuccessful in some of his adventures, particularly in an action some of his troops had lately with Major-general Morgan at Lochgarry, where they were totally defeated, sent an express to Lochiel supplicating his presence, that measures might be concerted how to conclude the war in an honourable manner. Lochiel resolved to go at the head of three hundred men, and made the proper preparations for his journey with all imaginable secrecy; yet the governor gets notice of his intended expedition, and orders Morgan if possible to intercept him. Middleton was at Braemar, in the head of Aberdeenshire, between which place and Lochaber there is a continued range of hills for upwards of one hundred miles. Over these did he travel, sleeping in shellings, (huts which the herds build for shelter when in the mountains) on beds of hedder with their crops turned inwards, without any covering but his plaid. In the course of this expedition he was like to be surprised by the activity of Morgan once and again; but getting up to the tops of the mountains, he always escaped the enemy, but frequently not to their profit, as his men often run down the hill, and after discharging a few pieces or arrows among them, would as easily ascend.



Soon after his junction with Middleton the war was given over, and Middleton retired to France, having presented Lochiel with a most favourable declaration, signed at Dunvegan, in Sky, March 31, 1665. But though the war was thus given over in general, and many of the nobility and heads of clans had submitted to Monk, upon getting their estates restored, Lochiel still stood out, not able to bear the insolence of the troops quartered in a garrison so near him. For the governor, encouraged by the departure of Middleton, and taking the advantage of Lochiel's absence in Sky, used to allow his officers to go out frequently in hunting parties, well guarded with a good number of armed men, destroying the game. Lochiel, on his return, having learned this, soon put a stop to their insolence; for convening a party of the Camerons, he watched one day at a convenient place, while he saw one of these hunting parties coming towards the hill whereon he sat, and having divided his men, and given them proper instructions, the attack was made with success: most of the party were slain, and the rest taken prisoners. The loss of so many officers afforded new matter of grief and astonishment to the governor, and prompted him to make some attempts to obtain redress, but they were all in vain. He, however, by this time became acquainted with the situation and manners of the country, and procured a number of mercenary desperadoes around him, who gave him exact intelligence of whatever happened. This obliged Lochiel to flit his quarters to a farther distance from the fort, while he employed such of his clan as continued faithful, as counter-spies near the garrison; and by their means the resolutions and plans of the governor were not only made public, but many of his spies were detected and apprehended, whom Lochiel ordered to be hung up, without any ceremony or form of trial.

Soon after his encounter with the hunting party, an express came to him from the laird of M'Naughtin, a true royalist in Cowal, a country opposite to Inverara, in Argyleshire, acquainting him that there were in that country three English and one Scotch colonel, with other officers, who were deputed by General Monk to survey the forts and fortified places in that part of the Highlands; and that it was possible to seize them with a few stout fellows. Lochiel, rejoiced at this intelligence, picked out one hundred choice Camerons, with whom he marched for Cowal, still keeping the tops of the mountains, lest his designs should be discovered and published. There he met his friend M'Naughtin, who informed him that the officers lay at a certain inn, well guarded with armed foldiers. Upon which he gave the proper orders to his men, who executed them with so much expedition and skill, that the officers, servants, and foldiers were all apprehended, and carried, almost without halting, to a place of security, before they well knew where they were. This place was a small island in Loch-Ortnick, a fresh-water lake twelve miles in length, about ten miles north of Inverlochy.

The prisoners, though terrified at first, were soon undeceived. The horrible executions which Lochiel's men made in the several rencounters they were engaged in, made his enemies believe him to be cruel and sanguinary in his disposition; but the gentle treatment and the great civility the prisoners met with soon convinced them of the contrary: he omitted nothing that could contribute to their happiness; but particularly he proposed and exhibited several hunting matches, which gave them great satisfaction. During their imprisonment, they took the liberty now and then to represent to Lochiel the expediency and the prudence of a treaty with the general. He at first rejected the motion, and scorned the advice; but being often repeated, he began to give way to their reasonings, but still said that no wise man should trust his safety in the hands of their pretended protector, whose whole life was a continued scene of ambition, rebellion, hypocrisy, and cruelty; and that though he was able to do little for the service of the

King



King or his country, yet would he always preserve his conscience and honour unstained, till perhaps a more favourable opportunity of restoring the King might offer. These conferences being often renewed, brought Lochiel to declare himself in a more favourable manner. For the truth is, that he dissembled his sentiments at first, wanting nothing so much as an honourable treaty; for his country was impoverished, and his people almost ruined. He still, however, protested, that before he would consent to disarm himself and his clan, abjure his King, and take oaths to the Usurper, he would live as an outlaw and fugitive, without regard to consequences. To this it was answered, that if he only shewed an inclination to submit, no oath should be required, and he should have his own terms.

In consequence of this affirmation, Lochiel, with the advice of his friends, made out a draught of his conditions, which were transmitted to General Monk, by Colonel Campbel, one of the prisoners, he having given his word of honour he would soon return. Upon receipt of this, the General made out a new set of articles, of much the same nature with the draught sent, which he returned to Lochiel, signifying to him, if he agreed thereto they would stand good, otherwise not. After some little alterations, Lochiel consented, and the Marquis of Argyle became his guarantec. This treaty was burned in a house of Lochiel's, which was consumed by accident. However, the most material articles are preserved in Monk's letters to him, and are as follows.

'No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for what wood the Governor of Inverlochy cut on his grounds. A free and full indemnity was granted him for all riots, depredations, and crimes committed by him or his men preceding the present treaty. Reparation was to be made to the tenants for all the losses they sustained from the garrison soldiers. The tithes, cess, and other publick burdens which had not been paid during the wars, were remitted on condition they should be paid afterwards, with several others of the like nature.' All that was demanded by Monk of Lochiel, was, that he and his clan should lay down their arms in the name of King Charles II. before the Governor of Inverlochy, and take them up again in name of the States, without mentioning the protector; that he would afterwards keep the peace, pay public burdens, and suppress tumults, thefts, and depredations.

These articles being agreed to, and subscribed by Monk and Lochiel, the prisoners were discharged, but Lochiel begged they would honour him with their presence at the ceremony of laying down their arms, which they complied with. Having convened a respectable number of his clan, he ranged them into companies, under the command of the captains of their respective tribes, and put himself at their head. In this manner he marched to Inverlochy, in the same order as if going to battle, pipes playing, and colours flying. The Governor drew out the soldiers, and put them in order on a plain near the fort; placing them on two lines opposite to the Camerons. Lochiel and the Governor first saluted each other as friends. The articles of the treaty were then read, and the ceremony of laying down and taking up the arms performed. Both parties afterwards partook of a splendid entertainment, prepared by the Governor for the occasion to the great satisfaction of all present. Thus did Lochiel, the only chief in the Highlands that continued to support the royal cause after it was agreed the war should be given over, at last submit in an honourable way. Monk sent him a letter of thanks for his cheerful compliance, dated at Dalkeith, 5 June 1655.

During the remaining part of Oliver's life, and the reigns of King Charles II. and James II., Lochiel lived chiefly at home, in a broken kind of tranquillity, occasioned by the



the distractions of the times, and the pretensions of neighbouring Chiefs and Lairds to parts of his estate : but he always shewed so much prudence and courage on every emergency, as gained him the friendship of the great and the esteem of all. He was held in particular favour by the two brothers Charles and James, and received from them many marks of their royal regard. It may not be unworthy the attention of the curious to narrate the following incident.

Lochiel and the Laird of M'Intosh had a long dispute concerning some lands in Lochaber. M'Intosh claimed them in consequence of a grant of them he had from the Lord of the Isles, afterwards confirmed by K. David Bruce : Lochiel's plea was perpetual possession. The contest was often renewed, both at the law courts and by arms. Many terms of accommodation were proposed to the contending parties but in vain. King Charles II. himself would needs be the mediator ; but nothing but superior force would prevail. In 1665, M'Intosh, with his own clan and the M'Phersons, convened an army of 1500 men, with which he sets out for Lochaber. Lochiel, aided by the M'Gregors, raises 1200, 900 of which were armed with guns, broad swords and targets, and 300 with bows and arrows. (It is remarked, this was the last considerable body of bowmen that ever was seen in the Highlands.) Just as they were in view of one another, and almost ready to fight, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was cousin german to both, arrived at the head of 300 men, and immediately sent for the two chiefs. He declared whoever should oppose the terms he was to offer, he should join the contrary party with all his power, and be his foe while he lived. Accordingly proposals of agreement were made, and submitted to by both parties. Lochiel continued in possession of the lands : for which a sum of money was given to M'Intosh, to renounce all claims for the future. The articles of agreement were signed 20th September 1665, about 360 years after the commencement of the quarrel ; and next day the two Chiefs had a friendly meeting, and exchanged swords. The leading gentlemen of both clans performed the same friendly ceremony.

It must appear strange, that now not a bow is to be seen in the Highlands, nor any propensity towards that kind of armour. One might imagine, when the disarming act took place, bows and arrows would have been a good substitute for guns ; and, if I recollect right, there is no prohibition of bows in the act.

At the revolution, Sir Ewen, who was always prepossessed in favour of the hereditary right, and particularly for James, whose friendship he had often experienced, and was resolved to support his cause, as far as he could, at all hazards. In this resolution he was confirmed by a letter he had from James, dated 29 March 1689, then in Ireland, soliciting his aid, and that of his friends. Upon receipt of this letter, he visited all the neighbouring Chiefs, and wrote to those at a distance, communicating to them the King's letter, and calling a general meeting to concert what measures should be taken. They assembled on May 13th, near his house, and mutually engaged to one another to support his Majesty's interest against all invaders. When Viscount Dundee got a commission from King James to command his troops in Scotland, Lochiel joined him with his clan, notwithstanding that General M'Kay made him great offers, both in money and titles, to abandon James's interest.

He made a distinguished figure at the skirmish of Killicrankie, under Lord Dundee, against General M'Kay, though then above the age of sixty-three. He was the most sanguine man in the council for fighting ; and in the battle, though placed in the centre opposite to General M'Kay's own regiment, yet spoke he to his men one by one, and took their several engagements either to conquer or die. Just as they began to fight, he fell upon this stratagem to encourage his men : He commanded such of the Camerons as



were posted near him to make a great shout, which being seconded by those who stood on the right and left, run quickly through the whole army, and was returned by the enemy. But the noise of the musquets and cannon, with the echoing of the hills, made the Highlanders fancy that their shouts were much louder and brisker than that of the enemy; and Lochiel cried out, "Gentlemen, take courage, the day is ours: I am the oldest commander in the army, and have always observed something ominous and fatal in such a dull, hollow, and feeble noise as the enemy made in their shout, which prognosticates that they are all doomed to die by our hands this night; whereas ours was brisk, lively, and strong, and shews we have vigour and courage." These words, spreading quickly through the army, animated the troops in a strange manner. The event justified the prediction: the Highlanders obtained a complete victory. The battle was fought 1689. Lochiel continued for some time with that army; but being dissatisfied with the conduct of Cannon and some of the principal officers, retired to Lochaber, leaving his son in his place during the rest of the campaign.

When terms of submission were offered by King William to the outstanding chiefs, though many were glad to accept of them, yet Lochiel and a few others were determined to stand out, until they had King James's permission, which was at last obtained, and only a few days before King William's indemnity expired.

There is nothing else memorable, in the publick way, in the life of Sir Ewen Cameron. He outlived himself, becoming a second child, even rocked in a cradle; so much were the faculties of his mind, and the members of his body, impaired. He died A.D. 1718.

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER VII.

##### *Of the Massacre of the Colquhouns.*

IN the Baronage of Scotland, by Sir Robert Douglas, it appears that in the years 1594 and 1595, the clan of M'Gregors with some of their lawless neighbours, came down upon the low country of Dumbartonshire, and committed vast outrages and depredations, especially upon the territories of the Colquhouns.

In 1662 Humphry Colquhoun raised his vassals and followers to oppose them, and was joined by many of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Both parties met in Glenfrone, where a bloody conflict ensued. They fought with great obstinacy till night parted them, and many brave men were killed on both sides, but the Colquhouns appear to have been worsted. The Laird of Colquhoun escaped, and retired to a strong castle; but was closely pursued by a party of the enemy; they broke into the castle, and found him in a vault, where they instantly put him to death with many circumstances of cruelty. In the month of February it was that this Humphry Colquhoun was slain; at which time the young noblemen and gentlemen who were at school at Dumbarton came as spectators to see the battle of Glenfrone, but were not suffered to approach near the danger, but were shut up in a barn by the Colquhouns for safety. The M'Gregors prevailing, are said afterwards to have barbarously put them all to death.

This is the account given by the historian of the family of Lufs, but Mr. Buchanan \* asserts that the Laird of Lufs escaped from the battle, and was afterwards killed in Benachra Castle by the M'Farlanes, through influence of a certain nobleman whom Lufs had disoblged.

\* Surnames of clans, p. 148.



Let these facts stand as related by the partizans of each house, but from the various acts of council, and the great severity of them, and by the frequent confirmation of them by acts of parliament for near sixty years afterwards, under different princes and different influences, the necessity of the suppression of this unhappy clan, for the common good, is fully evinced.

The humanity of the present legislature did the last year repeal these sanguinary acts; alledging, that the causes inductive of them for suppressing the name of Gregour or M'Gregour, are now little known and have long ceased.

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER VIII.

*Itinerary.*

Miles.		Miles.	
	DOWNING,	5	Flamborough Head, Brigantum extrema, R. C.
21	Chester, Deonna, Devana, Ptol.	10	Hummanby,
	Deva, Anton, Rav. Chorog. Deva,	10	Scarborough,
	colonia legio cretica vicesima valeria victrix, R. C.	13½	Robin Hood's Bay,
18	Northwich, Condate, R. C.	6½	Whitby,
8	Knutsford,	13	Skellin Dam,
12	Macclesfield,	9	Gisborough,
10	Buxton,	12	Stockton,
13	Middleton,		Tees River, Tifis fl. R. C. Its
11	Chesterfield,		mouth, Dunum sinus, Ptol.
16	Workfop,	20	Durham,
12	Tuxford,		Were River, Vedra fl. R. C.
8	Durham Ferry, on the Trent, Trivonia fl. R. C.	6	Chester-le-Street, Epiacum, R. C.
10	Lincoln, Lindum, Ptol. Anton. Rav. Chorog. R. C.	9	Newcastle, Pons Aelii, Notit. Imp.
6	Walsenbrough and back to Lincoln,		Tyne River Vedra. fl. Ptol. Tina fl. R. C.
12	Spittle,	14	Morpeth,
12	Glandford Bridge,	9	Felton,
12	Barton,	10	Alnwick, Alauna, Rav. Chorog.
	Humber River, Abus, Ptol. R. C.	16	Belford,
8	Hull,	16	Berwick, Tueffis, Rav. Chorog.
8	Burton Constable,		Tweed River, Alaunus, Ptol. Tueda, R. C.
22	Burlington Quay,		
	Its bay, Gabrantuicorum portuosus sinus, Ptol. Portus felix, R. C.		

## SCOTLAND.

Miles.		Miles.	
16	Old Cambus,	9	South Ferry,
10	Dunbar, Ledone, Rav. Chorog. Dun, a small hill, and bar a point of any thing.		Firth of Forth, Boderia, Ptol. Bodotria, Taciti. R. C.
6	North Berwick,	2	North Ferry,
14	Preston Pans,		Fife County, Horestii, R. C. Caledonia, Taciti.
8	Edinburgh,	15	Kinrofs,
		20	Rumbling



Miles.

- 20 Rumbling Brig, Castle Campbell, and back to Kinross,
- 13 Castle Dupplin, Duablis; Rav. Chorog.
- 8 Perth, Orrea, R. C.  
Tay River and its mouth, Taus, Taciti.  
Tava Æst. Ptol. R. C.
- 1 Scone,
- 1 Lunkerty,
- 13 Dunkeld,
- 20 Taymouth,
- 15 Carrie on Loch-Rannoch,
- 20 Blair,
- 35 Through Glen-Tilt to Invercauld,
- 18 Tulloch,
- 15 Kincairn,
- 9 Banchorie,
- 18 Aberdeen,  
Dee River, Diva fl. Ptol. R. C.  
Ythen River, Ituna fl. R. C.
- 25 Bowness,
- 27 Craigston Castle,
- 9 Bamff,  
Devron River, Celnus fl. R. C.
- 8 Cullen,
- 22 Castle Gordon,  
Spey River, Celnus fl. Ptol. Tueffis.  
R. C.
- 8 Elgin, Alitacenon, Rav. Chorog.
- 10 Forres,
- 11 Tarnaway Castle, Calder, Fort George,  
Firth of Murray, Tuæ, Æst. Ptol.  
Varar. Æst. R. C.
- 12 Inverness, Pteroton, castra alata R. C.
- 10 Castle Dunie,
- 18 Dingwall, Foules,  
Firth of Cromartie, Loxa. fl. R. C.  
Rossshire, Creones, R. C. The same  
writer places at Channery in this  
county, Aræ finium Imp. Rom.
- 15 Ballinagouan,
- 6 Tain, Castra alata, Ptol.
- 9 Dornoch. Its Firth, Vara Æst. Ptol.  
Abona fl. R. C.  
Sutherland County, Logi, R. C.
- 9 Dunrobin Castle,
- 8 Helmsdale,  
Ord of Caithness, Ripa alta, Ptol.

Miles

- Caithness County, Carnabii, Cattini,  
R. C. Virubium promontorium,  
R. C.
- 8 Langwall,
- 15 Clythe, Clytheness, Virvedrum prom.  
R. C.
- 8 Thrumster,
- 3 Wick,  
Wick River, Ilea fl. Ptol.
- 16 Duncan's or Dungsby Bay, and John  
a Groat's House,  
Dungsby Head, Berubium promonto-  
rium, Ptol. Caledonia extrema,  
R. C.  
Stroma Isle, Ocetis Insula, R. C.
- 2 Canesby, and back the same road to
- 137 Inverness,  
Inverness County, Caledonii, R. C.
- 17 General's Hut,
- 15 Fort Augustus,  
Loch Lochy, Longus fl. R. C.
- 28 Fort William, R. C. places Banatia  
near it.
- 14 Kinloch-Leven,
- 9 King's House,
- 19 Tyendrum.
- 12 Dalmalie,
- 16 Inveraray,
- 22 Tarbut,  
Loch-Lomond, Lincalidor Lacus,  
R. C.
- 8 Lufs,
- 12 Dunbarton, Theodosia, R. C.  
Firth of Clyde, Glota, Taciti. Clotta  
Æst. R. C.
- 15 Glasgow, Clidum, Rav. Chorog.
- 24 Hamilton, and back to Glasgow,
- 13 Kylesithie,
- 18 Sterling,
- 8 Falkirk,  
Calendar,
- 15 Hopeton House,
- 11 Edinburgh,
- 18 Lenton,
- 18 Bild,
- 18 Moffat,
- 18 Lockerby.



## ENGLAND.

Miles.

- 21 Longtown in Cumberland,  
Netherby, Castra exploratorum, An-  
ton. Aefica, Rav. Chorog.
- 9 Carlisle, Lugavallium, Anton.
- 18 Penrith, Bereda, Rav. Chorog.
- 11 Shap in Westmoreland,
- 15 Kendal, Concangium, Notit. Imp.
- 11 Burton, Coccium, R. C.

Miles.

- 11 Lancaster, Longovicus, Notit. Imp.  
Lune River, Alanna, fl. R. C.
- 11 Garstang,
- 11 Preston,
- 18 Wigan,
- 13 Warrington,
- 21 Chester,
- 21 Downing in Flintshire.

The ancient names of places marked R. C. are borrowed from the late Dr. Stukeley's account of Richard of Cirencester, with his ancient Map of Roman Britain and the Itinerary thereof, published in 1747. The rest from Mr. Horsley's remarks on Ptolemy, Antonine's Itinerary, Notitia imperii, and Ravennatis Britanniae Chorographia.



*A TOUR IN SCOTLAND, AND VOYAGE TO THE HEBRIDES IN 1772.*

By THOMAS PENNANT.

TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BARONET.

Dear Sir,

I THINK myself so much indebted to you, for making me the vehicle for conveying to the public the rich discovery of your last voyage, that I cannot dispense with this address, the usual tribute on such occasions. You took from me all temptation of envying your superior good fortune, by the liberal declaration you made that the Hebrides were my ground, and yourself, as you pleasantly expressed it, but an interloper. May I meet with such, in all my adventures!

Without lessening your merit, let me say that no one has less reason to be sparing of his stores of knowledge. Few possess so large a share: you enjoy it without ostentation; and with a facility of communication, the result of natural endowments joined with an immensity of observation, collected in parts of the world, before, either of doubtful existence, or totally unknown. You have enriched yourself with the treasures of the globe, by a circumnavigation, founded on the most liberal and scientific principles.

The sixteenth century received lustre from the numbers of generous volunteers of rank and fortune, who, distinguishing themselves by the contempt of riches, ease, and luxury, made the most hazardous voyages, like yourself, animated by the love of true glory.

In reward, the name of Banks will ever exist with those of Clifford, Raleigh and Willoughby, on the rolls of fame, celebrated instances of great and enterprising spirits: and the arctic Solander must remain a fine proof that no climate can prevent the seeds of knowledge from vegetating in the breast of innate ability.

You have had justly a full triumph decreed to you by your country. May your laurels for ever remain unblighted! and if she has deigned to twine for me a civic wreath, return to me the same good wish.

I am, with every due acknowledgement,

Dear Sir, your obliged, and most obedient humble Servant,  
THOMAS PENNANT.

Downing.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS journey was undertaken in the summer of 1772, in order to render more complete my preceding tour; and to allay that species of restlessness that infects many minds, on leaving any attempt unfinished. Conscious of my deficiency in several respects, I prevailed on two gentlemen to favour me with their company, and to supply by their knowledge what I found wanting in myself.

To the Rev. Mr. John Lightfoot, lecturer of Uxbridge, I am obliged for all the botanical remarks scattered over the following pages. But it gives me great pleasure to say that he means to extend his favours, by soon giving to the public a *Flora Scotica*, an ample enumeration and history of the plants, observed by him in the several places we visited. To Mr. Lightfoot, I must join in my acknowledgements, the Rev. Mr. John Stuart of Killin, for a variety of hints, relating to customs of the natives of the



Highlands, and of the islands, which by reason of my ignorance of the Erse or Galic language, must have escaped my notice. To both I was indebted for all the comforts that arise from the society of agreeable and worthy companions.

I must not omit my thanks to the several gentlemen who favoured me at different times with accounts and little histories of the places of their residence, or their environs. To begin with the most southern, my best acknowledgements are due to

Mr. Aikin, Surgeon, for the account of Warrington.

Mr. Thomas West favoured me with several things relating to the north of Lancashire.

Doctor Brownrigg, the Rev. Doctor Burn, Joseph Nicholson Esq.; of Hawksbery, and the Rev. Mr. Parish of Carlisle, afforded me large supplies relating to their counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland.

In Scotland, John Maxwell, Esq.; of Broomholme, and Mr. Little of Langholme favoured me with several remarks relating to Eskdale.

The Rev. Mr. Jaffray, minister of Ruthwell, with a history of his parish.

Sir William Maxwell, Baronet of Springkeld, with variety of drawings, found at the Roman station at Burrens.

John Goldie, Esq.; of Dumfries, supplied me with numbers of observations on that town and county.

The Rev. Mr. Duncan Macfarlane of Drummond, with an account of his parish.

Mr. John Golborn, engineer, with an account of Glasgow, and various miscellaneous remarks.

For the excellent account of Paisley, I am indebted to Mr. Francis Douglas.

The Rev. Mr. Gershom Stuart sent me materials for an account of the isle of Arran.

Alexander Campbel Esq. of Ballole, and Charles Freebain Esq. communicated several observations relating to the isle of Ilay.

Sir Joseph Banks, Baronet, communicated to me his description of Staffa; and permitted my artist to copy as many of the beautiful drawings in his collection, as would be of use in the present work.

I must acknowledge myself in a particular manner indebted to the Rev. Mr. Donald Macquin of Kilmuir, in the isle of Skie, for a most instructive correspondence relating to the ancient customs of the place, and to its various antiquities. A small part I have mingled with my own account: but the greater share, in justice to the merit of the writer, I have delivered unmutated in the Appendix to the third volume.

The Rev. Mr. Dounie, Minister of Gair-loch, obliged me with various remarks on his neighbourhood.

The Rev. Mr. Donald Macleod of Glenelg, the same, respecting his.

To Doctor Ramsay of Edinburgh, I must return thanks, for a variety of services: to Mr. George Paton of the same place, for an indefatigable and unparralleled assiduity in procuring from all parts any intelligence that would be of use to the work in view.



## A TOUR, &amp;c.

ON Monday the 18th of May, for a second time, take my departure for the North, from Chester; a city without parallel for the singular structure of the four principal streets, which are as if excavated out of the earth, and sunk many feet beneath the surface; the carriages drive far below the level of the kitchens, on a line with ranges of shops; and over them, on each side the streets, passengers walk from end to end, secure from wet or heat, in galleries purloined from the first floor of each house, open and balustraded in front. The back courts of all these houses are level with the ground, but to go into any of the four streets it is necessary to descend a flight of several steps.

The streets were once considerably deeper, as is apparent from the shops, whose floors lie far below the present pavement. The lesser streets and allies that run into the greater streets, were sloped to the level of the bottoms of the latter, as is particularly visible in Bridge-street. It is difficult to assign a reason for these hollowed ways: I can only suppose them to have been the void left after the destruction of the ancient vaults mentioned by an ancient historian: "In this cyte, (says the Polychronicon\*,) ben ways under erthe with vowtes and stone-werke wonderly wrought thre chambred werkes: I grave with old mennes names therein. There is also Julius Cezars name wonderly in stones grave, and other noble mennes also, with the wrytynge about:" meaning the altar and monumental inscriptions of the Romans.

The cathedral ('till the reformation the church of the rich monastery of St. Werburgh) is an ancient structure, very ragged on the outside, from the nature of the friable red stone† with which it is built; but still may boast of a most elegant Western front; and the tabernacle work in the choir is very neat: St. Werburgh's shrine is now the bishop's throne, decorated with the figures of Mercian monarchs and saints; to whom the fair patroness was a bright example, living immaculate with her husband Ceolredus, copying her aunt the great Ethelreda, who lived for three years, with not less purity, with her good man Tonberctus, and for twelve with her second husband, the pious Prince Egfrid. History relates, that this religious house was originally a nunnery, founded A. D. 660, by Wulpherus, King of the Mercians, in favour of his daughter's indisposition. The nuns, in process of time, gave way to canons secular; and they again were displaced by Hugh Lupus, nephew to the conqueror, 1095, and their room supplied by Benedictines.

The beauty and elegant simplicity of a very antique Gothic chapter-house, and its fine vestibule, merits a visit from every traveller. The date of the foundation is uncertain, but it seems, from the similitude of roof and pilasters in a chapel in the square tower in the castle, to have been the work of cotemporary architects, and these architects were probably Norman; for the mode of square towers, with squared angles, was introduced immediately on the conquest.

The cloisters, the great refectory, now the free-school, and a gate-way of most singular structure, are at present the sole remains of this monastery. The ruins near St. John's church are fine reliques of the piety of the times; and the massy columns, and

\* Higden's Polychronicon, or rather that by Roger Cellensis, a Benedictine monk of St. Werburgh's; from whom Higden is said to have stolen the whole work. This Roger was cotemporary with Trivet, who died A. D. 1328.

†, Vale Royal, 19.



round arches within the church, most curious specimens of the clumsy strength of Saxon architecture. The former are probably the remains of the monastery of St. Mary, founded by Randal, second E. of Chester, for Benedictine nuns. The church was founded by King Ethelred, in 689: an uncouth inscription on the walls informs us, that 'King Ethelred minding more the blisse of heaven, edified a colledge church notable and famous in the suburbs of Chester pleasant and beauteous in the honour of God and the baptist St. John with the help of bishop Wulfrice and good Excillion \*.' It was rebuilt in 906, by Ethelred, E. of Mercia, after he had expelled the Danes out of the city. This was also the cathedral, until supplanted in 1551, by the church of the abbey of St. Werburgh.

The castle is a decaying pile, rebuilt by one of the Norman earls, on the site of the more ancient fortrefs. The walls of the city (the only complete specimen of old fortifications), are one mile three quarters, and a hundred and one yards in circumference, and, being the principal walk of the inhabitants, are kept in excellent order. The views from the several parts are very fine: the mountains of Flintshire, the hills of Broxton, and the insulated rock of Beelton, form the ruder part of the scenery: a rich flat gives us a softer view, and the prospect up the river towards Boughton, recalls in some degree the idea of the Thames and Richmond hill.

The Hypocaust, near the Feathers inn, is one of the remains of the Romans, it being well known that this place was a principal station. Among many antiquities found here, none is more singular than the rude sculpture of the Dea Armigera Minerva, with her bird and altar, on the face of a rock is a small field near the Welch end of the bridge.

Chester has been, at different times, a *place d'armes*, a great thorough-fare between the two kingdoms, and the residence of a numerous and polished gentry. Trade, till of late years, was but little attended to, but at present efforts are making to enter into that of Guinea, America, and the Baltic.

Since the year 1736, and not before, great quantities of linen-cloth have been imported from Ireland to each of the annual fairs: in that year 449654 yards; and at present about a million of yards are brought to each fair. Hops are another great article of trade, for above ten thousand pockets are sold here annually, much of which is forwarded to the neighbouring island. But the only staple trade of the city is in skins, multitudes of which are imported, dressed here, but sent out again to be manufactured. Here is a well regulated poor-house, and an infirmary; the last supported by contributions from the city, its county, and the adjacent counties of North-Wales. The first has happily the least use of this pious foundation; for, whether from the dryness of the situation, the clearness of the air, or the purity of the water, the proportion of deaths to the inhabitants has been only as 1 to 31; whereas in London 1 in 20 and 3-4ths; in Leeds 1 in 21 and 3-5ths; and in Northampton and Shrewsbury, 1 in 26, annually pay the great tribute of nature †. Might I be permitted to moralize, I should call this the reward of the benevolent and charitable disposition, that is the characteristic of this city; for such is the sacrifice that is pleasing to the Almighty.

About two miles from Chester, pass over Hoole heath, noted for having been one of the places of reception for strangers established by Hugh Lupus, in order to people his new dominions. This in particular was the asylum allotted for the fugitives of Wales.

Ride through the small town of Trafford: this, with the lordship of Newton, was, as Daniel King observes, one of the sweet morsels that the abbot of St. Werburgh and his

\* So translated from *hono auxilio*.

† Vide the observations on this subject of that humane physician, my worthy friend, Dr. Haygarth.



convent kept for their own wholesome provision. Get into a tract of sandy country, and pass beneath Helleby-Tor, a high and bluff termination of Delamere forest, composed of the same friable stone as that near Chester, but veined with yellow. Hence a view of the junction of the Weever and the Mersey, and an extensive tract of marshy meadow, with some good and much rushy grass; and beyond is the beginning of the wide estuary that flows by Liverpool.

Cross a little brook, called Llewyn, and reach Frodesham; a town of one long street, which, with its castle, was allotted by Edward I. to David, brother to Llewelyn, last Prince of Wales, as a retainer in his double perfidy against his own blood, and his own country. Not a vestige is left of the castle, which stood at the west end of the town; was latterly used as a house by the Savages, and was burnt down in 1652, when one of that name, an Earl Rivers, lay dead in it.

This, as well as most other towns and villages in Cheshire, stands on an eminence of sand-stone, and by that means enjoys a situation dry, wholesome, and beautiful.

The church stands at a vast height above the town. In the register are these two remarkable instances of longevity: March the 13th, 1592, was buried Thomas Hough, aged 141; and the very next day was committed to the earth, Randle Wall, aged 103. I observed also, that in the winter of 1574, the pestilence reached this sequestered place, for four are then recorded to have died of it. In early times that avenging angel spread destruction through all parts of the land; but her power is now ceased by the providential cessation of the natural causes that gave rise to that most dreadful of calamities.

Above the church is Beacon hill, with a beautiful walk cut along its side. At the foot are four butts (archery being still practised here) for an exercise in which the warriors of this county were of old eminent. The butts lie at four, eight, twelve, and sixteen rods distance from each other: the last are now disused, probably as the present race of archers prefer what is called short-shooting.

Cross the Weever, on a good stone-bridge: from a neighbouring warehouse much cheese is shipped off, brought down the river in boats from the rich grazing grounds, that extend as far as Nantwich. The river, by means of locks, is navigable for barges as high as Winslow bridge; but below this admits vessels of sixty tons. The channel above and below is deep and clayey, and at low water very disagreeable.

On the north banks are the ruins of Rock-savage, suffered, within memory, to fall to decay; once the seat of a family of the same name; and not far remote, on the same range, is Aston, a good house, finely situated, but rendered too naked through the rage of modern taste.

About two miles farther on the right, is Dutton Lodge, once the seat of the Duttons; a family in possession of a singular grant, having "*Magisterium omnium Leccatorum et meretricum totius Cestreshire.*" This privilege came originally from Randal 6th Earl of Chester; to Roger Lacy, constable of that city, who, when the Earl was closely besieged by the Welsh in Rudland castle, collected hastily for his relief a band of min-strels, and other idle people, and with them succeeded in the attempt; after which his son John assigned it to the Duttons, one of that name being assistant in the affair.

Reach Halton castle, seated on an eminence, and given by Hugh Lupus to Nigellus, one of his officers, and founded by one of the two. Nigel held it by this honourable and spirited service, that whenever the Earl made an expedition into Wales, the Baron of Halton should be foremost in entering the country, and the last in coming out †. It

\* I think myself indebted to Mr. Robertson, librarian to the Royal Society, an old archer, for the correction of this passage.

† Blount's Ancient Tenures.



became afterwards the property of the house of Lancaster, and was a favourite hunting feat of John of Gaunt. The castle is a ruin, except a part kept as a prison. It belongs to the duchy of Lancaster, and has still a court of record, and other privileges.

From the castle is the most beautiful view in Cheshire; a rich prospect of the meanders of the Mersey, through a fertile bottom; a pretty wooded peninsula jutting into it opposite to Runcorn; the great county of Lancashire, filled with hedge-row trees; and beyond soar the hills of Yorkshire and Lancashire; and on the other side appears Cheshire, and the still loftier Cambrian mountains; but close beneath, near the church, is still a more pleasing view; that of a row of neat alm-houses, for the reception of the superannuated servants of the house of Norton, founded by the late Pusey Brook, Esq., my friend, and the friend of mankind.

Descend the hill, and pass by Norton, a good modern house, on the site of a priory of canons regular of St. Augustine, founded by William, son of Nigellus, A. D. 1135, who did not live to complete his design: for Eustace de Burgaville granted to Hugh de Catherik pasture for a hundred sheep, in case he finished the church in all respects conformable to the intent of the founder. It was granted at the dissolution to Richard Brook, Esquire.

Continue my way along a flat dull country, reach the banks of the Mersey, ride over a long causeway, having before me a perfect wood of lofty poplar, that speaks the soil; and Warrington as if in the midst of it. Enter

Lancashire, after crossing a handsome stone bridge of four arches, which leads into the town, and was built by the first Earl of Derby, to accommodate Henry VII., then on his road on a visit to his lordship, probably to soothe the Earl after the ungrateful execution of his brother, Sir William Stanley. It was at first a toll-bridge, but his lordship generously released the country from that tax, at a loss of as many marks as was equivalent to the portion of one of his daughters.

The priory of the hermit friers of Augustine, founded before 1379, stood near the bridge, but not a relique exists. The entrance into the town is unpromising, the streets long, narrow, ill-built, and crowded with carts and passengers; but farther on are airy, and of a good width, but afford a striking mixture of mean buildings and handsome houses, as is the case with most trading towns that experience a sudden rise; not that this place wants antiquity, for Leland speaks of its having a better market than Manchester upwards of two hundred years ago. At that time the principal part of the town was near the church, remote from the bridge, and was accessible only by a ford, but the convenience of a safer transit soon drew the buildings to that end.

The church has of late undergone much alteration, but two of the ancient side-chapels still remain: one belonging to the Massies contains nothing but a small mural monument, with a very amiable character of Francis Massey, Esq. lord of the manors of Rixton and Glasbrook, last of the ancient family, which was extinct with him in 1748; but in an opposite chapel is a magnificent tomb of Sir Thomas Boteler and his lady, in alabaster: their effigies lie at top, hand in hand, he in armour, she in a remarkable mitre-shaped cap; round the sides are various figures, such as St. Christopher, St. George, and other superstitious sculptures. The Botelers were of great antiquity in this place; the first took his name from being butler to Ranulf de Gernons, or Meschines, Earl of Chester. His posterity acquired great possessions in this county\*, and one of them obtained the charters for markets and fairs at Warrington, from his prince Edward I. Tradition says that Sir Thomas, then resident at Beauly-house, near this town, was,

\* Dugdale's Baronage, I. 653.



with his lady, murdered in the night by assassins, who crossed the moat in leathern boats to perpetrate their villainy.

Beneath an arch in the wall near this tomb is another, containing a figure in a long robe, muffled up to the chin; the head wrapped in a sort of cap, and bound with a neat fillet.

Besides this church is a neat chapel of ease, lately rebuilt, and many places of worship for Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Methodists, and Roman Catholics: for in manufacturing places it often falls out that the common people happily have a disposition to seek the Lord, but as unhappily disagree in the means of rendering themselves acceptable to him.

Here is a free-school, very considerably endowed, and made very respectable by the merits of the present master. An academy has of late years been established in this town, with a view of giving an education to youth on the plan of an university.

The manufactures of this place are very considerable; formerly a great quantity of checks and coarse linens were made here, but of late years these have given way to that of polldavies, or sail-cloth, now carried on with such spirit (in the town and country) as to supply near one half of the navy of Great Britain. The late war gave a great rise to this branch, and a sudden improvement to the town.

The making of pins is another considerable article of commerce; locks, hinges, cast-iron, and other branches of hardware, are fabricated here to a great amount: very large works for the refining of copper are carried on near the town; and the glass and sugar-houses employ many hands. By means of all these advantages the town has been doubled within these twenty years; and is supposed to contain at present between eight and nine thousand inhabitants.

The manufactures of this place are most readily conveyed down to Liverpool by means of the Mersey. The spring-tides rise at the bridge to the height of nine feet, and vessels of seventy or eighty feet can lie at Bank-quay, the port of the town, where warehouses, cranes, and other conveniences for shipping of goods are erected. I must not omit that thirty or forty thousand bushels of potatoes are annually exported out of the rich land of the environs of Warrington, into the Mediterranean, at the medium price of fourteen pence per bushel. This is the root which honest Gerard, about two hundred and forty years ago, speaks of "as a food, as also a meat for pleasure being either roasted in the embers or boiled and eaten with oile vinegar and pepper or dressed some other way by the hand of a skilful cooke \*."

The salmon-fishery is very considerable, but the opportunity of sending them to London and other places, at the beginning of the season, keeps up the price to about eight-pence per pound, which gradually sinks to three-pence or twopence-halfpenny, to the great aid of the poor manufacturers. Smelts, or as they are called in all the north, sparlings, migrate in the spring up this river in amazing shoals, and of a size superior to those of other parts, some having been taken that weighed half a pound, and measured thirteen inches.

In this river is found a small fish called the graining, in some respects resembling the dace, yet is a distinct and perhaps new species; the usual length is seven inches and a half; it is rather more slender than the dace, the body is almost straight, that of the other incurvated; the colour of the scales in this is silvery, with a bluish cast; those of the dace have a yellowish or greenish tinge: the eyes, the ventral and the anal fins in the graining are of a pale colour †.

\* Herbal, 928.

† Rays in P. D. 8. P. P. 15. V. 9. A. 10. C. 32.



Make a visit to John Blackburne, Esq., at his seat of Orford, a mile from Warrington; dine and lie there. This gentleman from his earliest life, like another Evelyn, has made his garden the employ and amusement of his leisure hours, and been most successful in every part he has attempted: in fact, he has an universal knowledge in the culture of plants. He was the second in these kingdoms that cultivated the pine-apple: has the best fruit and the best kitchen-garden: his collection of hardy exotics is exceedingly numerous; and his collection of hot-house plants is at least equal to any private collection in this kingdom. He neglects no branch of botany, has the aquatic plants in their proper elements; the rock plants on artificial rocks; and you may be here betrayed into a bog by attempting to gather those of the morafs\*.

Mrs. Blackburne, his daughter, extends her researches still farther, and adds to her empire another kingdom: not content with the botanic, she causes North America to be explored for its animals, and has formed a museum from the other side of the Atlantic, as pleasing as it is instructive.

In this house is a large family picture of the Ashtons of Chadderton, consisting of a gentleman, his lady, eleven children living at that time, and three infants who died in their birth: it was painted in the reign of James I. by Tobias Ratcliff; but has so little merit, that I should not have mentioned it, but to add one more to Mr. Walpole's list of painters.

May 19. Pass through Winwick, a small village, remarkable for being the richest rectory in England: the living is worth 2300l. per annum; the rector is lord of the manor, and has a glebe of 1300l. annual rent. It is singular that this county, the seventh in size in England, has only sixty-one parishes; whereas Norfolk, the next in dimensions, has no fewer than six hundred and sixty.

In the wall of an old porch before the rector of Winwick's house, is safely lodged a bible, placed there by a zealous incumbent, who lived in the days of Oliver Cromwell, in order that at least one authentic book might be found, should the fanatics corrupt the text, and destroy all the orthodox copies.

On the outside of the church is this inscription, cut in old letters:

Hic locus, Oswalde, quondam tibi placuit valde;  
Northanumbrorum fueras Rex, nuncque polorum  
Regna tenes, Prato passus Marcelde † vocato.  
Anno milleno quingentenoque triceno,  
Sciator post Christum murum renovaverat istum:  
Henricus Johnston curatus erat simul hic tunc.

Oswald was King of Northumberland; the most pious prince of his time, and the restorer of the Christian religion in his dominions: at length, A. D. 640, receiving a defeat near Oswestry, by Penda, pagan King of Mercia, was there slain, his body cut in pieces, and stuck on poles by way of trophies.

At Redbank, between this place and Newton, the Scots in August 1648, after their retreat from Preston, made a resolute stand for many hours against the victorious Cromwell, who, with great loss on both sides, beat them from their ground, and the next day made himself master of all their remaining infantry, which, with their commander, Lieutenant-general Bayly, surrendered on the bare condition of quarter ‡.

\* My respected and venerable friend, after a long and unspotted life, died Dec. 19, 1786, aged 92.

† Musser-field, near Oswestry.

‡ Whitelock, 332. Clarendon, V. 162.



Pass through Newton, a small borough town: the country flat and fertile. On approaching Wiggan, observe several fields quite white with thread, bleaching for the manufacture of strong checks and coarse linen, carried on in that town and neighbourhood.

Wiggan is a pretty large town and a borough. It has long been noted for manufactures in brass and pewter, which now give way to that of checks: an ingenious fellow here turns canal coal into vases, obelisks, and snuff-boxes, and forms excellent blackmoors heads out of the same material.

The best cross-bows are also made in this town by a person who succeeded his father in the business; the last coming there from Rippon about a century ago.

In the church is an inscription in memory of Sir Roger Bradshaigh, of Haigh, an eminent loyalist in the time of the civil wars; and a tomb, much defaced, of a Sir William Bradshaigh and his lady Mabel, who lived in the reigns of Edward II. and III. A remarkable history attends this pair: in the time of the first monarch he set out for the holy land in quest of adventures, and left his fair spouse at home to pray for his success; but after some years' absence, the lady thinking he made rather too long a stay, gave her hand to Sir Osmund Nevil, a Welch knight. At length Sir William returns in the garb of a pilgrim, makes himself known to his Mabel, is acknowledged by her, and she returns to her allegiance: Sir William pursues the innocent invader of his bed, overtakes him at Newton-park, where my unfortunate countryman is slain. The poor lady being considered as an accessory to his death, is condemned to a weekly penance of walking barefoot from the chapel in Haigh-hall, three miles distant, to expiate her crime, to a cross near Wiggan, at this day called Mabel's cross.

Not far from the town is the little river Douglass, immortalized by the victories of our Arthur \* over the Saxons on its banks. This stream in 1727 was widened, deepened, and made navigable by locks, almost to the mouth of the Ribble; and was among the first of those projects which have since been pursued with so much utility to the inland parts of the kingdom. This canal conveys coal to supply the north of the county, and even part of Westmoreland, and in return brings from thence limestone.

On an eminence about a mile from Wiggan is Haigh, long the seat of the Bradshaighs, an ancient house, built at different times: the chapel supposed to be as old as the time of Edward II.; in the front are the Stanly arms, and beneath them those of the family, which in all civil commotions had united with the former, even as early as the battle of Bosworth field.

In this house are some excellent pictures: our Saviour with his disciples at Emmaus, by Titian, with the landlord and waiter; a fine attention and respect is expressed in the countenances of the disciples.

A very fine head of Sir Lionel Tolmach, by Fr. Zuchero, on wood, short grey hair, a forked beard, rosy complexion; a beautiful *viridis senectus*.

Eliz. Lady Dacres, daughter of Paul Viscount Banning, relict of Francis Lord Dacres, created Countess of Sheppy for life, by Ch. II. in 1680; a head on wood; a blooming countenance.

A head, by Riley, of Sir John Guise, great-grandfather to the present baronet; and another of Lady Guise, by Kneller.

Charles I. in his robes.

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in the robes of the garter, assassinated by the gloomy Felton.

A large equestrian picture of Ch. I., a copy after Vandyck.

\* Henry of Huntingdon, 313.



His daughter, Mary Princess of Orange, mother to King William.

Henry Murray, Esq. gentleman of the bed-chamber to Ch. II. : his daughter was married to Sir Roger Bradshaigh, the second baronet.

This neighbourhood abounds with that fine species of coal called canal, perhaps candle coal, from its serving as cheap light for the poor to spin by during the long winter evenings : it is found in beds of about three feet in thickness ; the veins dip one yard in twenty ; are found at great depths, with a black bas above and below, and are subject to the same damps fiery and suffocating as the common coal. It makes the sweetest of fires, and the most cheerful : is very inflammable, and so clean, that at Haigh-hall a summer-house is built with it, which may be entered without dread of soiling the lightest cloaths.

Sir Roger Bradshaigh, baronet, the last of the male line, died on September 29, 1770. On the death of his widow in —, the seat and estate fell to — Lindsay, Earl of Balcarras, in right of his wife — Dalrymple, great-grand-daughter to the third Sir Roger Bradshaigh. Endeavours have been made to impute to this house the infamous regicide John Bradshaw.

Leaving Wiggan, observe on the road-side, near the north end of the town, a monument, erected by Alexander Rigby, Esq., in memory of his gallant commander Sir Thomas Tildesly, who was killed on this spot in the engagement with Lambert, in 1650 : a faithful domestic, supporting his dying master, was shot in that situation by a rebel trooper, who was instantly pistoled by his generous officer, who abhorred the barbarity even to an enemy.

Reach Standish, a village with a very handsome church and spire steeple : the pillars within shew an attempt of the Tuscan order ; it was rebuilt in 1584, and chiefly by the assistance of Richard Moodie, rector of the place, who maintained the workmen with meat, at his own cost, during the time. He was the first protestant pastor, conformed and procured the living by the cession of the tythes of Standish, probably thinking it better to lose part than all. He lies in effigy on his tomb, dressed in his franciscan habit, with an inscription declarative of his munificence towards the church. In front of the tomb are two small pillars with Ionic capitals, the dawning of the introduction of Grecian architecture.

Here is a handsome tomb of Sir Edward Wrightington, Knight, king's counsel : he died 1658, and lies in alabaster recumbent in his gown. A curious memorial of Edward Chifual, who was, during the civil wars, colonel of a regiment of horse, and another of foot ; and lest there should be any doubt, the commissions are given in full length upon wood. This gentleman had the honour of defending Latham-house under the command of the heroine the Countess of Derby.

At Mrs. Townley's, at Standish-hall, are some few reliques of the Arundel collection, particularly eight pieces of glass, with the labours of Hercules, most exquisitely cut on them. A large silver square, perhaps the pannel of an altar, with a most beautiful relief of the resurrection on it, by P. V. 1605. Two trinkets, one a lion, the other a dragon, whose bodies are formed of two vast irregular pearls.

Make an excursion four miles on the west to Holland, a village where formerly had been a priory of Benedictines, founded by Robert de Holland in 1319, out of the collegiate chapel, before served by canons regular. Nothing remains at present but the church, and a few walls. The posterity of the founder rose to the greatest honours during several of the following turbulent reigns ; but those honours were attended with the greatest calamities. Robert himself, first secretary to Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Lancaster, after betraying his master, lost his head, by the rage of the people, in the beginning



beginning of the reign of Edward III. His posterity, many at least of them, were equally unfortunate: Thomas de Holland, Duke of Surry, and Earl of Kent, fell in the same manner at Cirencester, by the hands of the townsmen, after a rash insurrection, in order to restore his master, Richard II. His half-brother, John, Duke of Exeter, and Earl of Huntingdon, underwent the same fate, from the hands of the populace, at Pleffy, in Essex, for being engaged in the same design. And his grandson, Henry, Duke of Exeter, experienced a fortune as various as it was calamitous. He was the greatest subject in power under Henry VI., and was brother-in-law to Edw. IV.; yet, as Comines relates, during the first depression of his unhappy master, he was seen a fugitive in Flanders, running barefoot after the Duke of Burgundy's coach, to beg an alms: on the last attempt to replace Henry on the throne, he again appeared in arms at the battle of Barnet, fought manfully, and was left for dead in the field; a faithful domestic gave him assistance, and conveyed him into sanctuary; he escaped, and was never heard of till his corpse was found, by some unknown accident, floating in the sea between Dover and Calais\*; and thus closed the eventful history of this ill-fated line.

Return through this deep tract into the road at Standish: the country from hence to Preston very good; on the last a long valley runs parallel. At a place called Pincoc-bridge crosses the Yarrow, a pretty stream, watering a narrow romantic glen, wooded on both sides.

Ride through Walton, a very populous village, near the Ribble, a fine river, extending through a range of very rich meadows, as far as the picturesque vale of Cuerden. Cross the river on a bridge of five arches, ascend a hill, through lanes once deep, narrow, and of difficult approach, where, in 1715, the rebels made some resistance to the king's forces in the ill-concerted affair of that year.

On the top lies Preston, a neat and handsome town, quiet, and entirely free from the noise of manufactures; and is supported by passengers, or the money spent by the numerous gentry that inhabit it. It derives its name (according to Camden) from the priests or religious that were in old times the principal inhabitants. Here was a convent of grey friars, or Franciscans, founded by Edmund Earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III. Robert de Holland abovementioned was a considerable benefactor to the place, and was buried here. A gentleman of the name of Preston gave the ground †. Might not the town take its name from him? Here was also an ancient hospital, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, mentioned in 1291 in the Lincoln taxation ‡.

This place was taken by storm in 1643, by the parliament forces under Sir John Seaton, after a most gallant defence: it was at that time fortified with brick walls §.

North of this town began the action between that gallant officer Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the parliament forces under Cromwell. The former commanded the English army that was to act in conjunction with the Duke of Hamilton in his unfortunate invasion in July 1648. Langdale gave the infatuated Scot notice of the approach of Cromwell; and in vain advising the assembling of the whole force, his counsel was lost. He alone made a stand in the fields near Preston for six hours, unassisted by the duke, who pushed the march of his troops over the bridge, leaving Sir Marmaduke to be overpowered with numbers.

The walks on the banks above the Ribble command a most beautiful view of meadows, bounded by delicious risings; the river meandering between till the prospect closes with its estuary. Continue here the whole night, and lie at the Black-Bull.

The Spectator has long since pointed out the knowledge that may be collected from signs: it is impossible not to remark the propriety of the reigning ones of this county:

\* Stow. 426.

† Stevens's Monast. i. 154.

‡ Tanner, 234.

§ Parliament Chronicle, 268.



the triple-legs, and the eagle-and-child, denote the great possessions of the Stanlies in these parts; the bull, the just pre-eminence of its cattle over other counties; and the royal-oak, its distinguished loyalty to its sovereign. I am amazed they do not add the Graces, for no where can be seen a more numerous race of beauties among that order, who want every advantage to set off their native charms.

May 20. Go over a flat country, with rushy fields on each side: cross the Broke and the Calder; see on one side Blazedale fells, and on the other Pelling moss, which some years ago made an eruption similar to that of Solway. Cross the Wier, near Garstang, on a bridge of two arches; about twelve miles lower it swells into a fine harbour, whence the provincial proverb, as safe as Wier. Vessels put into it for the sail-cloth made at Kirkham.

Breakfast at Garstang, a small town, remarkable for the fine cattle produced in its neighbourhood: a gentleman has refused thirty guineas for a three-year-old cow; has sold a calf of a month's age for ten guineas, and bulls for an hundred; and has killed an ox weighing twenty-one score per quarter, exclusive of hide, entrails, &c. Bulls also have been let out at the rate of thirty guineas the season; so that well might honest Barnaby \* celebrate the cattle of this place, notwithstanding the misfortune he met with in one of its great fairs.

Veni Garstang ubi nata  
Sunt Armenta fronte lata,  
Veni Garstang, ubi malè  
Intrans forum bestiale.  
Fortè vacillando vico  
Huc et illuc cum amico,  
In Juvenæ dorsum rui  
Cujus cornu læsum fui.

Abundance of potatoes are raised about the place, and sent to London, Ireland, and Scotland.

Sir Edward Walpole is lord of this manor, his father having obtained a grant of it from the crown.

Near the town, on a knoll, is a single tower, the poor remains of Grenehaugh castle: it was built by the first Stanley, Earl of Derby, to secure himself in his new possessions, the forfeited estates of the Yorkists, who did not bear, without resentment, this usurpation on their property. Among the attainted lands, which were vested in his lordship, are reckoned those of Pilkington, Broughton, and Wotton †.

Soon after leaving Garstang the country grows more barren, uneven, or slightly hilly. From a common called the Grave have a fine view of

Lancaster, built of stone, and lying on the side of a hill: the castle, built by Edward III. ‡, forms one great object, the church another; and far beyond is an arm of the sea, and the lofty mountains of Furness and Cumberland. The town is not regular, but is well built, and contains numbers of very handsome houses. Every stranger must admire the front of Mr. Noble's, faced with stone, naturally figured with views, rivers, and mountains, in the same nature with the *pietra imbroscata* and *ruinata* of the Italians. The inhabitants are also fortunate in having some very ingenious cabinet-makers settled here, who fabricate most excellent and neat goods at remarkably cheap rates, which they export to London and the plantations. Mr. Gillow's warehouse of these manufactures merits a visit.

\* Better known by the name of drunken Barnaby, who lived the beginning of last century, and published his four Itineraries in Latin rhyme.

† Leland's Itin. vi. 35.

‡ Vetus Monumenta, &c. published by the Society of Antiquaries, No. 42.



It is a town of much commerce ; has fine quays on the river Lune, which brings up ships of 250 tons burden close to the place. Forty or fifty ships trade from hence directly to Guinea and the West Indies ; others to Norway. Besides the cabinet goods, some sail-cloth is manufactured here ; and great numbers of candles are exported to the West Indies. Much wheat and barley is imported.

The custom-house is a small but elegant building, with a portico supported by four Ionic pillars, with a beautiful plain pediment : each pillar is fifteen feet and a half high, and consists of a single stone. There is a double flight of steps, a rustic surbase and coins ; a work that does much credit to Mr. Gillow, the architect.

The castle is very entire ; has a most magnificent front, consisting of two angular towers, and a gateway between, and within is a great square tower : the courts of justice are held here ; and here are kept the prisoners of the county, in a safe yet airy confinement. The castle and town were surprised and taken immediately after the storming of Preston, by a party sent from thence under the command of Serjeant-major Birch.

The church is seated on an eminence near the castle, and commands an extensive, but not a pleasing-view. Within is a mural monument in memory of Sir Samuel Eyres, one of the judges of the king's-bench in the time of King William ; and a very pompous inscription on the grave-stone of Tho. Covell, six times mayor of the town, forty-eight-years keeper of the castle, forty-six-years one of the coroners of the county, captain of the freehold land of the hundred of Lonsdale on this side the fands, &c. &c. died Aug. 1, 1639.

Cease, cease to mourn, all tears are vain and void,  
He's fled, not dead, dissolved, not destroyed :  
In heav'n his soul doth rest, his body here  
Sleeps in this dust, and his fame every where  
Triumphs: the town, the country, farther forth,  
The land throughout proclaim his noble worth.

Speak of a man so courteous,  
So free and every way magnanimous ;  
That story told at large here do you see  
Epitomized in brief, Covell was he.

This is given as a specimen of an epitaph so very extravagant, that the living must laugh to read ; and the deceased, was he capable, must blush to hear.

This was one of the churches reserved by Henry VIII. as a sanctuary after the abolition of that dangerous privilege in the rest of England.

On the north side of the church-yard are the remains of an old wall, called the wery wall. Camden conjectures it to have taken its name from Caerwerid, or the green fortrefs, the British name of Lancaster ; and that it was part of a Roman wall. For my part, with Leland, I suspect it to have been part of the enclosure of the priory, a cell of Benedictine monks of St. Martin, at Sees in France, suppressed by Henry V., and given to Sion abbey.

The shambles of this town must not be omitted : they are built in the form of a street, at the public expence ; every butcher has his shop, and his name painted over the door.

Cross the Lune, on a handsome bridge of four arches. Since I visited this town there is a new bridge of five arches, built a little above the other, which is yet standing. Turn to the left, and after four miles riding reach Hefs bank, and at low water cross the arm of the sea, the Moricambe of Ptolemy, that divides this part of the county from the hundred of Furness, a detached tract peninsulated by the sea, lake, or river, a melancholy ride of eleven miles ; the prospect on all sides quite savage, high barren hills indented



indented by the sea, or dreary wet sands, rendered more horrible by the approach of night, and a tempestuous evening, obscured by the driving of black clouds. Beneath the shade discerned Arncliffe tower, the property of the Stanlies for some centuries. Here the county of Westmoreland intrudes into the estuary, and totally separates the hundred of Loynsdale from the rest of Lancashire. Before us was an extensive but shallow ford, formed by the Kent and other rivers, now passed with trouble by the beating of the waves.

At the entrance into this water am met by a guide, called here the carter, who is maintained by the public, and obliged in all weathers to attend here from sun-rise to sun-set, to conduct passengers over.

Three miles from the shore is Cartmel, a small town with most irregular streets, lying in a vale surrounded with high hills. The gateway of the monastery of regular canons of St. Austlin, founded in 1188 by William Marechal, Earl of Pembroke, is still standing: but this had long been holy ground. Egfrid, King of the Northumbrians, who reigned between the years 670 and 685, gave to St. Cuthbert all the tract called Carthmell and all the Britains on it, and a town called Sudgetluit\*; a proof of the length of time that the natives of our island inhabited this part.

The church is large, and in form of a cross: the length is 157 feet; the transept 110; the height 57. The steeple is most singular, the tower being a square within a square; the upper part being set diagonally within the lower. The inside of the church is handsome and spacious: the centre supported by four large and fine clustered pillars: the west part more modern than the rest, and the pillars octagonal. The choir beautiful, surrounded with stalls, whose tops and pillars are finely carved with foliage, and with the instruments of the passion above.

On one side is the tomb-stone of William de Walton, with a cross on it. He was either first or second prior of this place. The inscription is only "Hic jacet frater Wilelmus de Walton prior de Cartmel."

On the other is a magnificent tomb of a Harrington and his lady, both lie recumbent beneath a fine carved and open work arch, decorated with variety of superstitious figures; and on the surbase are grotesque forms of chaunting monks. He lies with his legs across, a sign that he had obtained that privilege by the merits of a pilgrimage to the holy land, or a crusade. He is said to have been one of the Harringtons of Wrafholm tower, his lady a Huddleston of Millam castle. It is probably the effigies of Sir John de Harrington, who in 1305 was summoned by Edw. I., with numbers of other gallant gentlemen, to meet him at Carlisle, and attend him on his expedition into Scotland; and was then knighted along with Prince Edward, with bathing, and other sacred ceremonies†.

The monument erected by Christopher Rawlinson of Carkhall, in Cartmel, deserves mention, being in memory of his grandfather, father, and mother. The last, a monk, descended from a Tho. Monk of Devonshire, by Frances Plantagenet, daughter and co-heir of Arthur Viscount Lisle, son of Edw. IV.; and this Christopher dying without issue, was the last male by the mother's side of that great line.

In a side chapel is the burial-place of the Lowthers; among other monuments is a neat but small one of the late Sir William.

May 21. Pass through some fields, a strange mixture of pasture, rock, and small groves. Descend a hill to Hoiker, once the seat of the family of the Prestons, since the property of the Lowthers, and lately that of Lord George Cavendish: a large irregular

\* Hist. St. Cuthbert in Hist. Angl. Script. i. 69.

† Dugdale's Baronage, II. 99.



house, seated in a pretty park, well wooded; and on the side of the house is a range of low rocky hills, directing the eye to an immense chain of lofty mountains.

At Holker are several good pictures: among the portraits, the beautiful, abandoned, vindictive, violent Dutchess of Cleveland, mistress to Charles II. by Lely.

A Mrs. Lowther by the same.

Admiral Penn, dressed in black, with a cravat and fash, long hair, and of a good honest countenance. He rose very early in life to the highest naval commands; was a captain at twenty one, rear admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two; disgraced and imprisoned by Cromwell for his unsuccessful attempt on St. Domingo, though he added, in that very expedition, Jamaica to the kingdom of Great Britain: on the restoration, commanded under the Duke of York in the same ship, at the great sea fight of 1665, when the laurels of the first day were blasted by the unfortunate inactivity of the second; for where princes are concerned, the truth of miscarriages seldom appears. He soon after retired from the service, and died at the early age of forty-nine.

The late Sir James Lowther; a character too well known to be dwelt on.

The head of Thomas Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, the friend of Clarendon, and virtuous treasurer of the first years after the restoration.

His lady, leaning on a globe.

A very fine head of a Preston, in black, a ruff, short grey hair, round beard.

A head called that of an Earl Douglass, with this inscription: "Novis paucos secures, æt. suæ. xxii. A. M. D. xi." On the head a black bonnet, countenance good, beard brown, dress black.

A fine head of Vandyck, when young, leaning: by himself.

An old man reading, and a boy, on wood, marked j. w. Stap.

Two boys at dice, and a woman looking on: a fine piece by Morillio.

St. Francis d'Assize, kneeling, very fine. And variety of other good paintings. Among them four by Claude Lorraine.

Crofs another tract of sands, three miles in breadth, and am conducted through the ford by another Carter. This officer was originally maintained by the priory of Conishead; but at the dissolution the King charged himself and his successors with the payment: since that time it is held by patent of the duchy of Lancaster, and the salary is paid by the receiver-general. Reach

Ulverston, a town of about three thousand souls, seated near the water side, and is approachable at high water by vessels of a hundred and fifty tons; has a good trade in iron ore, pig and bar iron, bark, lime-stone, oats and barley, and much beans, which last are sent to Liverpool, for the food of the poor enslaved negroes in the Guinea trade. Numbers of cattle are sold out of the neighbourhood, but the commerce in general declines; at present there are not above sixty vessels belonging to the place; formerly about a hundred and fifty mostly let out to freight; but both master and sailors go now to Liverpool for employ.

Quantities of potatoes are raised here; and such is the increase that 450 bushels have been got from a single acre of ground. Some wheat is raised in low Furness, near the sea, and in the isle of Walney: but the inhabitants of these parts have but recently applied themselves to husbandry. Among the manures sea-sand and live mussels are frequently used: but till within these twenty years even the use of dung was scarcely known to them.

Make an excursion of four miles to the west, to visit the great iron mines at Whitrigs; the ore is found in immense beds beneath two strata, one of pinnel or coarse gravel,



gravel, about fifteen yards thick : the next is lime-stone of twenty yards : the stratum of ore is rather uncertain in extent, but is from ten to fifteen yards thick, and forty in extent ; and sometimes two hundred tons have been taken up in a week. A cubic yard of ore weighs three tons and a half : the common produce of metal is one ton from thirty-five to forty hundred of ore ; but some has been so rich as to yield a ton of iron from twenty seven hundred of the mineral.

The ore lies in vast heaps about the mines, so as to form perfect mountains ; is of that species called by mineralogists hæmatites and kidney-ore ; is red, very greasy, and defiling. The iron race that inhabit the mining villages exhibit a strange appearance : men, women and children are perfectly dyed with it, and even innocent babes quickly assume the bloody complexion of the soil.

The ore is carried on board the ships for 12s. per ton, each ton 21 hundred ; and the adventurers pay 1s. 6d. per ton farm for liberty of raising it. It is entirely smelted with wood charcoal, but is got in such quantities that wood in these parts is sometimes wanting ; so that charcoal is sometimes procured from the poor woods of Mull, and other of the Hebrides. The port to these mines is Barrow, about five miles to the south west.

These mines have been worked above four hundred years ago, as appears by the grant of William of Lancaster, Lord of Kendal, to the priory of Conilhed, in this neighbourhood, of the mine of Plumpton, probably part of the present vein ; which he conveys "*libero introitu et exitu ad duos equos cum hominibus minam cariandam, &c. \**"

The vestiges of the ancient workings are very frequent, and apparent enough, from the vast hollows in the earth wherever they have sunk in.

From one of the banks have a great view of the lower Furness, as far as appears, a woodless tract, and the isle of Walney, stretching along the coast, and forming to it a secure counterescarp from the rage of the sea. At the south end is Peel castle, originally built, and supported by the abbey of Furness, and garrisoned with sixty men, as a protection against the Scots.

The abbey lies opposite, and the very ruins evince its former magnificence †. It was founded in 1127, by Stephen Earl of Moriton of Bologne, afterwards King of England, or rather removed by him from Tulket in Aundirness. The monks were originally of the order of Tironensians, of the rule of St. Benedict, but afterwards became Cistercians ‡.

The little Tarn, or water called Standing Tarn, is within sight ; it is of considerable depth, and abounds with pike, roach, and eels ; also with large trout ; and is remarkable for having no visible outlet, but discharges its waters by some subterraneous passage.

See, towards the North, at a small distance, the hill of Black-Coomb, in Cumberland often visible from Flintshire, and an infallible presage to us of bad weather. I found from the report of the inhabitants of these parts, that the appearance of our country is equally ominous to them, and equally unacceptable.

See Swartz-moor hall, near which Martin Swartz and his Germans encamped in 1487, with Lambert Simnel, in order to collect forces in these parts, before his attempt to wrest the crown from Henry VII. He was supported by Sir Thomas Broughton, a gentleman of this neighbourhood, who, escaping afterwards from the battle of Stoke, like our Owen-Glendwr, lived many years (when he was supposed to have been slain) in great obscurity, supported by his faithful tenants in Westmoreland.

\* Dugdale, ii. 425.

† Finely engraven among the views published by the society of Antiquaries.

‡ Dugdale, i. 704. An excellent and full account of this abbey has been lately published, by Mr. Thomas West.



And in after-times the melancholy spirit of George Fox, the founder of quakerism, took possession of Swartz-moor hall, first captivating the heart of a widow, the relict of judge Fell, the then inhabitant, moving her congenial soul to resign herself to him in the bonds of matrimony. From thence he sallied forth, and I trust, unintentionally, gave rise to a crowd of spiritual Quixotes (disowned indeed by his admirers, as his genuine followers) who for a period disturbed mankind with all the extravagancies that enthusiasm could invent.

Return to Ulverston, and dine with Mr. Kendal of that place, who shewed me every civility. In his possession saw a singular tripodal jug, found in the neighbourhood: it was wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, with a spout and handle made of a mixed metal; the height of the vessel was eight inches three quarters, of the feet two three quarters. One of the same kind was found in the county of Down\*, in Ireland; yet probably both might be Roman, the last brought by accident into that kingdom; for Mr. Gordon, tab. 42. has given the figure of one carved on the side of an altar.

Proceed by Newland iron furnacé; ascend a high hill, whose very top, as well as others adjacent, appears well peopled. Descend to Penny-bridge, or Crakeford, where a ship of 150 tons was then building. Furnaces abound in these parts, and various sorts of implements of husbandry are made here.

Keep along a narrow glen on excellent roads, amidst thick coppices, or brush woods of various sorts of trees, many of them planted expressly for the use of the furnaces or bloomeries. They consist chiefly of birch and hazel; not many years ago ship loads of nuts have been exported from hence. The woods are great ornaments to the country, for they creep high up the hills: The owners cut them down in equal portions, in the rotation of sixteen years, and raise regular revenues out of them; and often superior to the rent of their land, for freeholders of fifteen or twenty-five pounds per annum, are known to make constantly sixty pounds a year from their woods. The furnaces for these last sixty years have brought a great deal of wealth into this country.

Observe that the tops of all the ash trees were lopped; and was informed that it was done to feed the cattle in Autumn, when the grass was on the decline: the cattle peeling off the bark as a food. In Queen Elizabeth's time the inhabitants of Colton and Hawkhead fells remonstrated against the number of bloomeries then in the country, because they consumed all the loppings and croppings, the sole winter food for their cattle. The people agreed to pay to the Queen the rent she received from these works, on condition they were suppressed. These rents now called Bloom Smithy, are paid to the crown to this day, notwithstanding the improved state of the country has rendered the use of the former indulgence needless.

Keep by the side of the river Crake: near its discharge from Coninston mere, at a place called Waterfoot, lay abundance of slate brought down by water from the quarries in the fells: observed also great heaps of birch besoms, which are also articles for exportation.

Reach Coninston or Thurstain water, a beautiful lake, about seven measured miles long; and the greatest breadth three quarters: the greatest depth from thirty to forty fathoms. At the S. end it is narrowed by the projection of several little headlands running far into the water, and forming between them several pretty bays. A little higher up the widest part commences: from thence it runs quite strait to the end, not incurvated as the maps make it. The fish of this water are charr and pike: a few years ago the first were sold for 3s. 6d. per dozen, but thanks to the luxury of the times, are

\* Ancient and present state of the county of Down, p. 55.



chart

now raised to eight or nine shillings. The scenery about this lake, which is scarcely mentioned, is extremely noble. The E. and W. sides are bounded by high hills often wooded; but in general composed of grey rock, and coarse vegetation; much juniper creeps along the surface, and some beautiful hollies are finely intermixed. At the north-western extremity the vast mountains called Coninſton fells, form a magnificent mass. In the midst is a great bosom, retiring inward, which affords great quantities of fine slate. The trade in this article has of late been greatly improved, and the value of the quarries highly encreased: a work that twenty years ago did not produce to the landlord forty shillings, at present brings in annually as many pounds: and the whole quantity at this time exported yearly from these mountains, is about two thousand tons. At their feet is a small cultivated tract, filled with good farm houses, and near the water edge is the village and church of Coninſton. Formerly these mountains yielded copper; but of late the works have been neglected on account of the poverty of the ore.

Leave the sides of the lake, and ascend a steep hill, surrounded with woods. From the summit have a fine view of the lake, the stupendous fells, and a winding chasm beneath some black and ferrated mountains.

The fields in those parts are often fenced with rows of great slates; which no horses will attempt leaping. See at a distance a piece of Winander mere, and that of East-thwaite; descend the hill, and soon reach the small town of Hawkshead, seated in a fertile bottom. In the church is an altar tomb, with the effigies of William Sandys, and Margaret his wife, most rudely cut in stone, and done by order of his son Edwin, Archbishop of York, who was born in a small house in this neighbourhood. Round the tomb is this inscription:

Conditur hoc tumulo, Guilielmus Sandes et uxor,  
Cui Margareta nomen et omen erat.  
Armiger ille fuit percharus regibus olim,  
Illa sed exemplar religionis erat.  
Conjugii fuerant æquali sorte beati.  
Felices opibus, stemmate, prole fide.  
Quos amor et pietas læto conjunxit eodem:  
Hos sub spe vitæ continet iste lapis.

May 22d, leave Hawkshead, and ride by the side of Urfwick mere, about two miles long, and three quarters broad; on each side ornamented with a pretty elevated peninsula, jutting far into the water. Its fish are perch, called here bafs, pike, eels, but no trout. The eels descend in multitudes through the river that flows from this mere into Winander, beginning their migration with the first floods after midsummer; and cease on the first snows. The inhabitants of the country take great numbers in wheels at that season; when it is their opinion that the eels are going into the salt water: and that they return in spring.

The roads are excellent amidst fine woods with grey rocks patched with moss rising above. In one place observed a Holly park, a tract preserved entirely for sheep, who are fed in winter with the croppings. Wild cats inhabit in too great plenty these woods and rocks.

The Lichen Tartareus, or stone rag, as it is called here, incrusts most of the stones: is gathered for the use of the dyers by the peasants, who sell it at a penny per pound, and can collect two stone weight of it in a day.

Reach Graithwaite, the seat of Mr. Sandys; and from the cats craig, an eminence near the house, have an extensive view up and down the water of Winander, for several miles. The variety of beautiful bays that indent the shore; the fine wooded risings



that bound each side ; and the northern termination of lofty fells patched with snow, compose a scene the most picturesque that can be imagined.

See on the plain part of these hills numbers of springes for woodcocks, laid between tufts of heath, with avenues of small stones, on each side to direct these foolish birds into the snares, for they will not hop over the pebbles. Multitudes are taken in this manner in the open weather ; and sold on the spot for sixteen pence or twenty pence a couple (about 20 years ago at six pence or seven pence) and sent to the all-devouring capital, by the Kendal stage.

After breakfast, take boat at a little neighbouring creek, and have a most advantageous view of this beautiful lake, being favoured with a calm day and fine sky. The length of this water is about twelve miles ; the breadth about a mile ; for the width is unequal from the multitude of pretty bays, that give such an elegant sinuosity to its shores, especially those on the east, or the Westmoreland side. The horns of these little ports project far, and are finely wooded ; as are all the lesser hills that skirt the water.

At a distance is another series of hills, lofty, rude, grey and mossy ; and above them soar the immense heights of the fells of Conington, the mountains of Wrynose and Hard-knot, and the conic points of Langden fells ; all except the first in Cumberland.

The waters are discharged out at the south end, at Newby-bridge, with a rapid precipitous current, then assume the name of Leven, and after a course of two miles fall into the estuary called the Leven sands. The depth of this lake is various, from four yards and a half to seventy-four, and excepting near the sides, the bottom is entirely rocky : in some places are vast subaqueous precipices, the rock falling at once perpendicular, for the depth of twenty yards, within forty of the shore ; and the same depth is preserved across the channel. The fall of the Leven, from the lake to high water mark, is ninety feet ; the deepest part of the lake a hundred and thirty-two beneath that point.

The boatmen directed their course northward, and brought us by the heathy isle of Lingholm, and the far projecting cape of Rawlinson's Nab. On the left hand observe the termination of Lancashire, just south of the stor, a great promontory in Westmoreland, all the remaining western side is claimed by the first ; but Westmoreland bounds the rest, so has the fairest claim to call itself owner of this superb water.

On doubling the stor a new expanse opened before us ; left the little isle of Crow-holme on the right, traversed the lake towards the horse ferry, and a little beyond, the great Holme of thirty acres crosses the water, and conceals the rest. This delicious isle is blest with a rich pasturage, is adorned with a pretty grove, and has on it a good house.

It has been the fortune of this beautiful retreat often to change masters : the flattering hopes of the charms of retirement have misled several to purchase it from the last cheated owner, who after a little time discovered, that a constant enjoyment of the same objects, delightful as they were, soon satiated. There must be something more than external charms to make a retreat from the world long enduring ; the qualifications requisite fall to the share of a very few ; without them disgust and weariness will soon invade their privacy, notwithstanding they courted it with all the passion and all the romance with which the poet did his mistress\*.

*Sic ego secretis possum bene vivere sylvis,  
Qua nulla humano sit via trita pede.  
Tu mihi curarem requies, tu nocte vel atra  
Lumen, et in solis tu mihi turba locis.*

\* Tibullus iv. 13, 9.

From



From this island began a new and broader extent of water, bounded on the west by the bold and lofty face of a steep hill, patched with the deep green of vast yews and hollies, that embellished its naked slope. This expanse is varied with several very pretty isles, some bare, others just appear above water, tufted with trees: on the north-east side is the appearance of much cultivation; a tract near the village of Boulnefs falls gently to the water edge, and rises again far up a high and large mountain, beyond which is a grand skreen of others, the pointed heads of Troutbeck fells, the vast rounded mass of Fairfield, and the still higher summit of Rydal.

Land, and dine in Westmoreland at Boulnefs, anciently called Winander, giving name to the lake; and am here treated with most delicate trout and perch, the fish of this water. The charr is found here in great plenty, and of a size superior to those in Wales. They spawn about Michaelmas, in the river Brathay, which, with the Rowthay are the great feeds of the lake, preferring the rocky bottom of the former to the gravelly bottom of the other. The fishermen distinguish two varieties, the case-charr and the gelt-charr, i. e. a fish which had not spawned the last season, and esteemed by them the more delicate: this spawns from the beginning of January to the end of March, and never ascends the river, but selects for that purpose the most gravelly parts of the lake, and that which abounds most with springs. It is taken in greatest plenty from the end of September to the end of November, but at other times is very rarely met with.

The monks of the abbey of Furness had a grant from William of Lancaster, privileging them to fish on this water with one boat and twenty nets; but in case any of the servants belonging to the abbey, and so employed, misbehaved themselves, they were to be chastised by the lord of the water; and in case they refused to submit, the abbot was bound to discharge them, and make them forfeit their wages for their delinquency\*.

Remount my horse, and continue my journey along the sides of the lake, and from an eminence about half a mile N. of the village of Boulnefs, have a fine view of the water and all its windings; and observe that the last bend points very far to the west.

On advancing towards the end have an august prospect of the whole range of these northern apennines, exhibiting all the variety of grandeur in the uniform immense mass, the conic summit, the broken ridge, and the overhanging crag, with the deep chasm-like passages far winding along their bases, rendered more horrible by the blackening shade of the rocks.

Among the birds which possess this exalted tract, the eagles are the first in rank: they breed in many places. If one is killed, the other gets a new mate, and retains its ancient aery. Those who take their nests find in them remains of great numbers of moor game: they are besides very pernicious to the heronries: it is remarked, in the laying season of the herons, when the eagles terrify them from their nests, that crows, watching the opportunity, will steal away their eggs.

The red deer which still run wild in Martindale forest, sometimes straggle into those parts.

Reach Ambleside, a small town above the extremity of the lake: the inhabitants of these parts are very industrious; are much employed in knitting stockings for Kendal market; in spinning woollen yarn, and in making thread to weave their linies. The countenances of the people begin to alter; especially in the tender sex; the face begins to square, and the cheek bone begins to rise, as if symptomatic of my approaching towards North Britain.

Below Ambleside, in a meadow near the river Brathay, is a Roman camp, the supposed Dictis of the Notitia, where coins, bricks, &c. have been often found. The out-

\* Dugdale Monast. I. 706.



line of the work is still visible, and its extent is four hundred feet one way, and three hundred the other: it was the station of part of the cohort of the Numerus Nerviorum Diſtenſum, and placed very conveniently to command ſeveral paſſes.

May 23. At a ſmall diſtance from Ambleside, ſee Rydal-hall, the houſe of Sir Michael le Fleming, placed in a moſt magnificent ſituation; having the lake full in front, a rich intervening fore-ground; and on each ſide a ſtupendous guard of mountains. This family have been fixed in the north ever ſince the conqueſt, and became owners of Rydal-hall by a marriage with one of the coheireſſes, daughter of Sir John de Lancaſter, in the time of Henry IV.

Storkgill force, near Ambleside, and two caſcades near Rydal-hall, deſerve a viſit from the traveller.

Near the houſe is a lofty rocky brae, cloathed with multitudes of gigantic yews and hollies, that from their ſize and antiquity, give it a moſt venerable appearance; and not far from its foot is Rydal water, about a mile long, beautified with little iſles.

Go through Rydal paſs, or in the dialect of the country, Rydal haws, or gullet. Ride through Grafs-mere, a fertile vale with a lake cloſed at the end by a noble pyramidal mountain, called Helm-crag, with a rude and broken top ſingularly grand\*.

On a high paſs between the hills, obſerve a large Carnedd called Dunmail Wrays ſtones, collected in memory of a defeat, A. D. 946, given to a petty king of Cumberland, of that name, by Edmund I. who with the uſual barbarity of the times, put out the eyes of his two ſons, and gave his country to Malcolm, King of Scotland, on condition he preſerved in peace the northern parts of England.

The deſcent from hence to the vale of Keſwick, nine miles.

Near this place enter Cumberland, having on the left the long extended front of Helvelliſſ fells. Moſt of the hills in theſe parts are fine ſheep walks, ſmooth and well-turfed. The ſheep are ſmall, but the mutton exquiſitely taſted, being ſeldom killed before it is ſix or ſeven years old. The wool is coarſe, but manufactured into ordinary carpets and blankets. No goats are kept here on account of the damage they would do to the woods. mutton

Arrive within ſight of Thirl-water, a moſt beautiful but narrow lake, filling the bottom of a long dale for near four miles. From an eminence near Dale-head houſe, have a pictureſque view over great part of its extent. About the middle, the land for above a hundred yards, approaches and contraſts the water to the ſize of a little river, over which is a true Alpine bridge; and behind that the water inſtantly reſumes the former breadth.

Regaining the road, have a ſtrange and horrible view downwards, into a deep and miſty vale, (called the vale of St. John,) at this time appearing bottomleſs, and winding far amidſt the mountains, darkened by their height, and the thick clouds that hung on their ſummits.

In the courſe of the deſcent, viſit, under the guidance of Doctor Brownrigg (the firſt diſcoverer), a fine piece of antiquity of that kind which is attributed to the Druids. An arrangement of great ſtones tending to an oval figure, is to be ſeen near the road ſide, about a mile and a half from Keſwick, on the ſummit of a pretty broad and high hill, in an arable field called Caſtle. The area is thirty-four yards from north to ſouth, and near thirty from eaſt to weſt; but many of the ſtones are fallen down, ſome inward, others outward; according to the plan, they are at preſent forty in number.

\* My idea of this and other romantic ſcenes in this part is improved by a very good drawing made in 1750 by my ingenious friend Paul Panton, Eſq. jun.



At the north end, are two much larger than the rest, standing five feet and a half above the soil: between these may be supposed to have been the principal entrance; opposite to it, on the S. side, are others of nearly the same height; and on the east is one near seven feet high. But what distinguishes this from all other Druidical remains of this nature, is a rectangular recess on the east side of the area, formed of great stones, like those of the oval. These structures are considered in general to have been temples, or places of worship: the recess here mentioned seems to have been allotted for the Druids, the priests of the place, a sort of Holy of Holies, where they met separated from the vulgar, to perform their rights, their divinations, or to sit in council, to determine on controversies, to compromise all differences about limits of land, or about inheritances, or for the trial of the greater criminals\*; the Druids possessing both the office of priest and judge. The cause that this recess was placed on the east side, seems to arise from the respect paid by the ancient natives of this isle to that beneficent luminary the sun, not originally an idolatrous respect, but merely as a symbol of the glorious all-seeing Being, its great Creator.

I have also seen fibula cut out of a flat piece of silver, of a form better to be expressed by the figure than words. Its breadth is, from one exterior side to the other, four inches. This was discovered lodged in the mud, on deepening a fish-pond in Brayton Park in Cumberland, the seat of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and communicated to me by Doctor Brownrigg. With it was found a large silver hook of two ounces weight. The length of the shank from the top to the curvature at bottom, four inches and three eighths. The hook not so long:

Arrive near the Elysium of the north, the vale of Keswick, a circuit between land and water of about twenty miles. From an eminence above, command a fine bird's eye view of the whole of the broad fertile plain, the town of Keswick, the white church of Crosswhaite; the boasted lake of Derwentwater, and the beginning of that of Bassenthwaite, with a full sight of the vast circumjacent mountains that guard this delicious spot.

Dine at Keswick, a small market town: where, and in the neighbourhood, are manufactures of carpets, flannels, linings and yarn: the last sold to people from Cocker-mouth, who come for it every market day.

Take boat on the celebrated lake of Derwentwater. The form is irregular, extending from north to south, about three miles and a half. The greatest depth is twenty feet in a channel, running from end to end, probably formed by the river Derwent, which passes through, and gives name to the lake. The name is taken from Derwen an oak, probably bestowed on it by the Cumbrian Britons from the plenty of that timber on its banks and those of the lake.

The views on every side are very different: here all the possible variety of Alpine scenery is exhibited, with all the horror of precipice, broken crag, or over-hanging rock, or insulated pyramidal hills, contrasted with others whose smooth and verdant sides, swelling into aerial heights, at once please and surprize the eye.

The two extremities of the lake afford most discordant prospects: the southern is a composition of all that is horrible; an immense chasm opens in the midst, whose entrance is divided by a rude conic hill, once topped with a castle, the habitation of the tyrant of the rocks; beyond, a series of broken mountainous crags, now patched with snow, soar one above the other, overshadowing the dark winding deeps of Borrowdale. In these black recesses are lodged variety of minerals, the origin of evil by their abuse, and placed by nature, not remote from the fountain of it.

\* Cæs. de Bello Gal. lib. vi.



Itum est in viscera terre,  
Quasque reconsiderat stygiisque removerat umbris,  
Effodiuntur opes.

But the opposite or northern view is in all respects a strong and beautiful contrast: Skiddaw shews its vast base, and bounding all that part of the vale, rises gently to a height that sinks the neighbouring hills; opens a pleasing front, smooth and verdant, smiling over the country like a gentle generous lord, while the fells of Borrowdale frown on it like a hardened tyrant. Skiddaw is covered with grass to within half a mile of the summit; after which it becomes stony. The view from the top extends northward over Solway firth and various of the Scottish mountains; to the west the sea and the isle of Man; while the interjacent country exhibits a flatter variety, no bad contrast to the rude and exalted fells of Borrowdale: finally, to the east appear the dreary mountains of Westmoreland, less interesting than the rest of the scenery.

Each boundary of the lake seems to take part with the extremities, and emulates their appearance: the southern varies in rocks of different forms, from the tremendous precipices of the Lady's-leap, the broken front of the Falcon's-nest, to the more distant concave curvature of Lowdore, an extent of precipitous rock, with trees vegetating from the numerous fissures, and the foam of a cataract precipitating amidst.

The entrance into Borrowdale divides the scene, and the northern side alters into milder forms; a salt spring, once the property of the monks of Furness, trickles along the shore; hills (the resort of shepherds) with downy fronts and lofty summits succeed, with woods cloathing their bases, even to the water's edge.

Not far from hence the environs appear to the navigator of the lake to the greatest advantage, for on every side mountains close the prospect, and form an amphitheatre almost matchless.

Loch-Lomond in Scotland, and Lough-Lene in Ireland, are powerful rivals to the lake in question. Was a native of either of those kingdoms to demand my opinion of their respective beauties, I must answer as the subtle Melvil did the vain Elizabeth: "that she was the fairest person in England, and mine the fairest in Scotland."

The isles that decorate this water are few, but finely disposed, and very distinct; rise with gentle and regular curvatures above the surface, consist of verdant turf, or are planted with various trees. The principal is the Lord's island, about five acres, where the Radcliffe family had some time its residence; and from this lake took the title of Derwentwater. The last ill-fated Earl lost his life and fortune by the rebellion of 1715; and his estate, now amounting to twenty thousand pounds per annum, (the mines included) is vested in trustees for the support of Greenwich Hospital.

St. Herbert's isle was noted for the residence of that saint, the bosom friend of St. Cuthbert, who wished, and obtained his wish of departing this life on the same day, hour and minute, with that holy man.

The water of Derwentwater is subject to violent agitations, and often without any apparent cause, as was the case this day; the weather was calm, yet the waves ran a great height, and the boat was tossed violently with what is called a bottom-wind.

This lake gave name to the ancient family de Derwentwater before the time of Edward I. By the marriage of Margaret, only daughter of Sir John de Derwentwater, in the reign of Henry VI., to Sir Nicholas Radcliffe, of Dillston, in Northumberland, Sir Francis, one of his descendants, was created by James II. Earl of Derwentwater; a title extinct in 1715, by the unhappy end of his son James.

May 24. Went to Crossfithwaite church; observed a monument of Sir John Radcliff and dame Alice his wife, with their effigies on small brass plates: the inscription is in



the style of the times: "Of your charity pray for the soule of Sir John Radcliff, Knight, and for the soule of dame Alice his wife, which Sir John died the 2d day of February, A.D. 1527, on whose soule the Lord have mercy." Here are also two recumbent alabaster figures of a man and a woman; he in a gown, with a purse at his girdle.

This is the church to Kefwick, and has five chapels belonging to it. The livings of this county have been of late years much improved by Queen Anne's bounty, and there are none of less value than thirty pounds a year. It is not very long since the minister's stipend was five pounds per annum, a goose-grass, or the right of commoning his goose; a whittle-gait, or the valuable privilege of using his knife for a week at a time at any table in the parish; and lastly, a hardened fark, i. e. a shirt of coarse linen.

Saw at Doctor Brownrigg's, of Ormathwaite, whose hospitality I experienced for two days, great variety of the ores of Borrowdale, such as lead, common and fibrous, black-jack, and black-lead or wad. The last is found in greater quantities and purity in those mountains than in other parts of the world. Is the property of a few gentlemen who, lest the markets should be glutted, open the mine only once in seven years, then cause it to be filled and otherwise secured from the depredations of the neighbouring miners, who will run any risk to procure so valuable an article, for the best sells from eight to twelve shillings a pound. The legislature hath also guarded their property by making the robbery felony.

It is of great use in making pencils, black lead crucibles for fusing of metals, for casting of bombs and cannon-balls, cleaning arms, for glazing of earthen-ware; and some assert that it may be used medicinally to ease the pains of gravel, stone, stranguary, and cholic: it has been supposed, but without foundation, to have been the *melanteria* and *pnigitis* of Dioscorides: Dr. Merret calls it *nigrica fabrilis*, and the people of the country killow and wad, from the colouring quality; killow, or collow, signifying the dirt of coal, and wad seems derived from woad, a deep dying plant\*.

Till of late years, the superstition of the bel-tein was kept up in these parts, and in this rural sacrifice it was customary for the performers to bring with them boughs of the mountain ash.

May 25. Continue my journey; pass along the vale of Kefwick, and keep above Bassenthwaite water, at a small cultivated distance from it: this lake is a fine expanse of four miles in length, bounded on one side by high hills, wooded in many places to their bottoms; on the other side by fields and the skirts of Skiddaw.

Between the lakes of Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite is a road which leads through the valley of Newlands to Butter-mere and Crommach-water, two small lakes of extraordinary and romantic wildness. The cataract of Scale-force, near the last, has great peculiarity. The report of my friend is so warm in the praises of the scenery of these lakes, that I regret greatly the loss of what I should have so fully enjoyed.

Marks of the plough appear on the tops of many of the hills. Tradition says, that in the reign of King John the Pope cursed all the lower grounds, and thus obliged the inhabitants to make the hills arable: but I rather believe that John himself drove them to this cruel necessity; for out of resentment to their declining to follow his standards to the borders of Scotland, he cut down their hedges, levelled the ditches, and gave all the cultivated tracts of the north to the beasts of chase, on his return from his expedition.

\* M. S. letter of Bishop Nicholson to Doctor Woodward, Aug. 5, 1713.



From Mr. Spedyn's, of Armethwaite, at the lower extremity of the lake, have a fine view of the whole. Near this place the Derwent quits the lake, passing under Ouze bridge, consisting of three arches. Salmon come up the river from the sea about Michaelmas, and force their way through both lakes as far as Borrowdale. They had lately been on their return, but the water near the bridge proving too shallow to permit them to proceed, they were taken by dozens, in very bad order, in the nets that were drawing for trout at the end of the lake.

On a hill near this spot is a circular British entrenchment; and I was told of others of a square form, at a few miles distance, at the foot of Caermote; I suppose Roman.

The country now begins to lower, ceases to be mountainous, but swells into extensive risings. Ride near the Derwent, and pass through the hamlets of Isel, Blinckraik, and Redmain; in a few places wooded, but generally naked, badly cultivated, and inclosed with stone walls. Reach Bridekirk, a village with a small church, noted for an ancient font, found at Papcastle, with an inscription explained by the learned prelate Nicholson, in Camden's Britannia, and engraven in the second volume of the works of the Society of Antiquaries. The height is two feet and an inch; the form square; on each side are different sculptures; on one a cross, on another a two-headed monster, with a triple flower falling from one common stem, hanging from its mouth: beneath is a person, St. John Baptist, performing the office of baptism by the immersion of a child, our Saviour: and above the child is a (now) imperfect dove; on a third side is a sort of centaur, attacked by a bird and some animal; and under them the angel driving our first father out of Eden, while Eve clings close to the tree of life.

And on the fourth side two birds, with some ornaments and figures beneath; and the inscription in Runic characters thus decyphered by the bishop: "Er Erkard han men egroften, and to dis men red wer Taner men brogten." That is to say,

Here Erkard was converted, and to this man's example were the Danes brought.

It is certain that the inscription was cut in memory of this remarkable event; but whether the font was made expressly on the occasion, or whether it was not of much more ancient date (as the antiquary supposes), and the inscription put on at the time of this conversion, appears to me at this period very uncertain.

Pass, not far from Bridekirk, through the village of Papcastle, once a Roman station, conjectured by Mr. Horsley to have been the *derwentione* of the geographer Ravenna, where many monuments of antiquity have been found. In a field on the left, on descending into the village, are the remains of some dykes. Reach

Cockermouth, a large town with broad streets, irregularly built, washed by the Derwent on the western side, and divided into two by the Cocker, and the parts connected by a bridge of a single arch. The number of inhabitants are between three and four thousand: the manufactures are shalloons, worsted stockings, and hats; the last exported from Glasgow to the West Indies. It is a borough town, and the right of voting is vested by burgess tenure in certain houses: this is also the town where the county elections are made.

The castle is seated on an artificial mount, on a bank above the Derwent: is square, and is strengthened with several square towers: on each side of the inner gate are two deep dungeons, capable of holding fifty persons in either; are vaulted at top, and have only a small opening in order to lower through it the unhappy prisoners into this dire prison; and on the outside of each is a narrow slit with a slope from it; and down this were shot the provisions allotted to the wretched inhabitants. In the feudal times death and captivity were almost synonymous; but the first was certainly preferable; which may be one cause why the battles of ancient days were so bloody.



This castle was founded by Waldof, first Lord of Allerdale, and son of Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, cotemporary with William the Conqueror; Waldof resided first at Papcastle, which he afterwards demolished, and with the materials built that of Cockermouth, where he and his posterity long resided; but several arms over the gateway, which Camden says are those of the Multons, Humfravilles, Lucies, and Percies, evince it to have been of later times in those families. It appears that it was first granted by Edw. II. to Athony de Lucie, son of Thomas de Multon, who had assumed that name by reason that his mother was daughter and co-heiress to Richard de Lucie; and afterwards, by marriages, this castle and its honours descended to the Humfravilles, and finally to the Percies\*. In 1648 it was garrisoned for the king; and being besieged and taken by the rebels, was burnt, and never afterwards repaired.

May 26. Pursue my journey for about four or five miles along a tolerably fertile country, and then arrive amidst the collieries: cross some barren heaths, with inclosed land on each side, destitute both of hedges and woods. Pass through Dissinton, a long and dirty town, and soon after, from a great height, at once come in sight of Whitehaven, and see the whole at a single glance, seated in a hollow open to the sea on the north: it lies in the parish of St. Bees. The vast promontory called the Barugh, or St. Bees-head, noted for the great resort of birds†, appears four miles to the south; and in days of old, still more noted for its patroness St. Bega, who tamed fierce bulls, and brought down deep snows at midsummer.

The town is in a manner a new creation, for the old editions of Camden make no mention of it; yet the name is in Saxton's maps, its cliffs being known to seamen, and from their colour Camden derives the name. The rise of the place is owing to the collieries, improved and encouraged by the family of the Lowthers, to their great emolument. About a hundred years ago there was not one house here, except Sir John Lowther's, and two others, and only three small vessels: and for the next forty years, the number of houses increased to about twenty. At this time the town may boast of being one of the handsomest in the north of England, built of stone, and the streets pointing straight into the harbour, with others crossing them at right angles. It is as populous as it is elegant, containing twelve thousand inhabitants, and has a hundred and ninety great ships belonging to it, mostly employed in the coal trade.

In 1566 there were only twelve small ships under eighty tons, and a hundred and ninety-eight mariners in the whole county‡.

The tobacco trade is much declined: formerly about twenty thousand hogheads were annually imported from Virginia; now scarce a fourth of that number, Glasgow having stolen that branch; but to make amends, another is carried on to the West Indies, where hats, printed linens, hams, &c. are sent. The last week was a melancholy and pernicious exportation of a hundred and fifty natives of Great Britain, forced from their natal soil, the low lands of Scotland, by the rise of rents, to seek an asylum on the other side of the Atlantic.

The improvements in the adjacent lands keep pace with those in the town: the Brainsty estate forty years ago was set for as many pounds; at present, by dint of good husbandry, especially liming, is increased to five hundred and seventy-one.

In the town are three churches or chapels: St. James's is elegantly fitted up, and has a handsome gallery, which, with the roof, is supported by most beautiful ranges of pillars. Besides, is a presbyterian meeting, one of seceders, of anabaptists, and quakers.

\* Dugdale's Baronage, I. 564, &c.

† Burn's Hist. Cumberland, II. 42.

‡ Burn. II. 43.



The workhouse is thinly inhabited, for few of the poor chuse to enter : those whom necessity compels are most usefully employed : with pleasure I observed old age, idiocy, and even infants of three years of age, contributing to their own support, by the pulling of oakum.

The harbour is artificial, but a fine and expensive work, on the south end, guarded by a long pier, where the ships may lie in great security. Another is placed farther out, to break the force of the sea ; and within these are two long-straight tongues, or quays, where the vessels are lodged : close to the shore, on the south side, is another, covered with what is called here a steer, having in the lower part a range of smiths shops, and above an extensive floor, capable of containing six thousand waggon-loads of coal, of 4200lb. each. But this is only used as a sort of magazine ; for above this are covered galleries with rail roads, terminating in large flues, or hurries, placed sloping over the quay, and through these the coal is discharged out of the waggons into the holds of the ships, rattling down with a noise like thunder. Commonly eight ships, from a hundred and twenty to a hundred tons each, have been laden in one tide ; and on extraordinary occasions twelve. Each load is put on board for ten shillings ; and the waggons, after being emptied, are brought round into the road by a turn frame, and drawn back by a single horse. The greater part of the way from the pits, which lie about three or four miles distant from the hurries, is down hill ; the waggon is steered by one man, with a sort of rudder to direct it ; so that he can retard or accelerate the motion by the pressure he gives by it on the wheel.

Many other works are projected to secure the port, particularly another pier on the north side, which when complete will render this haven quite land-locked. It is to be observed, that in coming in vessels should carry a full sail till they pass the pier-head, otherwise they will not be carried far enough in. The greatest part of the coal is sent to Ireland, where about two hundred and eighty thousand tons are annually exported.

Spring-tides rise here twenty-four feet. Neap-tides thirteen.

Visit the collieries, entering at the foot of a hill, not distant from the town, attended by the agent : the entrance was a narrow passage, bricked and vaulted, sloping down with an easy descent. Reach the first beds of coal which had been worked about a century ago : the roofs are smooth and spacious, the pillars of sufficient strength to support the great superstructure, being fifteen yards square, or sixty in circumference ; not above a third of the coal having been worked in this place ; so that to me the very columns seemed left as resources for fuel in future times. The immense caverns that lay between the pillars exhibited a most gloomy appearance. I could not help enquiring here after the imaginary inhabitant, the creation of the labourers' fancy,

The swart fairy of the mine,

and was seriously answered by a black fellow at my elbow, that he really had never met with any ; but that his grandfather had found the little implements and tools belonging to this diminutive race of subterraneous spirits\*.

The beds of coal are nine or ten feet thick, and dip to the west one yard in eight. In various parts are great bars of stone, which cut off the coal : if they bend one way, they influence the coal to rise above one's head ; if another, to sink beneath the feet. Operations of nature past my skill to unfold.

\* The Germans believed in two species ; one fierce and malevolent, the other a gentle race, appearing like little old men, dressed like the miners, and not much above two feet high : these wander about the drifts and chambers of the works, seem perpetually employed, yet do nothing ; some seem to cut the ore, or slip what is cut into vessels, or turn the windlafs ; but never do any harm to the miners, except provoked : as the sensible Agricola, in this point credulous, relates in his book, *De Animantibus Subterraneis*.



Reach a place where there is a very deep descent: the colliers call this hardknot, from a mountain of that name; and another wrynose. At about eighty fathoms depth began to see the workings of the rods of the fire-engine, and the present operations of the colliers, who work now in security, for the fire-damps, formerly so dangerous, are almost overcome; at present they are prevented by boarded partitions, placed a foot distance from the sides, which causes a free circulation of air throughout: but as still there are some places not capable of such conveniencies, the colliers, who dare not venture with a candle in spots where fire-damps are supposed to lurk, have invented a curious machine to serve the purpose of lights: it is what they call a steel-mill, consisting of a small wheel and a handle; this they turn with vast rapidity against a flint, and the great quantity of sparks emitted not only serves for a candle, but has been found of such a nature as not to set fire to the horrid vapour.

Formerly the damp or fiery vapour was conveyed through pipes to the open air, and formed a terrible illumination during night, like the eruptions of a volcano; and by its heat water could be boiled: the men who worked in it inhaled inflammable air, and if they breathed against a candle, puffed out a fiery stream; so that I make no doubt, was the experiment made, the same phenomenon would appear as John Grub\* attributed to my illustrious countryman Pendragon, chief of Britons.

Reached the extremity of this black journey to a place near two miles from the entrance, beneath the sea, where probably ships were then sailing over us. Returned up the laborious ascent, and was happy once more to emerge into day-light.

The property of these works, as well as the whole town, is in Sir James Lowther, who draws from them and the rents of the buildings sixteen thousand pounds a year; whereas his grandfather only made fifteen hundred. The present baronet has instituted here a charity of the most beautiful nature, useful, humane, and unostentatious. He always keeps filled a great granary of oats, which he buys from all parts, but never disposes of while the markets are low; but the moment they rise above five shillings the Cumberland bushel, or three Winchester measures, he instantly opens his stores to the poor colliers and artificers, and sells it to them at five shillings, notwithstanding it might have cost him seven; thus happily disappointing the rapacity of the vulturine monopolizer.

Leave Whitehaven, and return about two miles on the same road I came. See under the cliffs a neat little village called Parton, and a pier, intended for the shipping of coal; a new creation by Sir James Lowther.

Leave Morebby on the left; a place near the shore, mentioned by Camden as of great antiquity, a fort of the Romans, and where several inscriptions have been found: he also speaks of certain caverns, called Pits holes, but the lateness of the evening prevented me from descending to visit them. Ride through the village of Herrington, pass over a very naked barren country, and have from some parts of this evening's journey a full view of the isle of Man, appearing high and mountainous. Reach

Workington, the place where the imprudent Mary Stuart landed, after her flight from Dundrannan, in Galloway, credulously trusting to the protection of the insidious Elizabeth. The town extends from the castle to the sea: it consists of two clusters, one the more ancient near the castle, the other nearer the church and pier; and both contain about four or five thousand inhabitants: they subsist by the coal trade, which is here considerable. The Derwent washes the skirts of the town, and discharges itself into the sea about a mile west: on each bank near the mouth are piers where the ships lie, and the coals are conveyed into them from frames occasionally dropping into

\* Dr. Percy's Ancient Songs, 2d ed. iii. 313.



them from the rail roads. Ninety-seven vessels of different burdens, some even of two hundred and fifty tons, belong to this port.

The castle stood on the seat of the late Mr. Curwen, whose property, together with the house, passed a few years ago to Mr. Christian by marriage with the daughter of the late owner. The Culwens took their name from a great lordship they possessed in Galloway about the year 1152, soon after which they settled at Workington, and the name became corrupted into Curwen.

Observe to the south, on an eminence near the sea, a small tower, called Holme chapel, said to have been built as a watch tower to mark the motions of the Scots in their naval inroads.

Near the town is an iron furnace and foundery; the ore is brought from Furness, and the iron stone dug near Harrington. A fine water-wheel and its rods, extending near a mile, are very well worth visiting.

May 27. Keep along the sea-shore to Mary Port, another new creation, the property of Humphry Senhouse, Esq., and so named by him in honour of his lady: the second house was built only in 1750. Now there are above a hundred, peopled by about thirteen hundred souls, all collected together by the opening of a coal trade on this estate. For the conveniency of shipping (there being above seventy of different sizes, from thirty to three hundred tons burden, belonging to the harbour) are wooden piers, with quays, on the river Ellen, where ships lie and receive their lading. Beside the coal trade is some skinning business, and a rope-yard.

At the south end of the town is an eminence called the Mote-hill, and on it a great artificial mount, whose base is a hundred and sixty yards round, protected by a deep ditch almost surrounding it, ceasing only where the steepness of the hill rendered such a defence unnecessary: this mount is a little hollowed on the top, has been probed in different places to the depth of four or five feet, but was discovered to consist of no other materials than the common soil which had been flung out of the foss.

On a hill at the north end of the town are the remains of a large Roman station, square, surrounded with double ditches, and furnished with four entrances, commanding a view to Scotland, and round the neighbouring country. Antiquaries differ about the ancient name; one styles it *olenacum*, another *virosidum*, and Camden *volantium*, from the wish inscribed on a beautiful altar found here, *volantii vivas* \*. It had been a considerable place, and had its military roads leading from it to Moresby, to old Carlisle, and towards Ambleside; and has been a perfect magazine of Roman antiquities.

Not far from this station is a tumulus, singular in its composition; it is of a rounded form, and was found, on the section made of it by the late Mr. Senhouse, to consist of, first the sod or common turf, then a regular layer of crumbly earth, which at the beginning was thin, increasing in thickness as it reached the top. This was at first brittle, but soon after being exposed to the air acquired a great hardness, and a ferruginous look. Beneath this was a bed of strong blue clay, mixed with fern roots, placed on two or three layers of turf, with their grassy sides together; and under these, as the present Mr. Senhouse informed me, were found the bones of a heifer and of a colt, with some wood ashes near them.

Took the liberty of walking to Nether-hall, formerly Alneburgh-hall, where I soon discovered Mr. Senhouse to be possessed of the politeness hereditary † in his family towards travellers of curiosity. He pointed out to me the several antiquities that had

\* Vide Camden 1011, Horsley, p. 281. tab. No. lxxviii. Cumberland.

† Vide Camden, p. 1012, and Gordon's Itin. boreal. 100.



been long preserved in his house and gardens, engraved by Camden, Mr. Horsely, and Mr. Gordon; and permitted one of my servants to make drawings of others that had been discovered since.

Among the latter is the altar found in the rubbish of a quarry, which seemed to have been worked by the Romans in a very extensive manner: it has no inscription, and appears to have been left unfinished; perhaps the workmen were prevented from executing the whole by the upper part of the hill slipping down over the lower; a circumstance that still frequently happens in quarries worked beneath the cliffs. On one side of the altar is a broad dagger, on another a patera.

A fragment of stone; with a boar rudely carved, and the letters O R D.

A large wooden pin, with a curious polygonal head. One similar to this, but made of brass, was discovered, with other trinkets, in a tomb near Choisi in France. Count Caylus calls it a mace, and thinks by the little ax that accompanied it, that the person interred was a child designed for the military life, and that these were symbolical proofs\*.

The spout of a brazen vessel. Mr. Senhouse also favoured me with the sight of some thin gold plate, found in the same place; and shewed me, near his house, in Hall-clofe, an intrenchment of a rectangular form, forty-five yards by thirty-five: probably the defence of some ancient mansion, so necessary in this border county.

It gave me great pleasure to review the sculptures engraven in Mr. Horsely's antiquities, and preserved in the walls of this place. The following were fixed in the walls of the house, by the ancestor of Mr. Senhouse, coeval with Camden. On No. 65, an altar, appears Hercules with his club, and in one hand the Hesperian apples that he had conveyed

ab insomni malè custodita dracone.

What is singular, is an upright conic bonnet on his head, of the same kind with that in which the goddess, on whom he bestowed the fruit, is dressed†. On another side of the altar is a man armed with a helmet and clothed with a *sagum clausum*, or closed frock, reaching only to his knees. In one hand is a thick pole; the other resting on a wheel, probably denoting his having succeeded in opening some great road.

In No. 70, are seen the two victories supporting a triumphal crown, the *victoria augusti*.

The local goddess Setlocenia, with long flowing hair, with a vessel in her hand, fills the front of one stone; and an altar inscribed to her is lodged in one of the garden walls.

No. 74 is, near the goddess, a most rude figure of a cavalier on his steed.

In the same wall with her altar is No. 64, a monumental mutilated inscription, supposed in honour of Antoninus Pius.

No. 71, the next monument, notes the premature death of Julia Mamertina, at the age of twenty years and three months. A rude head expresses the lady, and a setting sun the funereal subject.

A female expressing modesty with one hand; the other lifted to her head, stands beneath an arch, as if about to bathe, and is marked in Horsely, No. 73.

In a garden house is No. 62, an altar to Jupiter, by the first cohort of the Spanish, whose tribune was Marcus Menius Agrippa.

Another, No. 66, to Mars Militaris, devoted by the first cohort of the Belgic Gauls, commanded by Julius Tutor.

\* Recueil d'Antiq. i. 195.

† Montfaucon, Antiq. i. tab. civ. f. 7.



And a third, No. 67, to Jupiter, by Caius Caballus Priscus, a tribune; but no mention is made of the cohort.

Since I visited this place, Mr. Senhouse has favoured me with an account of other discoveries, made by the removal of the earth, that covered the reliques of this station: the streets and foot-ways have been traced paved with stones from the shore, or free stone from the quarries: the last much worn by use. Many foundations of houses; the cement still very strong; and the plaister on some remains of walls, appears to have been painted with what is now pink colour; several vaults have been discovered, one with free-stone steps much used: fire hearths open before, enclosed with a circular wall behind: from the remains of the fuel it is evident, that the Romans have used both wood and pit coal. Bones, and teeth of various animals; and pieces of horns of stags, many of the latter sawed, have been found here: also shells of oysters, muscles, whilks and snails. Broken earthen-ware and the handle of a large vessel, marked AEL. Fragments of glass vessels and mirrors; and two pieces of a painted glass cup, which evinces the antiquity of that art.

An entire altar found in the same search, is to be added to the preceding: three of the sides are plain: the fourth has a hatchet exactly resembling those now in use, and a broad knife, or rather cleaver, with which the victims were cut up.

But the most curious discovery is a stone three feet high, the top formed like a pediment, with a neat scollop shell cut in the middle. From each side the pediment falls a strait corded moulding, and between those, just beneath the scollop, is a mutilated figure, the head being destroyed; but from the body which is cloathed with the Sagum, and the bucket which it holds in one hand by the handle\*, it appears to have been a Gaul, the only sculpture of the kind found in our island.

Continue my ride along the coast, enjoying a most beautiful prospect of the Solway Firth, the Ituna æstuarium of Ptolemy, bounded by the mountains of Galloway, from the hill of Crefel, near Dumfries, to the great and the little Rofs, not remote from Kirkcudbright.

Keep on the shore as far as the village of Allanby: then turn to the north-east, ride over a low barren woodless tract, and dismal moors, seeing on the left Crefel in Scotland; and on the right Skiddaw, both quite clear; the last now appears of an insulting height over its neighbours. Had the weather been misty it would have had its cap; and probably Crefel, according to the old proverb, would have sympathized:

If ever Skiddaw wears a cap,  
Crefel wots full well of that.

Dine at Wigton, a small town, with some manufactures of coarse checks. Doctor Burn says that the church has never been rebuilt since the days of its founder Odard de Logis, cotemporary with Henry I. About a mile or two to the right is old Carlisle, supposed by Mr. Horsely to have been the Olenacum of the Notitia.

From Wigton the country continues very flat and barren, to a small distance of Carlisle. Near that city a better cultivation takes place, and the fields often appear covered with linen manufactures: cross the river Cauda, that runs through the suburbs, and enter the city at the Irish gate.

Carlisle is most pleasantly situated; like Chester is surrounded with walls, but in very bad repair, and kept very dirty. The castle is ancient, but makes a good appearance at a distance: the view from it consists of an extensive tract of rich meadows of the river Eden, here forming two branches and insulating the ground: over one is a bridge

\* Montfaucon Suppl. III. p. 38, tab. xi.



of four; over the other one of nine arches. There is besides a prospect of a rich country; and a distant view of Cold-fells, Cross-fells, Skiddaw, and other mountains.

The castle was founded by William Rufus, who restored the city, after it had lain two hundred years in ruins by the Danes. Richard III. made some additions to it: and Henry VIII. built the citadel, an oblong with three round bastions seated on the west side of the town: in the inner gate of the castle is still remaining the old Portcullis; and here are shewn the apartments of Mary Queen of Scots, where she was lodged for some time after her landing at Workington; and after being for a little space entertained with flattering respect, found herself prisoner to her jealous rival.

Carlisle has two other gates besides the Irish, viz. the English and the Scotch. The principal street is very spacious; in it is a guard-house, built by Cromwell, commanding three other streets that open into this.

The cathedral, begun by Walter, deputy under William Rufus, is very incomplete, Cromwell having pulled down part in 1649 to build barracks: there remains some portion that was built in the Saxon mode, with round arches, and vast massy round pillars, whose shafts are only fourteen feet two inches high, and circumference full seventeen and a half: the rest is more modern, said to have been built by Edward III. who had an apartment to lodge in, in his frequent expeditions into Scotland. The arches in this latter building are sharp pointed, the pillars round and clustered; and the inside of the arches prettily ornamented. Above are two galleries, but with windows only in the upper; that in the east end has a magnificent simplicity, and the painted glass an uncommon neatness, notwithstanding there is not a single figure in it.

The choir was not founded till about the year 1354; the tabernacle work in it is extremely pretty; but on the aisles on each side are some strange legendary paintings of the history of St. Cuthbert and St. Augustine: one represents the saint visited by an unclean spirit, who tempts him in a most indecent manner, as these lines import:

The spirit of Fornication to him doth aper;  
And thus he chafteneth hys body with thorne and with bryer.

At the west end of the church is a large plain altar tomb called the Blue-stone: on this the tenants of the dean and chapter by certain tenures were obliged to pay their rents.

There had been only one religious house in this city; a priory of black canons founded by Henry I., replaced on the suppression, by a dean and four canons secular; but what the tyrant Henry VIII. had spared, such as the cloisters and other reliques of the priory, fell in after-times victims to fanatic fury; no remains are to be seen at present, except the gateway, and a handsome building called the Fraternity, or the lodging-room of the lay-brothers, or novices.

Before this pious foundation, St. Cuthbert in 686 fixed here a convent of monks, and a nunnery, overthrown in the general desolation of the place by the Danes.

But to trace the antiquity of this city with historic regularity, the reader should learn, that after laying aside all fabulous accounts, the Britains call it *Caer-Lualid*; that it was named by Antonine, or the author of his itinerary, *Lugovallium*, or the city of Lual on the vallum or wall.

That it was probably a place of note in the seventh century, for Egfrid presented it to St. Cuthbert with fifteen miles of territory around; that the Danes entirely destroyed it in the ninth century, and that it remained in ruins for two hundred years. William Rufus, in 1092, in a progress he made into these parts, was struck with the situation, founded



founded the castle, rebuilt the town and fortified it as a bulwark against the Scots: he planted there a large colony from the south, who are said to be the first who introduced tillage in that part of the north.

Henry I., in 1122, gave a sum of money to the city, and ordered some additional fortifications. Stephen yielded it to David, King of Scotland. After the recovery into the hands of the English, it underwent a cruel siege by William the Lion, in 1173; and was again besieged by Robert Bruce, in 1315; and in the reign of Richard II. was almost entirely destroyed by fire. The greater events from that period are unknown to me, till its reddition to the rebels in 1745, on November 16th, when its weakness made it untenable, even had it not been seized with the epidemic panic of the times. It was retaken by the Duke of Cumberland, on the 30th of December following, and the small self-devoted garrison made prisoners on terms that preserved them (without the shadow of impeachment of his Highness's word) for future justice.

The town at present consists of two parishes, St. Cuthbert's and the cathedral, and contains about four thousand inhabitants; is handsomely built, and kept very neat. Here is a considerable manufacture of printed linens and coarse checks, which bring in near 3000*l.* per annum in duties to the crown. It is noted for a great manufacture of whips, which employs numbers of children; here are also made most excellent fish-hooks; but I was told that the mounting them with flies is an art the inhabitants of Langholm are celebrated for.

May 28. Saw, at Mr. Bernard Burton's a pleasing sight of twelve little industrious girls spinning at once at a horizontal wheel, which sets twelve bobbins in motion; yet so contrived that should any accident happen to one, the motion of that might be stopped without any impediment to the others.

At Mrs. Cuff's I was favoured with the sight of a fine head of father Huddleston, in black, with a large band and long grey hair, with an uplifted crucifix in his hand, probably taken in the attitude in which he lulled the soul of the departing profligate Charles II.

In this city I had the pleasure of being introduced to that worthy veteran Captain Gilpin. I received from him numbers of fine drawings of views, and antiquities relative to this county. Some have been engraven to illustrate this work; others I preserve in memory of the good and ingenious donor.

Cross the little river Petrel, the third that bounds the city, and at about three miles east, see Warwick, or Warthwick church, remarkable for its tribune or rounded east end, with thirteen narrow niches, ten feet eight high, and seventeen inches broad, reaching almost to the ground, and the top of each arched; in two or three is a small window. The whole church is built with good cut-stone; the length is seventy feet, but it once extended above one and twenty feet farther west; there being still at that end a good rounded arch, now filled up.

This church is of great antiquity, but the date of the foundation unknown. It was granted in the time of William the Conqueror \* to the abbey of St. Mary's York, and then mentioned as a chapel.

Beneath it is a handsome bridge of three arches over the Eden, a beautiful river. Ride for two miles over a rich and well cultivated tract, to Corbie castle, now a modern house, seated on an eminence above the river, which runs through a deep and finely wooded glen; that part next the house judiciously planned and laid out in walks: in one of them is the votive altar engraven in Mr. Gordon's Itinerary, tab. 43, with tolerable exactness, except on the top, for the hollow is triangular, not round.

\* Dugdale's Monast. I. 397.



The sight from this walk of the celebrated cells, and the arch of the ancient priory, were so tempting that I could not resist crossing the river to pay a visit to those curious remains. The last is the gateway of the religious house of Wetherel, with its fine elliptic arch: the house was once a cell to the abbey of St. Mary in York, given by Ranulph de Meschines, Earl of Carlisle, and maintained a prior and eight monks\*.

A little farther, in the midst of a vast precipice, environed with woods, are cut, with much labour, some deep cells in the live rock: the front and entrance (the last is on one side) are made of fine cut-stone; in the front are three windows, and a fire-place: the cells are three in number, divided by partitions of the native rock, four feet three inches thick: each is twelve feet eight inches deep, and about nine feet six wide in the lower part, where they are more extensive than in their beginning: before them, from the door to the end, is a sort of gallery twenty-three feet and a half long, bounded by the front, which hangs at an awful height above the Eden. There are marks of bolts, bars and other securities in the windows and door; and vestiges, which shew that there had been doors to the cells.

These are called Constantine's cells, but more commonly the safeguard, being supposed to have been the retreat of the monks of the neighbouring priory, during the inroads of the Scots; no one who sees them will doubt their security, being approachable only by a most horrible path, amidst woods that grow rather out of precipices than slopes, impending over the far subjacent river; and to encrease the difficulty, the door is placed at no small height from this only access, so that probably the monks ascended by a ladder, which they might draw up to secure their retreat.

I searched without success for the inscription on the same rock, a little higher up the river. The words, as preserved in the *Archæologia* †, are

Maximus scripsit  
Le. xx vv cond: caspius.

The first line is said to be a yard distant from the other, and near; is a coarse figure of a deer. The meaning is too dark to be explained.

Return to Corbie; and find in the house an excellent picture of a musician playing on a base-viol; the work of a Spanish master, part of the plunder of Vigo. A large piece of the Emperor Charles V. and his Empress; he sitting, with a stern look, as if reproving her, and alluding to a casket on a table before them. She stands, and has in her countenance a mixture of obstinacy and fear.

On the stair case is a full length of Lord William Howard, third son of the Duke of Norfolk, known in these parts by the name of bald Willy. He lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and was the terror of the Moss troopers, ruling with a rod of iron, but by his necessary severity, civilized the country.

There are no traces of the old castle. The manor belonging to it was granted by Henry II. to Hubert de Vallibus, who consigned this and Warwick to Odard, who gave Corbie to his eldest son, Osbert and Warwick to his younger son, William. By the death of Osbert, William became possessed of both. His eldest son, John, fixed himself at Warwick, and took the name of the place, which continued in the family till its extinction, in the male line, in 1772. In the 31st of Edward I. it was held by Thomas de Richemount: from him, came to Sir Andrew de Harcla, the unfortunate Earl of Carlisle, executed in the time of Edward II. and on his attainder, to Sir Richard de Salkeld: from his heirs to Lord William Howard then of Naworth, who settled it upon his second son, in whose line it still continues.

\* Dugdale's *Monast.* I. 389.

† *Ibid.* 86.



Returned to Carlisle, and continue there till the 30th of May. Cross the Eden, that flows about ten miles below into the Solway Firth. Pass over near the village of Stanwick a mile from Carlisle. The site of the Picts, or more properly Adrian's or Severus's wall, begun by the first Emperor, and completed by the last, who may with more justice be said to have built a wall of stone, near the place, where Adrian had made his of turf. For that reason the Britains styled it Gualsever, Gal-swer, and Mur-sver. But at present not a trace is to be discovered in these parts, except a few foundations, now covered with earth, to be seen in a field called Wall-know. From thence it passes behind Stanwick to Hissopholm bank, an eminence above the river; on which are vestiges of some dikes describing a small square, the site of a fort to defend the pass; for the wall reached to the edge of the water, was continued to the opposite side, over Soceres meadow, and extended ten or twelve miles farther, till it terminated at Bowlness, on the Solway Firth. Adrian's wall, or rather rampart, was made on the north side of the wall, and is visible in some places, but ceases at or near Burgh, the Axelodunum of the Notitia. Probably this was a station for cavalry, for near Hissop bank is a stupendous number of horses' bones, exposed by the falling of the cliff.

Cross the Leven, and ride through the village of Arthuret: in the church-yard is a rude cross, with a pierced capital, forming the exact figure of the cross of the knights of Malta, and it is probable, it was erected by one of that order. In the same ground was interred the remains of poor Archy Armstrong, jester or fool to Charles I. and by accident, suitable to his profession, the day of his funeral was the first of April. Archy had long shot his bolt with great applause, till it fell unfortunately upon the prelate Laud \*, who, with a pride and weakness beneath his rank and character, procured an order of council, the king present, for degrading the fool, by pulling his motly coat over his head, for discharging him of the King's service, and banishing him the court. Near the village are some high and irregular sandy eminences; probably natural, notwithstanding a contrary opinion has been held, because some coins and an urn have been found in them.

Reach Netherby, the seat of the Rev. Mr. Graham, placed on a rising ground, washed by the Esk, and commanding an extensive view; more pleasing to Mr. Graham, as he sees from it a creation of his own; lands that eighteen years ago were in a state of nature; the people idle and bad, still retaining a smack of the feudal manners: scarce a hedge to be seen: and a total ignorance prevailed of even coal and lime. His improving spirit soon wrought a great change in these parts: his example instilled into the inhabitants an inclination to industry: and they soon found the difference between sloth and its concomitants, dirt and beggary, and a plenty that a right application of the arts of husbandry brought among them. They lay in the midst of a rich country, yet starved in it; but in a small time they found, that instead of a produce that hardly supported themselves, they could raise even supplies for their neighbours: that much of their land was so kindly as to bear corn for many years successively without the help of manure, and for the more ungrateful soils, that there were lime-stones to be had, and coal to burn them. The wild tract soon appeared in form of verdant meadows or fruitful corn fields: from the first, they were soon able to send to distant places cattle and butter: and their dairies enabled them to support a numerous herd of hogs, and carry on a considerable traffick in bacon: their arable lands, a commerce as far as Lancashire in corn.

A tract distinguished for its fertility and beauty, ran in form of a valley for some space in view of Netherby: it has been finely reclaimed from its original state, prettily divided,

\* When the news arrived at court of the tumults in Scotland, occasioned by the attempt to introduce the liturgy (a project of Laud), Archy unluckily met with the Archbishop, and had the presumption to ask his Grace, Who is fool now?.



well planted with hedges, and well peopled: the ground originally not worth six-pence an acre, was improved to the value of thirty shillings: a tract completely improved in all respects, except in houses, the ancient clay-dabbed habitations still existing. I saw it in that situation in the year 1769: at this time a melancholy extent of black turbery, the eruption of the Solway moss, having in a few days covered grass and corn, levelled the boundaries of almost every farm, destroyed most of the houses, and driven the poor inhabitants to the utmost distress, till they found (which was not long) from their landlord every relief that a humane mind could suggest. Happily his fortune favoured his inclination to do good: for the instant loss of four hundred pounds a year could prove no check to his benevolence.

On visiting the place from whence this disaster had flowed, it was apparently a natural phenomenon, without any thing wonderful or unprecedented. Pelling moss, near Garstang, had made the same sort of eruption in the present century; and Chat-moss, between Manchester and Warrington, in the time of Henry VIII. as Leland expresses it, "braist up within a mile of Morley-haul, and destroyed much ground with mosse thereabout, and destroyed much fresh water fishche thereabout, first corrupting with stinking water Glasebrooke, and so Glasebrooke carried stinking water and mosse into Mersey water, and Mersey corruptid carried the roulling mosse, part to the shores of Wales, part to the isle of Man, and sum into Ireland; and in the very top of Chately more, where the mosse was hyest and brake, is now a fair plaine valley as was in tymes paste, and a rylle runnith hit, and peaces of smaule trees be found in the bottom."

Solway Moss consists of sixteen hundred acres; lies some height above the cultivated tract, and seems to have been nothing but a collection of thin peaty mud: the surface itself was always so near the state of a quagmire, that in most places it was unsafe for any thing heavier than a sportsman to venture on, even in the driest summer.

The shell or crust that kept this liquid within bounds, nearest to the valley, was at first of sufficient strength to contain it: but by the imprudence of the peat-diggers, who were continually working on that side, at length became so weakened, as not longer to be able to resist the weight pressing on it: to this may be added, the fluidity of the moss was greatly increased by three days rain of unusual violence, which preceded the eruption; and extended itself in a line as far as Newcastle: took in part of Durham, and a small portion of Yorkshire, running in a parallel line of about equal breadth; both sides of which running north and south, experienced an uncommon drought. It is singular that the fall of Newcastle bridge and this accident happened within a night of each other.

Late in the night of the 17th of November of the last year, a farmer, who lived nearest the moss, was alarmed with an unusual noise. The crust had at once given way, and the black deluge was rolling towards his house, when he was gone out with a lantern to see the cause of his freight: he saw the stream approach him; and first thought that it was his dunghill, that by some supernatural cause, had been set in motion; but soon discovering the danger, he gave notice to his neighbours with all expedition: but others received no other advice but what this Stygian tide gave them: some by its noise, many by its entrance into their houses, and I have been assured that some were surprized with it even in their beds: these past a horrible night, remaining totally ignorant of their fate, and the cause of their calamity, till the morning, when their neighbours, with difficulty, got them out through the roof. About three hundred acres of moss were thus discharged, and above four hundred of land covered: the houses either overthrown or filled to their roofs; and the hedges overwhelmed; but providentially not a human life lost: several cattle were suffocated; and those which  
were



were housed had a very small chance of escaping. The case of a cow is so singular as to deserve mention. She was the only one out of eight, in the same cow-house, that was saved, after having stood sixty hours up to the neck in mud and water: when she was relieved, she did not refuse to eat, but would not taste water: nor could even look without shewing manifest signs of horror.

The eruption burst from the place of its discharge, like a cataract of thick ink; and continued in a stream of the same appearance, intermixed with great fragments of peat, with their heathy surface; then flowed like a tide charged with pieces of wreck, filling the whole valley, running up every little opening, and on its retreat, leaving upon the shore tremendous heaps of turf, memorials of the height this dark torrent arrived at. The farther it flowed, the more room it had to expand, lessening in depth, till it mixed its stream with that of the Esk.

The surface of the moss received a considerable change: what was before a plain, now sunk in the form of a vast basin, and the loss of the contents so lowered the surface as to give to Netherby a new view of land and trees unseen before.

Near this moss was the shameful reddition in 1542, of the Scotch army, under the command of Oliver Sinclair, minion of James V. (to Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the marches.) The nobility, desperate with rage and pride, when they heard that favourite proclaimed general, preferred an immediate surrender to a handful of enemies, rather than fight for a King who treated them with such contempt. The English commander obtained a bloodless victory: the whole Scotch army was taken, or dispersed, and a few fugitives perished in this very moss: as a confirmation it is said, that a few years ago some peat-diggers discovered in it the skeletons of a trooper and his horse in complete armour.

In my return visit the ancient border-house at Kirk-andrews, opposite to Netherby: it consists only of a square tower, with a ground floor, and two apartments above, one over the other: in the first floor it was usual to keep cattle; in the two last was lodged the family. In those very unhappy times, every one was obliged to keep guard against perhaps his neighbour; and sometimes to shut themselves up for days together, without any opportunity of tasting the fresh air, but from the battlemented top of their castle. Their windows were very small; their door of iron. If the robbers attempted to break it open, they were annoyed from above by the flinging of great stones, or by deluges of scalding water\*.

As late as the reign of our James I. watches were kept along the whole border, and at every ford by day and by night: setters, watchers, searchers of the watchers, and overseers of the watchers were appointed. Besides these cautions, the inhabitants of the marches were obliged to keep such a number of slough dogs, or what we call blood-hounds: for example, "in these parts, beyond the Esk, by the inhabitants there were to be kept above the foot of Sark, 1 dog. Item, by the inhabitants of the insyde of Esk, to Richmond Cluch, to be kept at the Moot, 1 dog. Item, by the inhabitants of the parish of, Arthuret, above Richmond Cluch, to be kept at the Barley-head, 1 dog; and so on throughout the border." The chief officers, bailiffs and constables throughout the district being directed to see that the inhabitants kept their quota of dogs, and paid their contributions for their maintenance. Persons who were aggrieved, or had lost any thing, were allowed to pursue the hot trode with hound and horn, with hue and cry, and all other accustomed manners of hot pursuit†.

\* Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 138.

† Nicholson's border laws, p. 127. In the Appendix is to be seen an order for the security of the borders.



The necessity of all this was very strong; for before the accession of James I. to these kingdoms, the borders of both were in perpetual feuds: after that happy event, those that lived by hostile excursions, took to pillaging their neighbours; and about that period got the name of moss-troopers, from their living in the mosses of the country.

They were the terror of the limits of both kingdoms; at one time amounted to some thousands, but by the severity of the laws, and the activity of Lord William Howard, were at length extirpated. The life and manners of one of the plundering chieftains is well exemplified by the confession of Giordie Bourne, a noted thief, who suffered when Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, was warden of one of these marches: he fairly acknowledged, "That he had lived long enough to do so many villainies as he had done; that he had layne with above forty men's wives, what in England, what in Scotland; that he had killed seven Englishmen with his owne handes, cruelly murthuring them; that he had spent his whole time in whoring, drinking, stealing, and taking deep revenge for slight offences \*."

Return to Netherby. The house is placed on the site of a Roman station, the castra exploratorium of Antoninus, and was well situated for commanding an extensive view around. By signifies a habitation; thus, there are three camps or stations, with this termination, not very remote from one another, Netherby, Middleby, and Overby. The first, like Ellenborough, has been a rich fund of curiosities for the amusement of antiquaries: at present the ground they were discovered in is covered with a good house and useful improvements; yet not long before Leland's time "ther hath bene marvelous buyldings, as appear by ruinous walles, and men alyve have sene rynges and staples yn the walles as yt had been staves or holdes for shyppes †." There is a tradition that an anchor had been found not remote from Netherby, perhaps under the high land at Arthuret, i. e. Arthur's head, beneath which it appears as if the tide had once flowed.

Every thing has been found here that denotes it to have been a fixed residence of the Romans; a fine Hypocaust, or bath, was discovered a few years ago, and the burial place, now a shrubbery, was pointed out to me. The various altars, inscriptions, utensils, and every other antiquity collected on the spot, are carefully preserved, and lodged in the green house, with some others collected in different parts of the country.

June 1st. Take a ride to Liddel's Strength, or the Mote. A strong entrenchment two miles S. W. of Netherby, on a steep and lofty clay cliff, above the river Liddel, commanding a vast extent of view: has at one end a very high mount, from whence the country might be explored to very great advantage: in the middle is the foundation of a square building, perhaps, the prætorium? This place is small, rather of a circular form, strongly entrenched on the weak side; has before it a sort of half moon, with a vast foss and dike as a security. From this place to Netherby is the vestige of a road. That this fortress has been originally Roman is probable, but since their time has been applied to the same use by other warders. "It was, says Leland, the moted place of a gentilman cawled Syr Water Seleby, the which was killyd there and the place destroyed yn King Edward the thyrd when the Scottes went to Dryham ‡."

It was taken by storm by David the II<sup>d</sup>. The governor, Sir Walter, would have compounded for his life by ransome, but the tyrant, after causing his two sons to be strangled before his face, ordered the head of the father, distracted with grief, to be struck off §.

\* Cary's Memoirs, 2d. ed. p. 123.

† Leland Itin. vii. 55.

‡ Leland's Itin. vii. p. 56. 3d. ed.

§ Stow's Chronicle, 243.



Descend the hill, and crossing the Liddel, enter Scotland in Liddesdale; a portion of the county of Dumfries: a most fertile and cultivated tract of low arable and pasture land. Keep by the river side for three miles farther to Penton-lins, where is a most wild but picturesque scene of the river, rapidly flowing along rude rocks bounded by cliffs, clothed on each side by trees. The bottom the water rolls over assumes various forms; but the most singular are beds of stone regularly quadrangular, and divided by a narrow vacant space from each other, resembling immense masses of *Ludi Helmontii*, with their septa lost. Below these, the rocks approach each other, leaving only a deep and narrow channel, with a pretty wooden alpine bridge over a depth of furious water, black and terrible to the sight. The sides of the rock are strangely perforated with great and circular hollows, like pots; the work of the vortiginous motion of the water in great floods.

A farmer I met with here told me, that a pebble, naturally perforated, was an infallible cure, hung over a horse that was hag-ridden, or troubled with nocturnal sweats.

Return and pass through the parish of Cannonsby, a small fertile plain, watered by the Esk, where some canons regular of St. Augustine had pitched their priory at least before the year 1296, when William, prior of the convent, swore allegiance \* to Edw. I. The parish is very populous, containing above two thousand souls. Much coal and limestone is found here.

Most part of the houses are built with clay: the person who has building in view, prepares the materials, then summons his neighbours on a fixed day, who come furnished with victuals at their own expence, set cheerfully to work, and complete the edifice before night.

Ascend a bank on the south side of this valley, to a vast height above it: the scenery is great and enchanting; on one side is a view of the river Esk, far beneath, running through a rocky channel, and bounded by immense precipices; in various places suddenly deepening to a vast profundity; while in other parts it glides over a bottom covered with mosses, or coloured stones, that reflect through the pure water tints glaucous, green, or sappharine: these various views are in most places fully open to sight; in others suffer a partial interruption from the trees, that clothe the steep bank, or shoot out from the brinks and fissures of the precipices; the trees are in general oak, but often intermixed with the waving boughs of the weeping birch.

Two precipices are particularly distinguished: one called Carfidel; the other Gilnochie's garden: the last is said to have been the retreat of a celebrated outlaw; but originally had evidently been a small British fortress, guarded on one side by the steeps of the precipice, on the other by a deep intrenchment.

The ride was extremely diversified through thick woods, or small thickets, with sudden transitions from the shade into rich and well-husbanded fields, bounded on every side with woods; with views of other woods still rising beyond. No wonder then that the inhabitants of these parts yet believe the fairies revel in these delightful scenes.

Cross the Esk, through a ford with a bottom of solid rock, having on one side the water precipitating itself down a precipice forming a small cataract, which would afford a scene not the most agreeable to a timid mind. The water too was of the most crystalline, or colourless clearness, no stream I have ever seen being comparable; so that persons who ford this river are often led into distresses, by being deceived as to its depth, for the great transparency gives it an unreal shallowness.

This river is inhabited by trouts, parrs, loches, minnows, eels, and lampries; and

\* Keith's Scotch Bishops, 240.



what is singular, the chub, which with us loves only the deep and still waters bounded by clayey banks.

On the opposite eminence see Hol-house, a defensible tower like that at Kirk-andrews, and one of the seats of the famous Johnny Armstrong, Laird of Gilnockie, the most popular and potent thief of his time, and who laid the whole English borders under contribution, but never injured any of his own countrymen. He always was attended with twenty-four gentlemen well mounted: and when James V. went his progress in 1528, expressly to free the country from marauders of this kind, Gilnockie appeared before him with thirty-six persons in his train\*, most gorgeously apparelled; and himself so richly dressed, that the king said, "What wants that knave that a king should have?" His majesty ordered him and his followers to immediate execution, in spite of the great offers Gilnockie made; who finding all application for favour vain, he, according to the old ballad, boldly told the king,

To seek hot water beneath cold yce,  
Surely it is a great follie;  
I haif asked grace at a graceless face,  
But there is nane for my men and me.

I saw a boy, a direct descendant of this unfortunate brave, who with his whole family are said to be distinguished for their honesty and quiet disposition, happily degenerating from their great ancestor.

Continue my ride on a fine turnpike road, through beautiful woods, to Mr. Maxwell's of Broomholme, environed with a most magnificent theatre of trees, cloathing the lofty hills, and the whole surmounted by a barren mountain, by way of contrast.

The rent of the ground which Mr. Maxwell keeps in his own hands, and that of a farm now disjoined from it, was in the unsettled times of the beginning of the last century only five pounds Scotch, or eight shillings and four-pence English. At present Mr. Maxwell's share alone would take a hundred pounds sterling annual rent. This is mentioned as an illustration of the happy change of times, and the increase of revenues by the security the owners now enjoy, by the improvements in agriculture, and the cheapness of money to what they were a century and a half ago. Indeed it should be mentioned that the old rent was paid by a Maxwell to a Maxwell; and perhaps there might be some small matter of favour from the chieftain to his kinsman; but even admitting some partiality, the rise of income must be amazing.

The road continues equally beautiful, along a fertile glen, bounded by hills and woods. Come in view of a bridge, with the pleasing motion of a mill wheel seen in perspective through the middle arch: the river was here low, and the bed appeared roughened with transverse waved rocks, extensively spread, and sharply broken.

The town of Langholme appears in a small plain, with the entrance of three dales, and as many rivers, from which they take their names, entering into it, viz. Wachopdale, Eufdale, and Eskdale; the last extends thirty or forty miles in length, and the fides as far as I could see, bounded by hills of smooth and verdant grass, the sweet food of the sheep, the great staple of the country. To give an idea of the considerable traffic carried on in these animals, the reader may be told, that from twenty to thirty-six thousand lambs are sold in the several fairs that are held at Langholme in the year. To this must be added, the great profit made of the wool, sold into England for our coarser manufactures; of the sheep themselves sent into the south, and even of the cheese and butter made from the milk of the ewes†.

\* Lindsey, 147.

† For a fuller account of the management of the sheep of this county, vide the Appendix.



The trustees for encouraging of improvements give annual premiums to such who produce the finest wool, or breed the best tups; a wise measure in countries emerging from sloth and poverty.

The manufactures of Langholme are stuffs, serges, black and white plaids, &c. mostly sold into England.

The castle is no more than a square tower, or border-house, once belonging to the Armstrongs. In my walk to it was shewn the place where several witches had suffered in the last century: this reminds me of a very singular belief that prevailed not many years ago in these parts; nothing less than that the midwives had power of transferring part of the primæval curse bestowed on our great first mother, from the good wife to her husband. I saw the reputed offspring of such a labour; who kindly came into the world without giving her mother the least uneasiness, while the poor husband was roaring with agony in his uncouth and unnatural pains.

The magistrates of this place are very attentive to the suppression of all excessive exertions of that unruly member the tongue: the brank, an instrument of punishment, is always in readiness, and I was favoured with the sight: it is a sort of head-piece, that opens and incloses the head of the impatient, while an iron, sharp as a chissel, enters the mouth, and subdues the more dreadful weapon within. This had been used a month before, and as it cut the poor female till blood gushed from each side of her mouth, it would be well that the judges in this case would, before they exert their power again, consider not only the humanity, but the legality of this practice.

The learned Doctor Plot\* has favoured the world with a minute description, and a figure of the instrument, and tells us, he looks on it "as much to be preferred to the ducking-stool, which not only endangers the health of the party, but also gives the tongue liberty 'twixt every dip; to neither of which this is at all lyable."

Among the various customs now obsolete, the most curious was that of hand-fisting, in use about a century past. In the upper part of Eskdale, at the confluence of the white and the black Esk, was held an annual fair, where multitudes of each sex repaired. The unmarried look out for mates, made their engagement by joining hands, or by hand-fisting, went off in pairs, cohabited till the next annual return of the fair, appeared there again, and then were at liberty to declare their approbation or dislike of each other. If each party continued constant, the hand-fisting was renewed for life; but if either party dissented, the engagement was void, and both were at full liberty to make a new choice; but with this proviso, that the inconstant was to take the charge of the offspring of the year of probation. This custom seemed to originate from the want of clergy in this county in the days of popery. This tract was the property of the abby of Melros, which through oeconomy discontinued the vicars that were used to discharge here the clerical offices; instead they only made annual visitations for the purposes of marrying and baptising, and the person thus sent was called Book in Bosom, probably from his carrying, by way of readiness, the book in his breast; but even this being omitted, the inhabitants became necessitated at first to take this method, which they continued from habit to practise long after the reformation had furnished them with clergy.

Persons of rank, in times long prior to those, took the benefit of this custom; for Lindesey †, in his reign of James II., says, "That James sixth Earl of Murray begat upon Isabel Innes, daughter of the Laird of Innes, Alexander Dunbar, a man of singular wit and courage. This Isabel was but handfist with him, and deceased before the

\* Hist. Staffordshire, 389, tab. xxxii.

† P. 26, folio ed.



marriage; where-through this Alexander he was worthy of a greater living, than he might succeed to by the laws and practices of this realm."

Of the sports of these parts, that of curling is a favourite, and one unknown in England; it is an amusement of the winter, and played on the ice, by sliding from one mark to another great stones of forty to seventy pounds weight, of a hemispherical form, with an iron or wooden handle at top. The object of the player is to lay his stone as near to the mark as possible, to guard that of his partner, which had been well laid before, or to strike off that of his antagonist.

Return and pass the march dike, or the Scotch border, and continue at Netherby that night.

June 2. Pass through Longtown, a place remarkable for the great trade carried on during the season of cranberries; when for four or five markets, from twenty to twenty-five pounds worth are sold each day at three-pence a quart, and sent in small barrels to London.

Cross the Esk, on a bridge of five arches, a light structure, as most of the bridges of this country are. Go through the lanes which had been rendered impassable at the time of the eruption of the Solway fofs, which took its course this way to the Esk. The road was at this time quite cleared; but the fields to the right were quite covered with the black flood.

The space between the Esk and the Sark, bounded on the third side by the March dike, which crosses from one river to the other, seems properly to belong to Scotland; but having been disputed by both crowns, was styled the debateable land. But in the reign of our James I. Sir Richard Graham obtaining from the Earl of Cumberland (to whom it was granted by Queen Elizabeth) a lease of this tract, bought it from the needy monarch, and had interest enough to get it united to the county of Cumberland, it being indifferent to James, then in possession of both kingdoms, to which of them it was annexed.

Ride by the side of the Roman road, that communicated between Netherby and the camp at Burrens. Cross a small bridge over the Sark, and again enter Scotland.

On the banks of this rivulet the English, under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, and Magnus with a red main, received a great defeat from the Scots, under Douglas Duke of Ormond, and Wallace of Cragie. Numbers of the former were drowned in their flight in Solway firth, and Lord Piercey taken prisoner; a misfortune owing to his filial piety, in helping his father to a horse, to enable him to escape.

At a little distance from the bridge, stop at the little village of Gretna, the resort of all amorous couples, whose union the prudence of parents or guardians prohibits: here the young pair may be instantly united by a fisherman, a joiner, or a blacksmith, who marry from two guineas a job, to a dram of whisky: but the price is generally adjusted by the information of the postilions from Carlisle, who are in pay of one or other of the above worthies; but even the drivers, in case of necessity, have been known to undertake the sacerdotal office. If the pursuit of friends proves very hot, and there is not time for the ceremony, the frightened pair are advised to slip into bed, are shewn to their pursuers, who imagining that they are irrecoverably united, retire, and leave them to

consummate their unfinished loves.

This place is distinguished from afar by a small plantation of firs, the Cyprian grove of the place; a sort of land-mark for fugitive lovers. As I had a great desire to see



the high priest, by stratagem I succeeded: he appeared in form of a fisherman, a stout fellow, in a blue coat, rolling round his solemn chops a quid of tobacco of no common size. One of our party was supposed to come to explore the coast: we questioned him about his price; which, after eyeing us attentively, he left to our honour. The church of Scotland does what it can to prevent these clandestine matches; but in vain, *John G.* for those infamous couplers despise the fulmination of the kirk, and excommunication is the only penalty it can inflict.

Continue my journey over a woodless flat tract, almost hedgeless, but productive of excellent oats and barley. Pass by Rig, a little hamlet, a sort of chapel of ease to Gretna, in the run-away nuptials. The performer here is an alehouse-keeper.

On the left is Solway firth, and a view of Kefwick-fells, between which and Burnwork-hill in Scotland, is a flat of forty miles, and of a great extent in length. The country grows now very uncultivated, and consists of large commons. Reach

Annan, in Annandale, another division of Dumfrieshire, a town of four or five hundred inhabitants, seated on the river of the same name. Vessels of about two hundred and fifty tons can come within half a mile of the town, and of sixty as high as the bridge. This place has some trade in wine: the annual exports are between twenty and thirty thousand Winchester bushels of corn.

The castle was entirely demolished, by order of parliament, after the accession of James VI., to the crown of England, and only the ditches remain. But Annan was in a manner ruined by Wharton, lord president of the marches, who, in the reign of Edward VI., overthrew the church and burnt the town; the first having been fortified by the Scots\*, under a Lyon of the house of Glames.

The Bruces were once lords of this place, as appears by a stone at present in a wall of a gentleman's garden, taken from the ruins of the castle, and thus inscribed: "Robert de Brus Counte de Carrick et senteur du val de Annand 1300."

After dinner make an excursion of five miles to Ruthwell, passing over the Annan on a bridge of five arches, defended by a gateway. The country resembles that I passed over in the morning; but at Newby-neck observe the ground formed into eminences, so remarkable as to occasion a belief of their being artificial, but are certainly nothing more than the freaks of nature.

The church of Ruthwell contains the ruins of a most curious monument; an obelisk, once of a great height, now lying in three pieces, broken by an order of the general assembly in 1644, under pretence of its being an object of superstition among the vulgar. When entire it was probably about twenty feet high, exclusive of pedestal and capital; making allowances in the measurement of the present pieces for fragments chipped off, when it was destroyed: it originally consisted of two pieces; the lowest, now in two, had been fifteen feet long; the upper had been placed on the other by means of a socket: the form was square and taper, but the sides of unequal breadth: the two opposite on one side at bottom were eighteen inches and a half, at top only fifteen; the narrower side sixteen at bottom, eleven at top. Two of the narrowest sides are ornamented with vine-leaves, and animals intermixed with Runic characters around the margin: on one of the other sides is a very rude figure of our Saviour, with each foot on the head of some beast: above and each side him are inscribed in Saxon letters: "Jesús Christus—judex equitatis, certo salvatoris mundi et an"—perhaps as Mr. Gordon† imagines, "Angelorum—bestiæ et dracones cognoverant inde;" and lastly are the words, "fregerunt panem."

\* Ayscough's Hist. of the wars of Scotland and England, 321.

† Itin. 161.



Beneath the two animals is a compartment with two figures, one bearded, the other not, and above is inscribed, "Sanctus Paulus."

On the adverse side is our Saviour again, with Mary Magdalene washing his feet, and the box of ointment in his hand. The inscriptions, as made out by Mr. Gordon, are: "Alabastrum unguenti—ejus lachrymis caput rigare pedes, ejus capillis—capitis fui ternebat—et præteriens vidi."

The different sculptures were probably the work of different times and different nations; the first that of the christian Saxons; the other of the Danes, who either found those sides plain, or defacing the ancient carving, replaced it with some of their own. Tradition says that the church was built over this obelisk, long after its erection; and it was reported to have been transported here by angels, it was probably so secured for the same reason as the santa casa at Loretta was, lest it should take another flight.

The pedestal lies buried beneath the floor of the church: I found some fragments of the capital, with letters similar to the others; and on each opposite side an eagle, neatly cut in relief. There was also a piece of another, with Saxon letters round the lower part of a human figure, in long vestments, with his foot on a pair of small globes: this too seemed to have been the top of a cross.

Scotland has had its vicar of Bray; for in this church-yard is an inscription in memory of Mr. Gawin Young, and Jean Stewart his spouse. He was ordained minister in 1617, when the church was presbyterian: soon after, James VI. established a moderate sort of episcopacy. In 1638, the famous league and covenant took place: the bishops were deposed, and their power abolished; presbytery then flourished in the fullness of acrimony. Sectaries of all sorts invaded the church in Cromwell's time, all equally hating, persecuting, and being persecuted in their turns. In 1660, on the restoration, episcopacy arrived at its plenitude of power, and presbyterianism expelled; and that sect which in their prosperity shewed no mercy, now met with retributory vengeance. Mr. Young maintained his post amidst all these changes, and what is much to his honour, supported his character; was respected by all parties for his moderation and learning; lived a tranquil life, and died in peace, after enjoying his cure fifty-four years.

The epitaph on him, his wife and family, merits preservation, if but to shew the number of his children:

Far from our own amidst, our own we ly:  
Of our dear bairns, thirty and one us by.

anagram.

Gavinus junius

Unius agni usui

Jean Stewart

a true faint

a true faint I live it, so I die it.

tho men saw no, my God did see it.

This parish extends along the Solway firth, which gains on the land continually, and much is annually washed away: the tides recede far, and leave a vast space of sands dry. The sport of salmon-hunting is almost out of use, there being only one person on the coast who is expert enough to practise the diversion: the sportsman is mounted on a good horse, and furnished with a long spear: he discovers the fish in the shallow channels formed by Esk, pursues it full speed, turns it like a grey-hound, and after a long chase seldom fails to transfix it.

The salt-makers of Ruthwell merit mention, as their method seems at present quite local. As soon as the warm and dry weather of June comes on, the sun brings up and incrusts the surface of the sand with salt: at that time they gather the sand to the depth

of



of an inch, carry it out of the reach of the tide, and lay it in round compact heaps, to prevent the salt from being washed away by the rains: they then make a pit eight feet long and three broad, and the same depth, and plaister the inside with clay, that it may hold water; at the bottom they place a layer of peat and turf, and fill the pit with the collected sand; after that they pour water on it: this filters through the sand, and carries the salt with it into a lesser pit, made at the end of the great one: this they boil in small lead pans, and procure a coarse brown salt, very fit for the purposes of salting meat or fish. James VI., in a visit he made to these parts, after his accession to the crown of England, took notice of this operation, and for their industry exempted the poor salt-makers of Ruthwell from all duty on this commodity; which till the union, was in all the Scotch acts relating to the salt duties, excepted.

In this parish was lately discovered a singular road through a morass, made of wood, consisting of split oak planks, eight feet long, fastened down by long pins or stakes, driven through the boards into the earth. It was found out by digging of peat, and at that time lay six feet beneath the surface. It pointed towards the sea, and in old times was the road to it; but no tradition remains of the place it came from.

Return through Annan, and after a ride over a naked tract, reach Springkeld, the seat of Sir William Maxwell: near the house is the site of Bell-castle, where the Duke of Albany, brother to James III., and the Earl of Douglas, lodged the night before their defeat at Kirkcubright, a place almost contiguous. This illustrious pair had been exiled in England, and invaded their own country on a plundering scheme, in a manner unworthy of them. Albany escaped; Douglas was taken, and finished his life in the convent of Lindores\*.

In the burying-ground of Kirkcubright is the grave of the fair Ellen Irvine, and that of her lover: she was daughter of the house of Kirkcubright, and was beloved by two gentlemen at the same time: one vowed to sacrifice the successful rival to his resentment, and watched an opportunity while the happy pair were sitting on the banks of the Kirtle, that washes these grounds. Ellen perceived the desperate lover on the opposite side, and fondly thinking to save her favourite, interposed; and receiving the wound intended for her beloved, fell and expired in his arms. He instantly revenged her death; then fled into Spain, and served for some time against the infidels: on his return he visited the grave of his unfortunate mistress, stretched himself on it, and expiring on the spot, was interred by her side. A sword and a cross are engraven on the tomb-stone, with "hic jacet Adam Fleming;" the only memorial of this unhappy gentleman, except an ancient ballad of no great merit, which records the tragical event†.

Excepting a glen near Springkeld, most of this country is very naked. It is said to have been cleared of the woods by act of parliament, in the time of James VI., in order to destroy the retreat of the moss-troopers, a pest this part of the country was infamous for: in fact the whole of the borders then was, as Lindey expresses, no other thing but theft, reif and slaughter. They were possessed by a set of potent clans, all of Saxon descent; and, like true descendants of Ishmael, their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them. The Johnstons, of Lough-wood, in Annandale; their rivals the Maxwells of Caerlavoroc, the Murrays of Cockpool, Glendonwyns of Glendonwin, Carruthers of Holmain, Irvines of Bonshaw, Jardins of Applegarth, and the Elliots of Liddesdale, may be enumerated among the great families.

But besides these were a set of clans and surnames on the whole border, and on the

\* Hume's Hist. of the Douglas's, folio, p. 206.

† Which happened either the latter end of the reign of James V., or the beginning of that of Mary.



debateable ground, who, as my author \* says, were not landed; many of them distinguished by *noms de guerre*, in the manner as several of our unfortunate brave are at present, such as Tom Trotter of the hill, the Goodman Dickson of Bucktrig, Ralph Burn of the Coit, George Hall, called Pat's Geordie there, the Lairds Jok, Wanton Sym, Will of Powder-lampat, Arthur fire the Braes, Gray Will, Will the Lord, Willie of Grana-hill, Richie Graham the Plump, John Skynbank, Priors John and his bairnes, Hektor of the Harlaw, the griefes and cuts of Harlaw; these and many more, merry men all, of Robin Hood's fraternity, superior to the little distinctions of *meum* and *tuum*.

June 3. Visit the Roman station at Burrens, in the parish of Middleby, seated on a flat, bounded on one side by the small water of Mien, and on another by a small burn. It was well defended by four ditches and five dikes; but much of both is carried away by the winter floods in the river that bounded on one side: a hypocaust had been discovered here, inscribed stones dug up, and coins found, some of them of the lower empire. Observed a place formed of square stones, which I was told contained, at the time of the discovery, a quantity of grain: I was also informed, that there had been a large vault a hundred and twenty feet long, designed for a granary; but this has long since been destroyed for sake of the materials. Mr. Horsley imagines to have been the *blatum bulgium* of Antonine, being on the north side of the wall, with a military road between it and Netherby, and that it was the place where Agricola concluded his second year's expedition. As that general was distinguished for his judicious choice of spots of encampment, so long after, his successors made use of this, as appears by a medal of Constantius Chlorus being found here, for that Emperor lived about two hundred and twenty years after Agricola.

The country now begins to grow very hilly, but usefully so, the hills being verdant, and formed for excellent sheep-walks: on the sides of one called Burnswark, about two miles from Burrens, are two beautiful camps, united to each other by a rampart, that winds along the side of a hill; one camp being on the south-east, the other on the north-west: one has the *prætorium* yet visible; and on the north side are three round tumuli, each joined to it by a dike, projecting to some distance from the ramparts, as if to protect the gate on that quarter, for each of these mounts had its little fort: the other camp had two of these mounts on one side, and one on each end; but the vestiges of these are very faint: both of these camps were surrounded with a deep ditch, and a strong rampart both on the inside and the outside of the foss; and on the very summit of the hill is a small irregular intrenchment, intended as exploratory, for the view from thence is uninterrupted on every part. These camps are very accurately planned by Mr. Gordon, tab. i. p. 16. These also were the work of Agricola, and highly probable to be, as Mr. Horsley imagines, the summer camp of that at Burrens.

The view from the summit is extremely extensive: the town of Lochmaban, with its lake and ruined castle, built on a heart-shaped peninsula; Queensbury-hill, which gives title to the Duke; Hartsfell, and the Loders, which dispute for height; yet a third, the Driffels, was this day patched with snow; and lastly, Ericstone, which fosters the Annan, the Clyde, and the Tweed.

Descend and pass through the small town of Ecclefechan (*ecclesia Fechani*), noted for the great monthly markets for cattle.

Near this place, on the estate of Mr. Irvine, writer, was found an antiquity whose use is rather doubtful: the metal is gold; the length rather more than seven inches and

\* Taken from a fragment of a quarto book, printed in 1603, containing names of clans in every sheriffdom, &c. &c.



a half; the weight 2 oz. and a half, and 15 gs. It is round and very slender in the middle, at each end grows thicker, and of a conoid form, terminating with a flat circular plate: on the side of one end are stamped the words *Helenus fecit*; on the other is prick'd . . . . IIIMB. From the slenderness of the middle part, and the thickness of the ends, it might perhaps serve as a fastening of a garment, by inserting it through holes on each side, and then twisting together this pliant metal.

Keep along the plain, arrive again on the banks of the Annan, and have a very elegant view of its wooded margin, the bridge, a light structure with three arches, one of fifty-feet, the others of twenty-five, with the turrets of Hoddam castle a little beyond, overtopping a very pretty grove.

The castle consists of a great square tower, with three slender round turrets: the entry through a door protected by another of iron bars; near it a square hole, by way of dungeon, and a staircase of stone, suited to the place; but instead of finding a captive damsel and a fierce warder, met with a courteous laird and his beauteous spouse; and the dungeon not filled with piteous captives, but well stored with generous wines, not condemned to a long imprisonment.

This castle, or rather strong border-house, was built by John Lord Harries, nicknamed John de Reeve, a strenuous supporter of Mary Stuart, who conveyed her safe from the battle of Langside to his house at Terrigles, in Galloway, and from thence to the abbey of Dundrannan, and then accompanied her in a small vessel in her fatal flight into England. Soon after it was surrendered \* to the regent Murray, who appointed the Laird of Drumlanrig governor and lord of the marches. Before the accession of James VI., Hoddam was one of the places of defence on the borders; for "the house of Howdam was to be kept with ane wise stout man, and to have with him four well-horsed men, and thir to have two stark footmen-servants to keep their horses, and the principal to have ane stout footman †."

In the walls about this house are preserved altars and inscriptions found in the station at Burrens: as they do not appear to have fallen under the notice of the curious, an enumeration of them perhaps will not be unacceptable, therefore shall be added in the appendix.

Near Hoddam, on an eminence, is a square building, called the Tower of Repentance. On it is carved the word Repentance, with a serpent at one end of the word, and a dove at the other, signifying remorse and grace. It was built by a Lord Harries, as a sort of atonement for putting to death some prisoners whom he had made under a promise of quarter.

Proceed over a country full of low hills, some parts under recent cultivation, others in a healthy state of nature. Reach, in a well cultivated and woody flat, the castle and house of Comlongam, the property of Lord Stormont, and the birth-place of that ornament of our island, Lord Mansfield.

The castle consists of a great square tower, now almost in ruins, though its walls of near thirteen feet in thickness might have promised to the architect a longer duration. Many small rooms are gained out of the very thickness of the sides; and at the bottom of one, after a descent of numbers of steps, is the noisome dungeon, without light or even air-holes, except the trap-door in the floor, contrived for the lowering in of the captives. This fortress was founded by one of the ancestors of the Murrays, Earls of Annandale, a title which failed in that name about the time of the Restoration.

\* Hollinshed's Hist. of Scotl. 393.

† Border Laws, app. 197.



June 4. Ride along the shore by the end of Lockerness, a morass of about ten miles in length, and three in breadth, with the little water of Locker running through it. This tract, from recent survey, appears to have been overflowed by the sea, which confirms the tradition relating to such an event. This invasion of the tides was certainly but temporary, for from the numbers of trees, roots, and other vegetable marks found there, it is evident that this morass was, in some very distant period, an extensive forest. Near a place called Kilblain I met with one of the ancient canoes of the primæval inhabitants of the country, when it was probably in the same state of nature as Virginia, when first discovered by Captain Philip Amidas. The length of this little vessel was eight feet eight, of the cavity of six feet seven, the breadth two feet, depth eleven inches; and at one end were the remains of three pegs for the paddle: the hollow was made with fire, in the very manner that the Indians of America formed their canoes, according to the faithful representation by Thomas Harriot \*, in De Bry's publication of his drawings. Another of the same kind was found in 1736, with its paddle, in the same morass: the last was seven feet long, and dilated to a considerable breadth at one end; so that in early ages necessity dictated the same inventions to the most remote regions †. These were long prior to our *vitæ navigia*, and were in use in several ancient nations: the Greeks called them *Μονοξυλα* and *σκαφη*: some held three persons, others only one ‡; and of this kind seems to have been that now mentioned. Those used by the Germans § were of a vast size, capable of holding thirty men; and the Gauls on the Rhone had the same species of boats, but were indifferent about their shape, and content if they would but float, and carry a large burden ||.

At Mr. Dickson's, of Lockerwood, saw a curiosity of another nature, found in the neighbourhood: a round pot of mixed metal, not unlike a small shallow mortar, with two rings on one side, and two handles on the other.

Over Lockermoss is a road remarkable for its origin: a stranger, a great number of years ago, sold some goods to certain merchants at Dumfries upon credit: he disappeared, and neither he nor his heirs ever claimed the money: the merchants in expectation of the demand very honestly put out the sum to interest; and after a lapse of more than forty years, the town of Dumfries obtained a gift of it, and applied the same towards making this useful road. Another is now in execution by the military, which is also to pass over Lockermoss, and is intended to facilitate the communication between North Britain and Ireland, by way of Port Patrick.

In this morning's ride, pass by a square inclosure of the size of half an acre, moated round. This was a place of refuge; for in family disputes, such was truly necessary, and here any person who came remained in inviolable security.

See the isle of Caerlaveroc, with a border-house in the middle, built by a Maxwell. This place is far from the sea; but styled an isle because moated.

Visit Wardlaw, a small hill with a round British camp, surrounded with two fosses on the top; and on the south side the faint vestiges of a Roman camp, now much ploughed up. The prospect from this eminence is fine, of the firth, the discharge of the river Nith or Nid, the Nobius of Ptolemy, and a long extent of the hills of Galloway.

The Roman encampment on this hill might probably be the Uxelum of Ptolemy, especially if we are to derive that word from the British, *uchel*, high; for the site of the

\* A servant of Sir Walter Raleigh, sent to Virginia to make drawings and observations.

† My ingenious friend Mr. Stuart tells me, that the Greeks still made use of canoes of this kind, to cross small arms of the sea; and that they style them *Μονοξυλα*, from being formed of one piece of wood.

‡ Polyæni Stratagem. lib. v. c. 23. p. 509. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 107.

§ Plinii Hist. Nat. xvi. c. 40.

|| Livii, lib. xvi. c. 26.



fortress of Caerlaveroc is on such a flat as by no means to admit of that epithet, or to be allowed to have been the ancient Uxelum, as Mr. Horsley conjectures.

The castle has undergone its different sieges: the first that appears in history, and the most celebrated, was in the year 1300, when Edward I. sat down before it in person. Enraged at the generous regard the Scots shewed for their liberty, and the unremitted efforts made by their hero Wallace, to free his country from a foreign yoke, the English monarch summoned his barons, and all the nobility who held of him by military tenure, to attend with their forces at Carlisle on the feast of St. John the Baptist. On that occasion, as the poet of the expedition relates, there appeared,

soissant et vint et sept banieres \*,

each of which, with the arms of the baron, are illuminated in a beautiful manner; and in the catalogue are the names† of the most puissant peers of this kingdom, with a little euloge on each; as a specimen, is given that of Robert Clifford, in whom it may be supposed valour and beauty were combined:

Se je estoie une pucellette  
Je le douroie cuer et cors,  
Tant est de lui bonis li recors.

The poet then describes the castle and its situation with great exactness, and gives it the very same form and site it has at present; so that I cannot help thinking that it was never so entirely destroyed, but that some of the old towers yet remain:

Kaerlaverok casteaus estoit  
Si fort ki siege ne doubtoit;  
Ainz ki li rois illicez venist,  
Car rendre mi le convenist.  
James mais kill fust a son droit,  
Garniz quant befoins en vendroit  
De gens de engins et de vitaille,  
Com uns escus estoit de taille,  
Car ni ot ke trois costez entour,  
Et en chescune angle une tour.  
Mes ki le une estoit jumilee,  
Tant hauti et tant longue et tant lei,  
Ke par desouz estoit la porte  
A pont tournis, bien faite et forte,  
Et autres defenses asses, &c.

It is worth observing, that it was taken by force of engines, and the English as late as the time in question used much the same method of attack as the Greeks and Romans did; for they drove the enemy from the walls by showers of stones, flung from engines similar to the *catapulta* of the ancients; and they used also *arietes*, or battering rams.

Entre les assaus esmaia,  
Frere Robert ki envoia  
Meinte pierre par Robinet;  
Jug au soir des le matinet  
Le jour devant celle ne avoit,  
De antre part encore i levoit  
Trois autres engins moult plus grans  
Et il penibles et engrans,  
Ke le chastel du tout confondi  
Tant il receut mo't pierre enfonde.  
Deschoes et kang's ataint fent  
A ses coups rien ne se deffent.

\* I am indebted to Marmaduke Tunstall, Esq. for the M. S. account of this siege, finely copied from the original, in the Museum; which appears to have been composed in very old bad French, soon after the event it celebrates.

† Appendix.



On the surrender Edward behaved with more moderation than was usual to him: for his laurels were wont to be blighted with deeds unworthy of his heroism; but in this case the poor reliques of the garrison experienced his clemency:

Lors son issirent ce est la sème  
 Ke de uns ke de autret soissant home  
 A grant merveille resguardes  
 Mes tenus furent et guardes  
 Tant ke li Roys en ordena  
 Ki vie et membre leur donna  
 Et a chascun robe nouvele  
 Lors fu joieuse la nouvele  
 A toute li oïst du chastel pris  
 Ki tant estoit de noble pris.

It appears that the king immediately mounted his colours on the castle; and appointed three barons of the first reputation to take charge of it.

Puis fist le Roy porter amont  
 Sa bannière et la seynt Eymont  
 La saint George et la saint Edwart  
 Et o celes par droit eswart  
 La Segrave et le Herifort  
 Et cele au Seigneur di Clifford  
 A ki le chateaus fut donnes.

Notwithstanding the care Edward took to secure this place, it was retaken by the Scots the following year; but very soon after was repossessed \* by the English, after a very long siege. It appears that the Scots again recovered it, for in one of the invasions of the former, the gallant owner, Sir Eustace Maxwell, supported a siege in it of some weeks, and obliged the enemy to retire; but considering that it might fall into the hands of the English, and become noxious to his country, generously dismantled it, and for that piece of disinterested service was properly rewarded by his prince, who remitted to him and his heirs for ever, the annual pecuniary acknowledgments they paid to the crown for the castle and lands of Caerlaverock†. It was again rebuilt; but in 1355 (being then in possession of the English) was taken by Roger Kirkpatrick, and levelled to the ground‡. Notwithstanding these repeated misfortunes, it was once more restored; and once more ruined by the Earl of Suffex in 1570||. From this time the lords of the place seem for some interval to have been discouraged from any attempt towards restoring a fortress so distinguished by its misfortunes; for Camden in 1607, speaks of it as only a weak house belonging to the Barons of Maxwell; yet once more Robert first Earl of Nithsdale, in 1638, ventured to re-establish the strong hold of the family; still it was ill-fated; for in the course of Cromwell's usurpation, it was surrendered on terms ill preserved, and a receipt was given for the furniture by one Finch; in which, among other particulars, is mention of eighty beds, a proof of the hospitality or the splendor of the place. The form of the present castle is triangular; at two of the corners had been a round tower, but one is now demolished, and on each side the gateway, which forms the third angle, are two rounders. Over the arch is the crest of the Maxwells (placed there when the castle was last repaired) with the date, and this

\* Maitland's Hist. Scot. II. 460.

† Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, 370.

‡ Major de gestis Scotorum, 248. more probably rendered defenceless.

|| Camden's annals in Kennet, II. 429. It appears to me that the present are the antient towers, so exactly do they answer to the old poetic description; but that the owners, till the year 1638, neglected it as a fortress, yet inhabited it as a mansion.



motto, "I bid ye fair," meaning Wardlaw, the hill where the gibbet stood; for in feudal times, it seems to have been much in use.

The castle yard is triangular: one side, which seems to have been the residence of the family, is very elegantly built; has three stories, with very handsome window cases: on the pediment of the lower are coats of arms; over the second legendary tales; over the third, I think, Ovidian fables, all neatly cut in stone. The opposite side is plain. In front is a handsome door case, leading to the great hall, which is ninety-one feet by twenty-six. The whole internal length of that side a hundred and twenty-three.

The antient castle stood about three hundred yards south-east of the present building. It is of the same shape, but somewhat less, and surrounded by a double ditch.

The Maxwells, Lords of Caerlaveroc, are of great antiquity: but their history mixed with all the misfortunes and all the disgrace so frequent in ill-governed times. They and the Johnstons had perpetual feuds: in 1593 the clans had a conflict at the Holness of Dryfe; the chieftain of the Maxwells, and many of his sons were slain. John, a surviving son, takes his revenge: a meeting between him and Johnston, a predecessor of the Marquis of Annandale, was appointed in order to compromise all differences; both met, attended only by a single friend to each; the friends quarrel; the Laird of Lockerwood goes to part them, but is shot through the back by the other chieftain; who deservedly met his fate on the scaffold a few years after. His forfeiture was taken off, and his brother not only restored but created Earl of Nithsdale: in 1715 the title was lost by the conviction of the Earl of that day; who escaped out of the tower the night before execution, by the disguise of a female dress. The estate by virtue of entail was preserved to the heirs.

Continue my ride along the coast to the mouth of the Nith, which empties itself into the vast estuary, where the tide flows in so fast on the level sands that a man well mounted would find difficulty to escape, if surprised by it. The view of the opposite side of Creffell, and the other Galloway hills, is very beautiful, and the coast appeared well wooded. In a bottom lies Newby abby, founded by Devorgilla, daughter to Alan, Lord of Galloway, and wife to John Baliol, Lord of Castle-Bernard, who died and was buried here: his lady embalmed his heart, and placed it in a case of ivory, bound with silver, near the high altar; on which account the abby is oftener called Sweet-heart and *Suavi-cordium*.

Pass by Port-Kepel, the firth gradually contracting itself; and to this place vessels of two hundred tons may come. The country on both sides the river is extremely beautiful; the banks decorated with numerous groves and villas, richly cultivated and well inclosed. The farmers shew no want of industry; they import, as far as from Whitehaven, lime for manure, to the annual amount of twenty-five hundred pounds, paying at the rate of sixpence for the Winchester bushel: they are also so happy as to have great quantities of shell marl in the neighbouring morasses; and are now well rewarded for the use of it; much wheat and barley are at present the fruits of their labour, instead of a very paltry oat; and good hay instead of rushes now clothe their meadows. Reach

Dumfries, a very neat and well-built town, seated on the Nith, and containing about five thousand souls. It was once possessed of a large share of the tobacco trade, but at present has scarcely any commerce. The great weekly markets for black cattle are of much advantage to the place; and vast droves from Galloway and the shire of Ayr pass through in the way to the fairs in Norfolk and Suffolk.

The two churches are remarkably neat, and have handsome galleries, supported by pillars. In the church-yard of St. Michael are several monuments in form of pyramids, very



very ornamental, and on some grave-stones are inscriptions in memory of the martyrs of the country, or the poor victims to the violence of the apostate archbishop Sharp, or the bigotry of James II. before and after his accession. Powers were given to an inhuman set of miscreants to destroy upon suspicion of disaffection; or for even declining to give answers declarative of their political principles; and such who refused (before two witnesses) were instantly put to death. Many poor peasants were shot on moors, on the shores, or wheresoever their enemies met with them: perhaps enthusiasm might possess the sufferers; but an infernal spirit had possession of their persecutors. The memory of these flagitious deeds are preserved on many of the wild moors by inscribed grave-stones, much to the same effect as the following in the church-yard in this city:

On John Grierson, who suffered Jan. 2, 1667.

Underneath this stone doth lie  
Dust sacrificed to tyranny;  
Yet precious in Immanuel's sight;  
Since martyr'd for his kingly right;  
When he condemns these hellish drudges  
By sufferage, saints shall be their judges.

Another on James Kirke, shot on the sands of Dumfries, shall conclude this dreadful subject:

By bloody Bruce and wretched Wright  
I lost my life in great despight.  
Shot dead without due time to try  
And fit me for eternity.  
A witness of prelatic rage  
As ever was in any age.

This place like most other considerable towns in Scotland, has its seceders' chapel: these are the rigid presbyterians who possess their religion in all its original sourness; think their church in danger because their ministers degenerate into moderation, and wear a gown; or vindicate patronage. To avoid these horrid innovations, they separate themselves from their imaginary false brethren; renew a solemn league and covenant, and preserve to the best of their power all the rags and rents bequeathed to them by John Knox, which the more sensible preachers of this day are striving to darn and patch.

Here I first found on this side the Tweed, my good old mother church become a mere conventicle, and her chaplain supported by a few of her children, disposed to stick to her in all conditions.

Inquired for the convent of Dominicans, and the church in which Robert Bruce and his associates slew John Cummin, Lord of Badenock, and owner of great part of the lordship of Galloway. Cummin had betrayed to Edward I. the generous design of Bruce to relieve his country from slavery; in resentment Bruce stabbed him; on retiring, was asked by his friends, whether he was sure of his blow, but answering with some degree of uncertainty, one of them, Roger Kirkpatrick, replied, *I mac sicker*, returned into the church and completed the deed. In memory, the family assumed a bloody dagger for a crest, and those words as the motto. The church thus defiled with blood was pulled down; and another built in a different place, and dedicated to St. Michael, the tutelar saint of the town. Robert Bruce also built a chapel here, as soon as he got full possession of the kingdom, in which prayers were to be daily offered for the repose of the soul of Sir Christopher Seton, who was most barbarously executed by Edward I. for his attachment to Bruce, and for his defence of his country.

Dumfries



Dumfries was continually subject to the inroads of the English; and was frequently ruined by them. To prevent their invasions a great ditch and mound, called Warder's dikes, were formed from the Nith to Lockermoss, where watch and ward were constantly kept; and when an enemy appeared the cry was a *Loreburn*, a *Loreburn*. The meaning is no further known, than that it was a word of alarm for the inhabitants to take their arms: and the same word as a memento of vigilance is inscribed on a ring of silver round the ebony staff given into the hands of the provost as a badge of office on the day of annual election.

On most of the eminences of these parts beacons were likewise established for alarming the country on any irruption of their southern neighbours: and the inhabitants able to bear arms were bound, on the firing of these signals, to repair instantly to the warden of the marches, and not to depart till the enemy was driven out of the country, and this under pain of high treason.

This regulation was established in the days of Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas, and afterwards renewed with much solemnity by William Earl of Douglas, who assembled the lords, freeholders, and principal borderers at the college of Lincluden, and caused them there to swear on the holy evangelists, that they should truly observe the statutes, ordinances, and usages of the marches, as they were ordained in the time of the said Archibald.

June 5. Had a beautiful view of an artificial water-fall just in front of a bridge, originally built by Devorgilla, who gave the customs arising from it to the Franciscan convent at Dumfries. It consists of nine arches, and connects this county and that of Galloway.

Cross it; pass through a small town at its foot, and walk up Gorbally hill, remarkable for the fine circumambient prospect of the charming windings of the Nith towards the sea, the town of Dumfries, Terregles, a house of the Maxwells, and a rich vale towards the north.

Visit the abbey of Lincluden, about half a mile distant, seated on the water of the Cluden, which is another boundary of Galloway on that side. This religious house is seated on a pleasant bank, and in a rich country: and was founded and filled with Benedictine nuns, in the time of Malcolm IV. \* by Uthred, father to Roland, Lord of Galloway. These were expelled by the Earl of Douglas (known by the titles of Archibald the Black, or Grim, and the Terrible) probably, as Major insinuates, on account of the impurity of their lives†, for the Earl was a man in piety singular through his life, and most religious according to those times. He fixed in their places a provost, with twelve beadsmen, and changed the name to that of the college.

Part of the house and chancel, and some of the south wall of the church are the sole remains of this antient structure: in the chancel is the elegant tomb of Margaret, daughter of Robert III. and wife of Archibald Earl of Douglas, first Duke of Terouan, and son of Archibald the Grim. Her effigy, at full length, lay on the stone, her head resting on two cushions; but the figure is now mutilated, and her bones, till lately, were scattered about in a most indecent manner, by some wretches who broke open the repository in search of treasure. The tomb is in form of an arch, with all parts most beautifully carved: on the middle of the arch is the heart, the Douglas's arms, guarded by three chalices, set crossways, with a star near each, and certain letters I could not read. On the wall is inscribed,

A L'aide de Dieu.

\* Hope's Minor Practics, 511, Malcolm died, 1165.

† Major de Gest. Scot. 283. Archibald died A. D. 1400.



and at some distance beneath,

*Hic jacet D<sup>na</sup> Margareta regis Scotiæ filia quodam comitissa de Douglas D<sup>na</sup> Gollovidiæ  
et vallis Annandæ.*

In the front of the tomb are nine shields, containing as many arms: in one are the three stars, the original coat of this great house, for the heart was not added till the good Sir James was employed in carrying that of Robert Bruce to the Holy Land: besides these, are the arms after that event; and also their arms as Lords of Annandale, Galloway and Niddedale. Near the tomb is a door-case, richly ornamented with carving; and on the top the heart and chalices, as in the former.

In other parts of the remains of the church are the arms of the Douglasses, or Dukes of Terouan, Earls of Angus, of Ormond, and of Murray; here are besides the arms of John Stewart, Earl of Athol, with the motto, "Firth, fortune, and fil the fetters."

Beneath one of the windows are two rows of figures; the upper of angels, the lower of a corpse and other figures, all much defaced, but seemingly designed to express the preparations for the interment of our Saviour.

Behind the house are vestiges of a flower-garden, with the parterres and scrolls very visible; and near that a great artificial mount, with a spiral walk to the top, which is hollowed, and has a turf seat around to command the beautiful views; so that the provost and his beadsmen seem to have consulted the luxuries as well as necessities of life.

Return to Dumfries, where Mr. Hill, surgeon, favoured me with the sight of the head of an old lady, excellently painted, about forty years ago, by Mr. John Patoun, son to a minister in this town. After painting three years in Scotland, about the year 1730 he went to London, where he read lectures on the theory of his art; at length was tempted to make a voyage to Jamaica, where he died in a few weeks, leaving behind him the character of a good man and able artist.

Before we left the town, we were honoured with its freedom, bestowed on us in the politest manner by the magistrates.

June 6. Continue my journey due north through the beautiful Nithdale, or vale of Nith, the river meandering with bold curvatures along rich meadows; and the country, for some space, adorned with groves and gentlemen's seats. At a few miles distance from Dumfries, leave on the left Bardanna and Keir, conjectured by Mr. Horsley to have been the Carbantorigum of Ptolemy. Travel over small hills, either covered with corn, or with herds of cattle, flocks of black-faced sheep, attended by little pastors, wrapped in their maides\*, and setting the seasons at defiance. The river still keeps its beauty, wandering along a verdant bottom, with banks on each side clothed with wood and the more distant view hilly. Ride through a tract covered with broom, an indication of barrenness; and arrive in sight of Drumlanrig, a house of the Duke of Queensbury, magnificently seated on the side of a hill, an immense mass embosomed in trees. Cross a handsome bridge of two arches, of a vast height above the Nith, which fills the bottom of a deep and wooded glen; and, after a long ascent through a fine and well-planted park, arrive at the house:

A square building, extending an hundred and forty-five feet in front, with a square tower at each corner, and three small turrets on each: over the entrance is a cupola,

\* A sort of long cloak.



whose top is in shape of a vast ducal coronet : within is a court, and at each angle a round tower, each containing a stair-case : every where is a wearisome profusion of hearts carved in stone, the Douglas arms : every window, from the bottom to the third story, is well secured with iron bars ; the two principal doors have their grated guards ; and the cruel dungeon was not forgot ; so that the whole has the appearance of a magnificent state prison. Yet this pile rose in composed times ; it was built by William Duke of Queensbury, begun in 1679, and completed in 1689. His grace seemed to have regretted the expence ; for report says, that he denounced, in a writing on the bundle of accounts, a bitter curse on any of his posterity who offered to inspect them.

The apartments are numerous : the gallery is a hundred and eight feet long, with a fire place at each end : it is ornamented with much of Gibbon's carving, and some good portraits ; observed among them,

The first Dutchess of Somerset, half length, no cap, with a small love-lock.

William Duke of Queensbury, distinguished in the reigns of Charles and James II., by many court favours, by his services to those monarchs, by his too grateful return in assisting in the cruel persecutions of his countrymen averse to the test, and by his honourable disgrace, the moment James found him demur to a request subversive, if complied with, of the religion and liberties of Great Britain.

John Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in the turbulent reign of Charles I., a prudent friend of the indiscreet Laud, and like him a zealous churchman ; but unlike him, waited for a proper season for bringing his project to bear, instead of precipitating matters like the unfortunate prelate. A faithful servant to the crown ; yet, from his wife advice brought under the scandal of duplicity. Was cleared early from the suspicion by the noble historian ; and soon after more indisputably by his impeachment, and by his conviction by the popular party ; by his imprisonment ; by his taking arms in the royal cause on his release ; by his second confinement ; by the sequestration of his estates : and finally by the distressful poverty he endured till death, he gave full but unfortunate testimony of untainted loyalty.

John Earl Rothes, Chancellor of Scotland, in his gown, with the seals by him. He was in power during the cruel persecutions of the covenanters in Charles II.'s time ; and discharging his trust to the satisfaction of the court, was created Duke of Rothes, a title that died with him.

A head of the Duke of Perth, in a bushy wig : a post-abdication Duke, a converted favourite of James II. and Chancellor of Scotland at the time of the revolution, when he retired into France.

George Douglas, Earl of Dumbarton in armour ; a great wig and cravat. Instructed in the art of war in the armies of Louis XIV. was general of the forces in Scotland under James II. dispersed the army of the unfortunate Argyle. A gallant officer, who when James was at Salisbury, generously offered to attack the Prince of Orange with his single regiment of the Scottish Royal, not with the hope of victory, but of giving him such a check as his sovereign might take advantage of : James, with equal generosity, would not permit the sacrifice of so many brave men. Dumbarton adhered to his king in all fortunes, and on the abdication partook of his exile.

General James Douglas, who in 1691 died at Namur.

Earl of Clarendon, son of the Chancellor, half-length in his robes.

A good portrait of a Tripoli Ambassador.

In the gardens, which are most expensively cut out of a rock, is a bird cherry, of a great size, not less than seven feet eight inches in girth ; and among several fine silver firs, one thirteen feet and a half in circumference.



June 6th. In my walks about the park see the white breed of wild cattle, derived from the native race of the country; and still retain the primæval savageness and ferocity of their ancestors: were more shy than any deer; ran away on the appearance of any of the human species, and even set off at full gallop on the least noise; so that I was under the necessity of going very softly under the shelter of trees or bushes to get a near view of them: during summer they keep apart from all other cattle, but in severe weather hunger will compel them to visit the out-houses in search of food. The keepers are obliged to shoot them, if any are wanted: if the beast is not killed on the spot it runs at the person who gave the wound, and who is forced in order to save himself, to fly for safety to the intervention of some tree.

These cattle are of a middle size, have very long legs, and the cows are fine horned: the orbits of the eyes and the tips of the noses are black: but the bulls have lost the manes attributed to them by Boethius.

Ride to Morton castle, about four miles distant, seated on a steep projection, in a lofty situation, near the Auchenlec hills. This was originally the seat of Dunenald, predecessor of Thomas Randolph, afterwards created Earl of Murray by Robert Bruce, when that castle and that of Auchencass, near Moffat, was disposed of to Douglas of Morton, predecessor of the Earls of Morton: but at the time that title was conferred, the castle and lands of Morton being settled on a son of a second marriage of that family, the parliament, on a protestation on his part, declared, that the bestowing that title should not prejudice his right to the castle and lands, but that it was taken from a place called Morton in West-Lothian.

At present remains only one front, with a number of small windows, each to be ascended on the inside by a flight of steps: at each end is also a rounded tower. I find little of its history, any farther than that it was among the castles demolished by David II\*, on his return from England, probably in compliance with a private agreement made with Edward III.

Two miles north from Morton stood the castle of Durisdeer, demolished at the same time with the former. In the church of Durisdeer is the mausoleum of the family of Drumlanrig: over the door of the vault are four spiral pillars supporting a canopy, all of marble: and against the wall is a vast monument in memory of James Duke of Queensbury: his grace lies reclined on his arm, with the collar of S. S. round his neck. The Dutchess, in her robes, recumbent; four angels hold a scroll above, with this inscription:

Hic  
in eodem tumulo  
cum charissimis conjugis cineribus  
misci voluit suis  
Jacobus Dux Queensburiz et Doverni;  
Qui  
ad tot et tanta honoris  
Et negotiorum fastigia  
Quæ nullus antea subditus  
attingit, erectus, Londini  
fato cessit sexta die  
Julii anno Christi Redemptoris  
1711.

And beneath is an affectionate and elegant epitaph on his Dutchess, who died two years before his Grace.

\* Guthrie, iii, 70.



June 7th. Visit Tibbir castle, about a mile below Drumlanrig, placed on a small hill above the little stream, the Tibber. Nothing remains but the foundations overgrown with shrubs: It is supposed to have been a Roman fort, but that in after times the Scots profiting of the situation, and what had been done before, built on the place a small castle; which tradition says, was surprized by a stratagem in time of William Wallace\*.

The beauties of Drumlanrig are not confined to the highest part of the grounds; the walks, for a very considerable way, by the sides of the Nith, abound with most picturesque and various scenery: below the bridge the sides are prettily wooded, but not remarkably lofty; above the views become wildly magnificent: the river runs through a deep and rocky channel, bounded by vast wooded cliffs, that rise suddenly from its margin; and the prospect down from the summit is of a terrific depth, encreased by the rolling of the black waters beneath: two views are particularly fine; one of quick repeated, but extensive, meanders amidst broken sharp-pointed rocks, which often divide the river into several channels, interrupted by short and foaming rapids, coloured with a moory tint. The other is of a long strait, narrowed by the sides, precipitous and wooded, approaching each other equidistant, horrible from the blackness and fury of the river, and the fiery red and black colours of the rocks, that have all the appearance of having sustained a change by the rage of another element.

Cross the bridge again, and continue my journey northward for six or seven miles, on an excellent road, which I was informed was the same for above twenty miles farther, and made at the sole expence of the present Duke of Queensbury: his Grace is in all respects a warm friend to his country, and by præmia promotes the manufactures of woollen stuffs, and a very strong sort of woollen stockings; and by these methods will preserve on his lands a useful and industrious population, that will be enabled to eat their own bread, and not oppress their brethren, or be forced into exile, as is the case in many other parts of North Britain.

The ride was, for the most part, above the Nith; that in many places appeared in singular forms: the most striking was a place called Hell's Cawdron, a sudden turn, where the waters eddies in a large hole, of a vast depth and blackness, overhung, and darkened by trees. On the opposite side is the appearance of a British entrenchment; and near Durisdeer is said to be a small Roman fortress: the Roman road runs by it, and is continued from thence by the Well-path, through Crawford moor, to Elven-foot, has been lately repaired, and is much preferable to the other through the mountains, which would never have been thought of but for the mines in the lead-hills.

The river assumes a milder course; the banks bordered with fields, and those opposite, well wooded. On an eminence is the house of Eliock, environed with trees, once one of the possessions of Crichton, father to the Admirable; and before, at some distance, is the town of Sanquhar, with the ruins of the castle, the ancient seat of the Lords Crichton. The parish is remarkable for the manufacture of woollen stockings, and the abundance of its coal.

Quit Nithsdale, and turn suddenly to the right; pass through the glen of Lochburn between vast mountains, one side wooded to a great height, the other naked, but finely grassed, and the bottom washed by the Menoch, a pretty stream; the glen grows very narrow, the mountains encrease in height, and the ascent long and laborious. Ride by Wanlock-head in the parish of Sanquhar, the property of the Duke of Queensbury; sometimes rich in lead ore. Cross a small dike at the top of the mountain,

\* Gordon's Itin. 19.



enter Lanerkshire, or Clydesdale; and continue all night at the little village of Lead-hills, in the parish of Crawford: the place consists of numbers of mean houses, inhabited by about fifteen hundred souls, supported by the mines; for five hundred are employed in the rich *sous terrains* of this tract. Nothing can equal the barren and gloomy appearance of the country round: neither tree, nor shrub, nor verdure, nor picturesque rock, appear to amuse the eye; the spectator must plunge into the bowels of these mountains for entertainment; or please himself with the idea of the good that is done by the well bestowed treasures drawn from these inexhaustible mines, that are still rich, baffling the efforts of two centuries. The space that has yielded ore is little more than a mile square, and is a flat or pass among the mountains: the veins of lead run north and south; vary, as in other places, in their depth, and are from two to four feet thick; some have been found filled with ore within two fathoms of the surface; others sink to the depth of ninety fathom.

The ore yields in general about seventy pounds of lead from a hundred and twelve of ore, but affords very little silver; the varieties are the common plated ore, vulgarly called Potter's; the small or steel-grained ore, and the curious white ores, lamellated and fibrous, so much searched after for the cabinets of the curious. The last yields from fifty-eight to sixty-eight pounds from the hundred, but the working of this species is much more pernicious to the health of the workmen than the common. The ores are smelted in heaths, blown by a great bellows and fluxed with lime. The lead is sent to Leith in small carts, that carry about seven hundred weight, and exported free from duty.

The miners and smelters are subject here, as in other places, to the lead distemper, or mill-reck, as it is called here; which brings on palsies, and sometimes madness, terminating in death in about ten days. Yet about two years ago died, at this place, a person of primæval longevity: one John Taylor, miner, who worked at his business till he was a hundred and twelve: he did not marry till he was sixty, and had nine children; he saw to the last without spectacles, had excellent teeth till within six years before his death, having left off tobacco, to which he attributed their preservation; at length, in 1770, yielded to fate, after having completed his hundred and thirty-second year.

Native gold has been frequently found in this tract, in the gravel beneath the peat, from which it was washed by rains, and collected in the gullies by persons who at different times have employed themselves in search of this precious metal; but of late years these adventurers have scarce been able to procure a livelihood. I find in a little book, printed in 1710, called *Miscellanea Scotica*\*, that in old times much gold was collected in different parts of Scotland. In the reign of James IV. the Scots did separate the gold from the sand by washing. In the following, the Germans found gold there, which afforded the king great sums; three hundred men were employed for several summers, and about 100,000*l.* sterling procured. They did not dispose of it in Scotland, but carried it into Germany. The same writer says, that the laird of Marcheston got gold in Pentland hills; that some was found in Langham waters, fourteen miles from Lead-hill house, in Meggot waters, twelve miles, and Phinland, sixteen miles. He adds, that pieces of gold, mixed with spar and other substances, that weighed thirty ounces were found; but the largest piece I have heard of does not exceed an ounce and a half, and is in the possession of Lord Hopetoun, the owner of these mines.

Continue my journey through dreary glens or melancholy hills, yet not without seeing numbers of sheep. Near the small village of Crawford John, procured a guide

\* For a further account of gold found in Scotland, see p. 416, of the 2d part of this Tour.



over five miles of almost pathless moors, and descend into Douglassdale, watered by the river that gives the name; a valley distinguished by the residence of the family of Douglas, a race of turbulent heroes, celebrated throughout Europe for deeds of arms; the glory, yet the scourge of their country; the terror of their princes; the pride of the northern annals of chivalry.

They derive their name from Sholto du glasse, or the black and grey warrior (as their history \* relates) a hero in the reign of Solvathius, king of Scotland, who lived in the eighth century; with more certainty, a successor of his, of the name of William, went into Italy in quest of adventures, and from him descended the family of the Scoti of Placentia †, that flourished in the last age, and may to this time continue there. But the Douglasses first began to rise into power in the days of the good Sir James, who died in 1330. During a century and a half their greatness knew no bounds, and their arrogance was equally unlimited: that high spirit which was wont to be exerted against the enemies of their country, now degenerated into faction, sedition, and treason; they emulated the royal authority; they went abroad with a train of two thousand armed men; created knights, had their counsellors, established ranks, and constituted a ‡ parliament: it is certain that they might almost have formed a house of peers out of their own family; for, at the same time there were not fewer than six Earls of the name of Douglas §. They gave shelter to the most barbarous banditti, and protected them in the greatest crimes: for, as honest Lindesay expresses, "Oppression, ravishing of women, sacrilege, and all other kinds of mischief, were but a dalliance: so it was thought leisome to a dependor on a Douglas to slay or murder, for so fearful was their name, and terrible to every innocent man, that when a mischievous limmer was apprehended, if he alledged that he murdered and slew at a Douglas's command, no man durst present him to justice §."

Douglas castle, the residence of these Reguli, seems to have been prostrated almost as frequently as its masters: the ruin that is seen there at present is the remains of the last old castle, for many have been built on the same site. The present is an imperfect pile, begun by the late Duke: in the front are three round towers; beneath the base of one lies the noble founder, and the tears of the country painted above. He was interred there by his own directions, through the vain fear of mingling his ashes with those of an injured dead.

The windows are Gothic: the apartments are fitting up with great elegance, which shew that the storms of ambition have been laid, and that a long calm of ease and content is intended to succeed.

The inscription on the foundation-stone of the present castle deserves preservation, as it gives a little of the history:

Hoc latus  
Hujus munitissimi Prædii  
Familiæ de DOUGLAS  
Ter solo æquati  
Et semel atque iterum instaurati  
Imperantibus  
EDWARDÒ primo Angliæ.  
Et apud Scotos ROBERTO  
primum sic dicto  
Tandem surgere cæpit  
Novis munitionibus firmatum

\* Hume's Hist. of the Houses of Douglas, 3.

† Buchanan, Rerum Scot. lib. xi. sect. 9.

‡ Idem, p. 5.

§ Camden, Br. II. 1211.



Jussu et sumptibus  
Serenissimi et potentissimi Archibaldi  
Ducis de DOUGLAS, &c. &c.  
Principis familiæ ejus nominis  
In Scotâ antiquissimæ  
Et maxime notabilis  
ANNO CHRISTI  
MDCCLVII.

Near the castle are several very antient ash-trees, whose branches groaned under the weight of executions when the family knew no law but its will.

In the church were deposited the remains of several of this great name. First appears the effigies of good Sir James, the most distinguished of the house, the favourite of Robert Bruce, and the knight appointed, as most worthy to carry his master's heart to be interred beneath the high altar in the temple of Jerusalem. He set out, attended with a train of two hundred knights and gentlemen, having the gold box, containing the royal heart suspended from his neck. He first put into the port of Sluys, on the coast of Flanders, where he staid for twelve days, living on board in regal pomp (for he did not deign to land) and all his vessels were of gold \*. Here he was informed, that Alphonso King of Spain was engaged in war with the Saracen King of Grenada : not to lose this blessed opportunity of fighting against the enemies of the cross, he and his knights sailed instantly for Valentia, was most honourably received by the Spanish monarch, luckily found him on the point of giving battle ; engaged with great valour, was surrounded by the infidels, slain in the fight, and the heart of Robert Bruce, which was happily rescued, instead of visiting the Holy Land, was carried to the convent of Melros, and the body of Sir James to this church ; where his figure lies cross-legged, his holiness having decreed that services against the infidels in Spain should have equal merit with those performed in Palestine.

Near him, beneath a magnificent tomb, lies Archibald first Earl of Douglas, and second Duke of Terouan, in France ; his father, slain at the battle of Verneuil, being honoured by the French king with that title. He lies in his ducal robes and coronet. This Earl lived quite independent of his prince, James I. and through resentment to the minister, permitted the neighbouring thieves of Annandale to lay waste the country, when his power, perhaps equal to the regal, might have suppressed their barbarity. He died in 1431.

The Douglasses and Percies were rivals in deeds of arms ; and fortune, as usual, smiled or frowned alternately on each of these potent families.

James the Fat, seventh Earl of Douglas, next appears in effigy on another tomb : a peaceable chieftain, who seems to have been in too good case to give any disturbance to the commonwealth. He died in 1443, and his lady Beatrix de Sinclair, lies by him. Their offspring is also enumerated in the inscription.

Ride for some time in Douglassdale, a tract deficient in wood, but of great fertility ; the soil fine, and of an uncommon depth, yielding fine barley and oats, most slovenly kept, and full of weeds ; the country full of gentle risings. Arrive in a flat extent of ground, descend to the river Clyde, cross a bridge of three arches, ascend a steep road, and reach

Lanerker ; a town that gives name to the county. Here the gallant Wallace made his first effort to redeem his country from the tyranny of the English ; taking the place and slaying the governor, a man of rank †. The castle stood on a mount on the south

\* Froissart, lib. i. c. 27.

† Buchanan, lib. viii. c. 18.



side of the town; and not far to the east, is a ruined church, perhaps belonging to the convent of Franciscans, founded by Robert Bruce, in 1314.

Not very far from Lanerk are the celebrated falls of the Clyde, the most distant are about a half hour's ride, at a place called Cory-Lin; and are seen to most advantage from a ruinous pavilion in a gentleman's garden, placed in a lofty situation. The cataract is full in view, seen over the tops of trees and bushes, precipitating itself for an amazing way, from rock to rock, with short interruptions, forming a rude slope of furious foam. The sides are bounded by vast rocks, clothed on their tops with trees; on the summit and very verge of one is a ruined tower, and in front a wood, overtopped by a verdant hill.

A path conducts the traveller down to the beginning of the fall, into which projects a high rock, in floods insulated by the waters, and from the top is a tremendous view of the furious stream. In the cliffs of this savage retreat the brave Wallace is said to have concealed himself, meditating revenge for his injured country.

On regaining the top the walk is formed near the verge of the rocks, which on both sides are perfectly mural and equidistant, except where they overhang; the river is pent up between them at a distance far beneath; not running, but rather sliding along a stony bottom sloping the whole way. The summits of the rock are wooded; the sides smooth and naked; the strata narrow and regular, forming a stupendous natural masonry. After a walk of above half a mile on the edge of this great chasm, on a sudden appears the great and bold fall of Boniton, in a foaming sheet, far-projecting into a hollow, in which the water shews a violent agitation, and a far-extending mist arises from the surface. Above that is a second great fall; two lesser succeed; beyond them the river winds, grows more tranquil, and is seen for a considerable way, bounded on one side by wooded banks, on the other by rich and swelling fields.

Return the same way to Lanerk: much barley, oats, peas, and potatoes are raised about the town, and some wheat; the manure most in use is a white marl, full of shells, found about four feet below the peat, in a stratum five feet and a half thick; it takes effect after the first year, and produces vast crops. Numbers of horses are bred here, which at two years old are sent to the marshes of Ayrshire, where they are kept till they are fit for use.

June 9. Again pass over the bridge of Lanerk, in order to visit the great fall of Stone-biers, about a mile from the town: this has more of the horrible in it than either of the other two, and is seen with more difficulty; it consists of two precipitous cataracts falling one above the other into a vast chasm, bounded by lofty rocks, forming an amazing theatre to the view of those who take the pains to descend to the bottom. Between this and Cory-Lin is another fall called Dundofflin; but being satiated for this time with the noise of waters, we declined the sight of it.

Return over the bridge, and walk to Cartland-crags; a zig-zag den of great extent, bounded by rocks of a very uncommon height, and almost entirely clothed with trees. It is a place of laborious access from above, so difficult is it amidst the shade of trees to find a way free from precipice. The bottom is watered by the river Mouse; and the sides, at every short turn, finely varied with the different appearance of rock, wood, and precipice. Emerge into the open space; remount our horses, and ride for some miles along a rich vale, with the Clyde passing along the bottom; all parts are rich in corn, meadows, orchards, and groves. Cross the Nathan. At Nathan foot, gain the heights, which are far less fertile; and, after going over the river Avon, reach the town of Hamilton.



The original name of this place, or the lands about it, was Cadzow, or Cadyow, a barony granted to an ancestor of the noble owner on the following occasion: In the time of Edward II. lived Sir Gilbert de Hamilton, or Hampton \*, an Englishman of rank; who, happening at court to speak in praise of Robert Bruce, received on the occasion an insult from John de Spenser, chamberlain to the King, whom he fought and slew; dreading the resentment of that potent family †, he fled to the Scottish monarch, who received him with open arms, and established him at the place the family now possesses; whose name in after-times was changed from that of Cadzow to Hamilton; and in 1445 the lands were erected into a lordship, and the then owner Sir James, sat in parliament as Lord Hamilton.

The same nobleman founded the collegiate church at Hamilton in 1451, for a provost and several prebendaries. The endowment was ratified at Rome by the pope's bull, which he went in person to procure ‡.

The old castle of Hamilton being possessed by certain of the name who had been guilty of the deaths of the Earls of Lenox and Murray, was on the 19th of May 1579 surrendered; and, by the order of the king and council, entirely demolished ||.

Hamilton house, or palace, is at the end of the town; a large disagreeable pile, with two deep wings at right angles with the centre; the gallery is of great extent, furnished (as well as some other rooms) with most excellent paintings.

That of Daniel in the lions' den, by Rubens, is a great performance: the fear and devotion of the prophet is finely expressed by the uplifted face and eyes, his clasped hands, his swelling muscles, and the violent extension of one foot: a lion looks fiercely at him, with open mouth, and seems only restrained by the Almighty Power from making him fall a victim to his hunger: and the deliverance of Daniel is more fully marked by the number of human bones scattered over the floor, as if to shew the instant fate of others, in whose favour the Deity did not interfere.

The marriage feast, by Paul Veronese, is a fine piece; and the obstinacy and resistance of the intruder, who came without the wedding garment, is strongly expressed.

The treaty of peace between England and Spain, in the reign of James I., by Juan de Pantoja, is a good historical picture. There are six envoys on the part of the Spaniards, and five on that of the English, with the names inscribed over each: the English are the Earls of Dorset, Nottingham, Devonshire, Northampton, and Robert Cecil.

Earls of Lauderdale and Lanerk settling the covenant; both in black, with faces full of puritanical solemnity.

James, Marquis of Hamilton, and Earl of Cambridge, in black, by Vansomer. This nobleman was high in favour with James VI., knight of the garter, lord high steward of the household, and lord high commissioner of the parliament; and so much in the esteem and affection of his master as to excite the jealousy of Buckingham. He died in 1625, at the early age of thirty-three. Such symptoms § attended his death, that the public attributed it to poison, and ascribed the infamy to the duke.

His son James, Duke of Hamilton, with a blue ribband and white rod. A principal leader of the presbyterian party in the reign of Charles I., dark, uncommunicative, cunning. He managed the trust reposed in him in such a manner as to make his politics suspected by each faction; and notwithstanding he was brought up in the school of Gustavus Adolphus in a military capacity, his conduct was still more contemptible: he

\* In Leicestershire, vide Burton's Hist. of that county, p. 126.

† Crawford's Peerage, 119.

|| Moyse, 34.

‡ Buchanan, viii. c. 49.

§ Wilson, 285.



ruined the army he faintly led into England, rather to make his royal master subservient to the design of the Scots, than to do his majesty any real service. Was shamefully taken, and ended his days upon a scaffold.

Next to his is the portrait of his brother, and successor to the title, William Earl of Lanerk, who behaved at the battle of Worcester with genuine heroism, was mortally wounded, and died with every sentiment of calmness and piety; regretting the enthusiasm of his younger days, and his late appearance in the royal cause.

James Duke of Hamilton, who fell in the duel with Lord Mohun. The first a leader of the tory party in the reign of Queen Anne; the last a strong whig: each combatant fell; whether the Duke died by the hands of an assassin second, or whether he fell by those of his antagonist, the violence of party leaves no room to determine.

Next appears a full length, the finest portrait in this kingdom: a nobleman in a red silk jacket and trowsers; his hair short and grey; a gun in his hand, attended by an Indian boy, and with Indian scenery around: the figure seems perfectly to start from the canvas, and the action of his countenance, looking up, has matchless spirit. It is called the portrait of William Earl of Denbigh, misnamed governor of Barbadoes: His daughter married the first Duke of Hamilton, which strengthens the opinion of its being that of her father. The painter seems to have been Rubens; but from what circumstance of his lordship's life he placed him in an Indian forest, is not known.

The old Duke of Chatelherault, in black, with the order, I think, of St. Michael, pendent from his neck, which he accepted with the title; and a pension, from Francis I. of France, at the time he was Earl of Arran, and regent of Scotland. He was declared next in succession to the crown, in case of failure of heirs in Mary Stuart; a rank that his feeble and unsteady conduct would have disabled him from filling with dignity.

A head of Catherine Parr, on wood, by Holbein.

Another, said to have been that of Anne Bullen, very handsome, dressed in a ruff and kerchief, edged with ermine, and in a purple gown; over her face a veil, so transparent as not to conceal.

The bloom of young desire and purple light of love.

Maria Dei Gratia Scotorum Regina, 1586, æt. 43. A half-length: a stiff figure, in a great ruff, auburn locks, oval but pretty full face, of much larger and plainer features than that at castle Braan; a natural alteration, from the increase of her cruel usage, and of her ill health; yet still preserves a likeness to that portrait. I was told here that she sent this picture, together with a ring, a little before her execution, to the representative of the Hamilton family, as an acknowledgment of gratitude for their sufferings in her cause.

Earl Morton, regent of Scotland; a nobleman of vast but abused abilities; rapacious, licentious, unprincipled; restrained by no consideration from gaining his point; intrepid till the last hour of his being, when he fell on the scaffold with those penitential horrors\* that the enormous wickedness of his past life did naturally inspire.

The rough reformer, John Knox, a severe reprover of the former. The Earl, at the funeral of Knox, in a few words delivered this honourable testimony of his spirit: "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

Alexander Henderson, a vain, insolent, and busy minister during the troubles of Charles I., who was deputed by his brethren to persuade his Majesty to extirpate episcopacy out of Scotland: but the king, an equal bigot, and better casuist, silenced his

\* Spotswood, 314. Lives of the Douglasses, 356.



arguments; and Henderson, chagrined with his ill success, retired, and died of a broken heart.

A head of Hobbes (as a contrast to the two former), with short thin grey hair.

Lord Belhaven, author of the famous speech against the union.

Philip II. a full length, with a strange figure of Fame bowing at his feet, with a label, and this motto: "Pro merente adsto."

Two half-lengths, in black, one with a fiddle in his hand, the other in a grotesque attitude, both with the same countenances, good, but swarthy; mistakenly called David Rizzio's, but I could not learn that there was any portrait of that unfortunate man.

Irresistible beauty brings up the rear, in form of Miss Mary Scott, a full length, in white satin, a most elegant figure; and thus concludes the list with what is more powerful than all that has preceded; than the arms of the warrior, the art of the politician, the admonitions of the churchman, or the wisdom of the philosopher.

About a mile from the house, on an eminence, above a deep wooded glen, with the Avon at the bottom, is Chatelherault, so called from the estate the family once possessed in France; is an elegant banqueting-house, with a dog-kennel, gardens, &c. and commands a fine view. The park is now much inclosed; but I am told there are still in it a few of the wild cattle of the same kind with those I saw at Drumlanrig.

Continue my journey: cross the Clyde at Bothwell bridge, noted for the defeat of a small army of enthusiasts in 1679, near the place, by the Duke of Monmouth, who distinguished himself that day more by his humanity than his conduct; but it is probable he disliked a service against men to whose religious principles he had no aversion: he might likewise aim at future popularity in the country.

Bothwell church was collegiate, founded by Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas, in 1398, for a provost and eight prebendaries. The outside is said to be incrustated with a thin coat of stone, but I confess it escaped my notice. In it are interred the founder and his lady, daughter of Andrew Murray, son to King David Bruce, with whom he got the lordship of Bothwell.

The castle, now in ruins, is beautifully seated on the banks of the Clyde: tradition and history are silent about the founder. It is said to have been a principal residence of the Douglasses; and while Edward I. was in possession of Scotland, was the chief station of his governor; and after the battle of Bannockburn, was the prison of some of the English nobility taken in that fatal field. Major \* says, that in 1337 it was taken by the partizans of David Bruce, and levelled to the ground. That seems a favourite phrase of the historian; for to me it appears to be in the same state with that of Caerlaveroc, and was only dismantled; for in both, some of the remaining towers have all the marks of the early style of building.

The present residence of the family, called Bothwell house, is modern, built between ninety and a hundred years ago by the young Earl of Forfar, who was killed at the battle of Dunblain. He was paternal uncle to the late Duke of Douglas, who succeeded to the estate. The centre is but small, being chiefly taken up with stair-case and lobby. The Duke of Douglas added the wings, in which are the principal apartments. It stands very near the ancient castle.

On the south side of the Clyde, opposite to the castle, are the remains of Blantyre, a priory of canons regular, founded before the year 1296; mention being made in that year of Frere William Priour de Blantyr †.

\* P. 232.

† Keith, 239.



The country from Bothwell bridge is open, very fertile, composed of gentle risings, diversified with large plantations. Reach

Glasgow, the best built of any second-rate city I ever saw; the houses of stone, and in general well built, and many in a good taste, plain and unaffected. The principal street runs east and west, is near a mile and a half long, but unfortunately not straight; yet the view from the cross, where the two other great streets fall into this, has an air of vast magnificence. The tolbooth is large and handsome, with this apt motto on the front:

*Hæc domus odit, amat, punit, conservat, honorat,  
nequitiam, pacem, crimina, jura, probos.*

Next to that is the exchange: within is a spacious room, with full-length portraits of all our monarchs since James I.; and an excellent one, by Ramsay, of Archibald Duke of Argyle in his robes as lord of sessions. However expert he might have been in the laws of his land, the following form of respite to a wretched convict does not speak much in favour of his regard to decency.

*Edin' Febr'y 28th, 1728.*

"I Archibald Earl of Islay, do hereby prorogate and continue the life of John Rudell, writer in Edin', to the term of Whitsunday next, and no longer, by G—d.

"ISLAY, I. P. D."

Before the exchange is a large equestrian statue of King William. This is the finest and broadest part of the street: many of the houses are built over arcades, but too narrow to be walked in with any conveniency. Numbers of other neat streets cross this at right angles.

The market-places are great ornaments to the city, the fronts being done in very fine taste, and the gates adorned with columns of one or other of the orders. Some of these markets are for meal, greens, fish or flesh: there are two for the last which have conduits of water out of several of the pillars, so that they are constantly kept sweet and neat. Before these buildings were constructed, most of those articles were sold in the public streets; and even after the market-places were built, the magistrates with great difficulty compelled the people to take advantage of such cleanly innovations.

Near the meal-market is the public granary, to be filled on any apprehension of scarcity.

The guard-house is in the great street, where the inhabitants mount guard, and regularly do duty. An excellent police is observed here; and proper officers attend the markets to prevent abuses.

The police of Glasgow consists of three bodies; the magistrates with the town-council, the merchants house, and the trades house. The lord provost, three bailies, a dean of guild, a deacon convener, a treasurer, and twenty-five council-men, compose the first. It must be observed that the dean of guild is chosen annually, and can continue in office but two years. The second consists of thirty-six merchants, annually elected, with the provost and three bailies, by virtue of their office, which make the whole body forty. The dean of guild is head of this house, who, in conjunction with his council, four merchants, and four tradesmen (of which the preceding dean is to be one), holds a court every Thursday, where the parties only are admitted to plead, all lawyers being excluded. He and his council have power to judge and decree in all actions respecting trade between merchant and merchant; and those who refuse to submit to their decisions are liable to a fine of five pounds. The same officer and his council, with the master of work, can determine all disputes about boundaries, and no proceedings in building shall be stopped except by him; but the plaintiff must lodge a



sufficient sum in his hands to satisfy the defendant, in case the first should lay a groundless complaint: and, to prevent delay, the dean and his assistants are to meet on the spot within twenty-four hours; and to prevent frivolous disputes, should the plaintiff be found not to have been aggrieved, he is fined in twenty shillings, and the damage sustained by the delay: but again, should he imagine himself wronged by the decision, he has power (after lodging forty shillings in the hands of the dean) of appealing to the great council of the city; and in case they also decide against him, the sum is forfeited and applied as the dean shall think fit. The same magistrate is also to see that no encroachments are made on the public streets: he can order any old houses to be pulled down that appear dangerous; and, I think, has also power in some places of disposing of to the best bidder, the ground of any houses which the owner suffers to lie in ruins for three years, without attempting to rebuild. Besides these affairs, he superintends the weights and measures; punishes and fines transgressors; fines all unqualified persons who usurp the privileges of freemen; admits burgesses: the fines to aliens is 100*l*. Scotch: and finally, he and his council may levy a tax on the guild-brethren (not exceeding the above-mentioned sum at a time) for the maintenance of the wives and children of decayed brethren; the money to be distributed at the discretion of the dean, his council, and the deacon convener.

The third body is the trades house: this consists of fifty-six, of which the deacon convener is the head: there are fourteen incorporated trades, each of which has a deacon, who has a right to nominate a certain number of his trade, so as to form the house: these manage a large stock, maintain a great number of poor, and determine disputes between the trades. In this place may be mentioned, that the merchants hospital, founded by the merchants of Glasgow in 1601, has a large capital to support the poor: that the town's hospital contains four hundred indigent, and is supported by the magistrates and town-council, the merchants house, the trades house, and the kirk sessions. Hutchinson's hospital, founded in 1642 by two brothers of that name, has a fund of twelve thousand pounds; the town-council a revenue of six thousand pounds per annum.

The old bridge over the Clyde consists of eight arches, and was built by William Rea, bishop of this see, about four hundred years ago. A new one has been lately added of seven arches, with circular holes between each to carry off the superfluous waters in the great floods. This bridge deviates from the original plan, which was very elegant, and free from certain defects that disgrace the present.

The city of Glasgow, till very lately, was perfectly tantalized with its river: the water was shallow, the channel much too wide for the usual quantity of water that flowed down, and the navigation interrupted by twelve remarkable shoals. The second inconvenience continually increased by the wearing away of the banks, caused by the prevalence of the south-west winds that blow here, and often with much violence, during more than half the year: thus what is got in breadth, is lost in depth; and shoals are formed by the loss of water in the more contracted bed. Spring-tides do not flow above three feet, or neap-tides above one, at Broomy-law-quay, close to the town; so that in dry seasons lighters are detained there for several weeks, or are prevented from arriving there, to the great detriment of the city.

To remedy this evil, the city called in several engineers: at length the plan proposed by my old friend, Mr. John Golburne, of Chester, that honest and able engineer, was accepted, and he entered into contract with the magistrates of Glasgow to deepen the channel to seven feet at the quay, even at neap-tides. He has made considerable progress in the work, and has given the stipulated depth to within four miles of the place.

For



For a present relief he has deepened the intermediate shoals, and particularly he has given at least four feet of water immediately below the quay, in a shoal called the Hurst, which was above a quarter of a mile long, and had over it only eighteen inches of water. Before this improvement lighters of only thirty tons burden could reach the quay; at present vessels of seventy come there with ease.

Near the bridge is the large alms-house, a vast nailery, a stone ware manufactory, and a great porter brewery, which supplies some part of Ireland\*: besides these are manufactures of linens, cambricks, lawns, fustians, tapes, and striped linens; sugar-houses and glass-houses, great roperies; vast manufactures of shoes, boots, and saddles, and all sorts of horse furniture; also vast tanneries carried on under a company who have 60,000*l.* capital, chiefly for the use of the colonists, whose bark is found unfit for tanning. The magazine of saddles, and other works respecting that business, is an amazing sight: all these are destined for America, no port equalling this for the convenience of situation, and speedily supplying that market. Within sight, on the Renfrew side, are collieries, and much coal is exported into Ireland, and into America.

The great import of this city is tobacco. The following state of that trade for the three last years exhibits its vast extent and importance:

	1769.		1770.
From Virginia,	25457	hogheads.	- 29815.
Maryland,	9641		- 8242.
Carolina,	460		- 913
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Total,	35558		38970.

So that it appears the increase of importation from Virginia, in 1770, was 435<sup>8</sup> hogheads, and from Carolina, 453, and that it decreased in Maryland, 1399. But what is remarkable, that in the same year not any part of this vast stock remained unsold; the whole being disposed of in the following proportions:

	hogsh.		hogsh.
To Ireland,	3310	Bremen,	1303
France,	15706	Spain, &c.	885
Holland,	10637	Norway,	557
Dunkirk,	2907	Denmark,	200
Hamburg,	2416	America,	16
			<hr/>
Total exported	- - - - -		37938.

which, with 1032 sold inland, balances the account.

In the last year 1771, the commerce still improved, for from

	hogsh.
Virginia,	35493
Maryland,	12530.
Carolina,	993
	<hr/>
Total,	49016

\* Dublin is extremely capable of supplying Ireland with this liquor, but, as I am credibly informed, is almost prohibited the attempt by a hard and unpolitical tax.



The exports also increased, but not in the same proportion with those of last year :

Ireland took	3509	hogsh.	Bremen,	1176
France,	16098		Norway,	665
Holland,	14546		Denmark,	390
Dunkirk,	5309		Spain, &c.	297
Hamburg,	2788		Barbadoes,	21
				<hr/>
Total,				44799
Sold inland,				1142
				<hr/>
				45941
So that this year it appears that there is unfold,				3075
				<hr/>
To balance the great sum of,				49016

But this encouraging inference may be drawn : that, notwithstanding all our squabbles with the colonies, those of the first importance improve in their commerce with their mother country : receive also an equal return in the manufactures of Great-Britain, which, they wisely dispense to those whom unavailing associations of prohibition bind from an open traffick with us.

The origin of foreign trade in this great city is extremely worthy of attention. A merchant, of the name of Walter Gibson, by an adventure first laid the foundation of its wealth : about the year 1668 he cured and exported in a Dutch vessel, 300 lasts of herrings, each containing six barrels, which he sent to St. Martin's, in France, where he got a barrel of brandy and a crown for each : the ship returning, laden with brandy and salt, the cargo was sold for a great sum : he then launched farther into business, bought the vessel, and two large ships besides, with which he traded to different parts of Europe, and to Virginia : he also first imported iron to Glasgow, for before that time it was received from Sterling and Burrowstonefs, in exchange for dyed stuffs : and even the wine used in this city was brought from Edinburgh. Yet I find no statue, no grateful inscription, to preserve the memory of Walter Gibson !

Glasgow, till long after the reformation, was confined to the ridge that extends from the high-church, or cathedral, and the houses trespassed but little on the ground on each side. This place (whose inhabitants at this time are computed to be forty thousand) was so inconsiderable, in 1357, as not to be admitted in the number of the cautionary towns assigned to Edward III. for the payment of the ransome of David II \*. But the revenue of the archbishop was, at the reformation, little less than a thousand pounds sterling per annum, besides several emoluments in corn of different kinds. Religion was, before that period, the commerce of our chief cities ; in the same manner as commerce is their religion in the present age.

Some writers attribute the foundation of this see to St. Kentigern, in 560, and make him the first bishop : others will give him no other rank than that of a simple saint. It is with more certainty known, that the cathedral was founded or refounded, in 1136, by John, governor to David I., and who was the first certain bishop of the place ; for it was not erected into an archbishoprick till 1500, when Robert Blacader had first the title.

\* Anderfon's Dict. Commerce, i.



This fine church was devoted to destruction by the wretched ministers of 1578, who assembled, by beat of drum, a multitude to effect the demolition: but the trades of the city taking arms, declared that they would bury under the ruins the first person who attempted the sacrilege; and to this sensible zeal are we indebted for so great an ornament to the place. It is at present divided into three places for divine service; two above, one beneath, and deep under ground, where the congregation may truly say, clamavi ex profundis. The roof of this is fine, of stone, and supported by pillars, but much hurt by the crowding of the pews.

In the church yard is an epitaph on a jolly physician, whose practice should be recommended to all such harbingers of death, who by their terrific faces scare the poor patient prematurely into the regions of eternity:

Stay, passenger, and view this stone,  
For under it lies such a one  
Who cured many while he lived;  
So gracious he no man grieved:  
Yea when his physick's force oft' failed,  
His pleasant purpose then prevailed;  
For of his God he got the grace  
To live in mirth, and die in peace;  
Heaven has his soule, his corps this stone;  
Sigh, passenger, and then be gone.

Doctor Peter Low, 1612.

Besides this church are the College Church, Ramshorn, Trone, St. Andrew's and Wint. The English chapel, college chapel, a highland church, three seceding meeting-houses, a Moravian, an independent, a methodist, an anabaptist, a barony church, and one in the suburbs of the Gorbels.

But the most beautiful is that of St. Andrew's, or the New Church, whose front graced with an elegant portico, does the city great credit, if it had not been disfigured by a slender square tower, with a pepper-box top; and in general the steeples in Glasgow are in a remarkably bad taste, being in fact no favourite part of architecture with the church of Scotland. The inside of that just mentioned is finished not only with neatness but with elegance; is supported by pillars, and very prettily stuccoed. It is one of the very few exceptions to the slovenly and indecent manner in which the houses of God, in Scotland, are kept: reformation, in matters of religion, seldom observes mediocrity; here it was at first outrageous, for a place commonly neat was deemed to favour of popery: but to avoid the imputation of that extreme, they ran into another; for in many parts of North-Britain our Lord seems still to be worshipped in a stable, and often in a very wretched one; many of the churches are thatched with heath, and in some places are in such bad repair as to be half open at top; so that the people appear to worship as the Druids did of old, in open temples. It is but common justice to say, that this is no fault of the clergy, or of the people, but entirely of the landed interest; who having at the reformation, shared in the plunder of the church, were burthened with the building and repairing of the houses of worship. It is too frequently the case, that the gentlemen cannot be induced to undertake the most common repairs, without being threatened with a process before the lords of sessions, or perhaps having the process actually made, which is attended with odium, trouble and expence to the poor incumbents.

Near the cathedral is the ruin of the castle, or the bishop's palace; the great tower was built by John Cameron, prelate in 1426. Buchanan \* relates an absurd tale, that

\* Lib. xi. c. 25.



this bishop was summoned to the great tribunal by a loud preternatural voice; that he assembled his servants, when to their great terror the call was repeated; and the bishop died in great agonies. His offence is concealed from us, for he appears to have been a good and an able man.

Archbishop Bethune surrounded the palace with a fine wall, and made a bastion over one corner, and a tower over another. This castle was besieged in 1544, by the regent Arran, in the civil disputes at that time; who took it, and hanged eighteen of the garrison, placed there by Lenox, a favourer of the reformation.

In Glasgow were two religious houses and an hospital. One of Dominicans, founded by the bishop and chapter in 1279, and another of Observantines in 1476, by John Laing, bishop of Glasgow, and Thomas Forsyth, rector of the college.

The university was founded in 1450, James II., Pope Nicholas V. gave the Bull, but bishop Turnbull supplied the money. It consists of one college, a large building with a handsome front to the street, resembling some of the old colleges in Oxford. Charles I. subscribed 200l. towards this work, but was prevented from paying it by the ensuing troubles; but Cromwell afterwards fulfilled the design of the royal donor. Here are about four hundred students who lodge in the town, but the professors have good houses in the college, where young gentlemen may be boarded, and placed more immediately under the professor's eye, than those that live in private houses. An inconvenience that calls loudly for reformation.

The library is a very handsome room, with a gallery, supported by pillars; and is well furnished with books. That beneficent nobleman, the first Duke of Chandos, when he visited the college, gave 500l. towards building this apartment.

In possession of the college is a very singular version of the bible, by the Rev. Zachary Boyd, a worthy, learned and pious divine of this city, who lived about a century and a half ago, and dying, bequeathed to this seminary of knowledge his fortune, and all his manuscripts, but not on condition of printing his poem as is vulgarly imagined. It is probable that he adapted his verse to the intellects of his hearers, the only excuse for the variety of gross imagery, of which part of the soliloquy of Jonas in the fish's belly, will be thought a sufficient specimen:

What house is this? here's neither coal nor candle;  
Where I nothing but guts of fishes handle,  
I and my table are both here within,  
Where day ne'er dawn'd, where sun did never shine.  
The like of this on earth man never saw,  
A living man within a monster's maw!  
Bury'd under mountains, which are high and steep!  
Plunged under waters hundred fathoms deep!  
Not so was Noah in his house of tree,  
For through a window he the light did see;  
He sailed above the highest waves: a wonder,  
I and my boat are all the waters under?  
He and his ark might go and also come;  
But I sit still in such a strait'n'd room  
As is most uncouth; head and feet together,  
Among such grease as would a thousand smother;  
Where I intomb'd in melancholy sink,  
Choaked, suffocate with excremental stink!

Messrs. Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers and booksellers to the university, have instituted an academy for painting and engraving; and like good citizens, zealous to promote the welfare and honour of their native place, have, at vast expence, formed a most



most numerous collection of paintings from abroad, in order to form the taste of their elevens.

The printing is a considerable branch of business, and has long been celebrated for the beauty of the types, and the correctness of the editions. Here are preserved, in cases, numbers of monumental, and other stones, taken out of the walls on the Roman stations in this part of the kingdom: some are well-cut and ornamented: most of them were done to perpetuate the memory of the vexillatio, or party, who performed such or such works; others in memory of officers who died in the country. Many of these sculptures were engraven at the expence of the university; whose principal did me the honour of presenting me with a set.

The 1st plate is very beautiful: a victory, reclined on a globe, with a palm in one hand, a garland in the other; a pediment above, supported by two fluted pilasters, with Corinthian capitals: beneath is a boar, a common animal in sculptures found in Britain, probably because they were in plenty in our forests. Both these are in honour of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

None is more instructive than that engraven in plate III, on which appears a victory about to crown a Roman horseman, armed with a spear and shield. Beneath him are two Caledonian captives, naked, and bound with little daggers, like the modern dirks, by them. On another compartment of the stone is an eagle and sea-goat, to denote some victory gained in the course of their work near the sea: for it was devoted by a party of the Legio secunda Augusta, on building a certain portion of the wall.

The XVIth is monumental: the figure is very elegant, representing one gracefully recumbent, dressed in a loose robe: beneath is a wheel, denoting, that at the time of his death he was engaged with a party on the road: and by him is an animal, resembling the Musimon or Siberian goat.

In this street is the house where Henry Darnly lodged, confined by a dangerous illness, suspected to arise from poison, administered at the instigation of Bothwell. Here the unhappy prince received a visit from Mary Stuart, and took the fatal resolution of removing to Edinburgh. This sudden return of her affection, her blandishments to enslave him from his father and friends, and his consequential murder, are circumstances unfavourable to the memory of this unfortunate princess.

June 11. Take boat at the quay; and after a passage of four miles down the Clyde, reach the little flying house of Mr. Golborne, now fixed on the Northern bank, commanding a most elegant view of part of the county of Renfrew, the opposite shore. After breakfast survey the machines for deepening the river which were then at work: they are called ploughs, are large hollow cases, the back is of cast iron, the two ends of wood; the other side open. These are drawn cross the river by means of capstans, placed on long wooden frames or flats; and opposite to each other near the banks of the river. Are drawn over empty, returned with the iron side downwards, which scrapes the bottom, and brings up at every return half a ton of gravel, depositing it on the bank: and thus twelve hundred tons are cleared every day. Where the river is too wide, the shores are contracted by jetties.

Proceed down the river; on the left the water of Inchinnan opens to view; the prospect up the most elegant and the softest of any in North Britain; the expanse is wide and gentle; the one bank bare, the other adorned with a small open grove. A little isle tufted with trees divides the water; beyond the fine bridge of Inchinnan receiving the united rivers of the white and black Cart, and the town and spire of Paisley, backed by a long and fertile range of rising land, close the scene.



On the right is a chain of low hills, Camsey fells, running N. W. and S. E. diverging N. E. and advancing to the water side, terminating with the rock of Dunbuc, that almost reaches to the Clyde.

Pass under Kirkpatric, where the river is about a quarter of a mile broad; at this place is a considerable manufacture of all sorts of husbandry tools, began about four years ago; but it is far more celebrated for being the supposed termination of the Roman wall, or Graham's dike, built under the auspices of Antoninus Pius. Not the least relique is to be seen here at present; but about a mile and a half to the eastward on a rising ground above the bridge of the burn of Dalmure, near the village of Duntocher, are the vestiges of a fort and watch-tower, with a very deep foss. The houses in the village appear to have been formed out of the ruins, for many of the stones are smoothed on the side; and on one are the letters N. E. R. O. very legible. This wall was guarded with small forts from end to end, that is to say, from near Kirkpatric to within two miles of Abercorn, or, as Bede calls it, the monastery of Abercurnig, or the Firth of Forth, a space of thirty-six miles eight hundred and eighty-seven paces; of these forts ten are planned by the ingenious Mr. Gordon, and numbers of the inscriptions found in them, engraven. This great work was performed by the soldiery under Lollius Urbicus, lieutenant of Antoninus, in pursuance of the plan before pointed out by the great Agricola, who garrisoned the whole space between the two firths, removing, as it was, the barbarians into another island\*.

*St. Patrick*  
 Ireland will scarce forgive me if I am silent about the birth-place of its tutelar saint. He first drew breath at Kirkpatric, and derived his name from his father, a noble Roman (a Patrician) who fled hither in the time of persecution. St. Patrick took on himself the charge of Ireland; founded there 365 churches, ordained 365 bishops, 3000 priests, converted 12000 persons in one district, baptized seven kings at once, established a purgatory, and with his staff at once expelled every reptile that stung or croaked.

Somewhat lower, on the same side, Dunglass projects into the water, and forms a round bay. On the point is a ruined fort, perhaps on the site of a Roman; for probably the wall might have ended here, as at this very place the water is deep, and at all times unfordable by foot or horse. The fort was blown up in 1640, as some say, by the desperate treachery of an English boy, page to the Earl of Haddington, who, with numbers of people of rank, were miserably destroyed†. Below this the river widens, and begins to have the appearance of an æstuary: the scene varies into other beauties; the hills are rocky, but clothed at the bottom by ranges of woods, and numbers of pretty villas grace the country. Dunbuc makes now a considerable figure: the plain of Dumbarton opens; the vast and strange bicapitated rock, with the fortress, appears full in front; the town and its spire beyond; the fine river Leven on one side, and the vast mountains above Loch-lomond, and the great base and foaming top of Ben-lomond close the view.

The Roman fleet, in all probability, had its station under Dunbarton: the Glota or Clyde, has there sufficient depth of water; the place was convenient and secure; near the end of the wall, and covered by the fort at Dunglass; the pharos on the top of the great rock is another strong proof that the Romans made it their harbour, for the water beyond is impassable for ships, or any vessels of large burden.

\* Tacitus.

† Whitelock, 35. Crawford's Peerage, 182.



After a long contest with a violent adverse wind, and very turbulent water, pass under, on the S. shore, Newark; a castellated house, with round towers. Visit Port-Glasgow, a considerable town, with a great pier, and numbers of large ships: dependent on Glasgow, a creation of that city, since the year 1668, when it was purchased from Sir Patric Maxwell of Newark, houses built, a harbour formed, and the custom-house for the Clyde established.

Proceed two miles lower to Greenock, anciently called the bay of St. Lawrence; a place still more considerable for its shipping than the former; and like the other a port of Glasgow, twenty-two miles distant from it. The Firth here expands into a fine basin, four miles wide, and is land-locked on all sides. Dine here, contract for a vessel for my intended voyage, and return to Glasgow at night.

June 12. Cross the new bridge, at whose foot on that side is Gorbel, a sort of suburbs to Glasgow. The county of Lanerk still extends three miles down the river; but after a short ride, I enter the shire of Renfrew.

Leave on the left the hill of Langside, noted for the battle in 1568; which decided the fortune of Mary Stuart, and precipitated her into that fatal step of deserting her country, and flinging herself into an eighteen years captivity, terminating in the loss of her head, the disgrace of the annals of her glorious rival. Ride through a fine country to Cruickston castle, seated on the summit of a little hill; now a mere fragment, only a part of a square tower remaining of a place of much magnificence, when in its full glory. The situation is delicious, commanding a view of a well-cultivated tract, divided into a multitude of fertile little hills.

This was originally the property of the Crocs, a potent people in this county; but in the reign of Malcolm II. was conveyed, by the marriage of the heiress, daughter of Robert de Croc, into the family of Stuarts, in after-times earls and dukes of Lenox, who had great possessions in these parts. To this place Henry Darnly retired with his enamoured queen, Cruickston being then, as Cliefden in the time of Villiers,

The feat of wantonness and love.

Here fame says that Mary first resigned herself to the arms of her beloved, beneath a great yew, still existing; but no loves would smile on joys commenced beneath the shade of this funereal tree; the hour was unpropitious.

*Ille dies primus Lethi, primusque malorum, causa fuit.*

It was even said\* that Mary, unconscious of events, struck a coin on the occasion, with the figure of the fatal tree, honored with a crown, and distinguished by the motto, "Dat gloria vires." But I have opportunity of contradicting this opinion from an examination of the coins themselves, whose dates are 1565, 1566, and 1567†. The tree is evidently a palm, circumscribed, "Exurgat Deus, dissipentur inimici ejus." Pendent from the boughs, is the motto above cited, which is part of the following lines taken from Propertius, alluding to a snail climbing up the body of the tree, a modest comparison of the honors that Henry Darnly received by the union with his royal spouse:

*Magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires,  
Non juvat ex facili, lata corona iugo.*

Lib. iv. El. 2.

\* Bishop Nicholson's Scottish Library, 323.

† See also Anderson's Coins, tab. 165.



Visit Paisley, a considerable but irregularly built town; at the distance of two miles from Cruickston, six miles west of Glasgow, two miles south-west of Renfrew, and fourteen south-east of Greenock. It was erected into a burgh of barony in the year 1488, and the affairs of the community are managed by three bailies, of which the eldest is commonly in the commission of the peace, a treasurer, a town-clerk, and seventeen counsellors, who are annually elected upon the first Monday after Michaelmas. It stands on both sides the river Cart, over which it has three stone bridges, each of two arches: the river runs from south to north, and empties itself into the Clyde, about three miles below the town: at spring-tides vessels of forty tons burthen come up to the quay; and, as the magistrates are now clearing and deepening the river, it is hoped that still larger may hereafter get up. The communication by water is of great importance to the inhabitants, for sending their goods and manufactures to Port-Glasgow and Greenock, and, if they chuse it, to Glasgow; and besides, was the grand canal finished, they will have an easy communication with the Firth of Forth, as the canal joins the Clyde about three or four miles north of Paisley.

Notwithstanding its antiquity, this town was of little consequence till within these last fifty years; before that period scarce any other manufacture was carried on but coarse-linen checks, and a kind of striped cloth called Bengals; both which have long been given up here; while these were the only manufacture, the inhabitants seem to have had no turn for enlarging their trade, for their goods were exposed to sale in the weekly market, and chiefly bought up by dealers from Glasgow: some of them, however, who travelled into England to sell Scots manufactures, picked up a more general knowledge of trade, and having saved a little money, settled at home, and thought of establishing other branches; to which they were the more encouraged, as their acquaintance in England was like to be of great use to them.

About fifty years ago the making of white stitching threads was first introduced into the west country by a private gentlewoman, Mrs. Millar, of Bargarran, who, very much to her own honour, imported a twist-mill, and other necessary apparatus, from Holland, and carried on a small manufacture in her own family: this branch, now of such general importance to Scotland, was soon after established in Paisley; where it has ever since been on the increase, and has now diffused itself over all parts of the kingdom. In other places girls are bred to it; here they may be rather said to be born to it; as almost every family makes some threads, or have made formerly. It is generally computed, that, in the town and neighbourhood, white threads are annually made to the amount of from 40 to 50,000l.

The manufacture of lawns, under various denominations, is also carried on here to a considerable amount, and to as great perfection as in any part of Europe. Vast quantities of foreign yarn are annually imported from France, Germany, &c. for this branch, as only the lower priced kinds can be made of our home manufactured yarn. It is thought the lawn branch here amounts to about 70,000l. annually. The silk gauze has also been established here, and brought to the utmost perfection; it is wrought to an amazing variety of patterns; for such is the ingenuity of our weavers, that nothing in their branch is too hard for them. It is commonly reckoned that this branch amounts to about 60,000l. annually.

A manufacture of ribbons has, within these twelve months, been established here, and both flowered and plain are made, in every respect as good as in any place in England. In these different branches a great number of people are employed, many of them boys and girls, who must otherwise have been idle for some years. It must be extremely agreeable to every man who wishes well to his country, to see in the summer season



season, both sides of the river, and a great many other fields about town, covered with cloth and threads; and to hear, at all seasons, as he passes along the streets, the industrious and agreeable noise of weaver's looms and twist-mills. The late unfortunate stagnation of trade has been felt here, as well as in most other parts of the island; but it is hoped, if things were a little more settled, trade will revive, and the industrious artificers be again all-employed.

Besides these general manufactures, several others of a more local kind are carried on here; there is a very considerable one of hard-soap and tallow candles, both of which are esteemed excellent of their kinds, as the gentlemen concerned spared no expence to bring their manufacture to perfection: their candles, especially their moulded ones, are reckoned the best and most elegant that have been made in Scotland, and great quantities of them are sent to England and to the West Indies. They are made after the Kensington manner, and with this view they had a man from London, at very high wages. There are also two tanning works in town, and a copperas work in the neighbourhood.

Before the year 1735, the whole people in the parish, town and country, said their prayers in one church, and the reverend and learned Mr. Robert Miller discharged the whole duties of the pastoral office for many years without an assistant; but since that period the town has increased so much, that besides the old church there are now two large ones, and two seceding meeting-houses. The church first built, called the Laigh, or low-church, is in form of a Greek cross, very well laid out, and contains a great number of people: the other called the high church, is a very fine building, and as it stands on the top of a hill, its lofty stone spire is seen at a vast distance; the church is an oblong square, of eighty-two feet by sixty-two, within the walls, built of free-stone, well smoothed, having rustic corners, and an elegant stone cornice at top: though the area is so large, it has no pillars; and the seats and lofts are so well laid out, that though the church contains about three thousand people, every one of them sees the minister: in the construction of the roof, (which is a pavillion, covered with slate; having a platform covered with lead on the top) there is something very curious; it is admired by every man of taste, and with the whole building, was planned and conducted by the late very ingenious Baillie Whyte, of this place. The town house is a very handsome building of cut-stone, with a tall spire and a clock: part of it is let for an inn, the rest is used as a prison and court-rooms; for here the sheriff-courts of the county are held. The flesh-market has a genteel front of cut-stone, and is one of the neatest and most commodious of the kind in Britain; butchers' meat, butter, cheese, fish, wool, and several other articles, are sold here by what they call the tron-pound of twenty-two English ounces and a half. The poor-house is a large building, very well laid out, and stands opposite to the quay, in a fine free air; it is supported by a small tax, imposed upon the inhabitants quarterly. There are at present in the house above sixty, of which number about thirty-six are boys and girls, who are carefully educated, and the boys put out to business at the expence of the house. Besides these, many out-pensioners have weekly supplies. Most of the mechanics and artificers in town, and several others, that fall not under these denominations, have formed themselves into societies, and have established funds for the aid of their distressed members; these funds are generally well managed, and of very great benefit to individuals.

The old part of the town runs from east to west upon the south slope of a ridge of hills, from which there is a pleasant and very extensive prospect of the city of Glasgow, and the adjacent country on all sides, but to the southward, where the view terminates on a ridge of green hills, about two miles distant. Including the late buildings and



and suburbs, it is about an English mile long, and much about the same breadth. So late as the year 1746, by a very accurate survey, it was found to contain scarce four thousand inhabitants; but it is now thought to have no fewer than from ten to twelve thousand, all ages included. The Earl of Abercorn's burial place is by much the greatest curiosity in Paisley: it is an old Gothic chapel, without pulpit or pew, or any ornament whatever; but has the finest echo perhaps in the world: when the end-door (the only one it has) is shut, the noise is equal to a loud and not very distant clap of thunder; if you strike a single note of music, you hear the sound gradually ascending, till it dies away, as if at an immense distance, and all the while diffusing itself through the circumambient air: if a good voice sings, or a musical instrument is well played upon, the effect is inexpressibly agreeable. In this chapel is the monument of Marjory Bruce: she lies recumbent, with her hands closed, in the attitude of prayer: above was once a rich arch, with sculptures of the arms, &c. Her story is singular: she was daughter of Robert Bruce, and wife of Walter, great steward of Scotland, and mother of Robert II. In the year 1317, when she was big with child, she broke her neck in hunting near this place: the Cæsarian operation was instantly performed, and the child taken out alive; but the operator chancing to hurt one eye with his instrument, occasioned the blemish that gave him afterwards the epithet of Blear-eye; and the monument is also styled that of Queen Bleary. In the same chapel were interred Elizabeth Muir and Euphemia Ross, both consorts to the same monarch: the first died before his accession.

About half a mile south-west of Paisley lies Maxwellton: a very neat little village, erected since the year 1746, where the manufactures of silk gauze are carried on to a considerable extent.

There is scarce a vestige remaining of the monastery, founded in 1160, by Walter son of Allan, "*Dapifer Regis Scotiæ pro anima quondam regis David et anima Henrici regis Angliæ et anima comitis Henrici et pro salute corporis et animæ Malcolmi et pro animabus omnium parentum meorum, et benefactorum nec non et mei ipsius salute, &c.*" The monks, who were instructed with this weighty charge, were first of the order of Cluniacs, afterwards changed to Cistercians; and lastly, the first order was again restored.

The garden wall, a very noble and extensive one of cut stone, conveys some idea of the ancient grandeur of the place: by a rude inscription, still extant, on the north-west corner, it appears to have been built by George Shaw, the abbot, in the year 1484, the same gentleman who four years after procured a charter for the town of Paisley. The inscription is too singular to be omitted:

Thy callit the abbot George of Shaw,  
About my abbey gart make this waw  
An hundred four hundredth year  
Eighty-four the date but weir.  
Pray for his salvation  
That laid this noble foundation.

As the great stewards of Scotland were their patrons and benefactors, they enjoyed ample privileges, and very considerable revenues; they were the patrons of no fewer than thirty-one parishes, in different parts of the kingdom. The monks of this abbey wrote a chronicle of Scots affairs, called the black-book of Paisley, an authentic copy of which is said to have been burnt in the abbey of Holyrood-house, during Cromwell's usurpation: another copy taken from Mr. Robert Spottiswood's library, was carried to England by General Lambert. The chartulary of the monastery is said to be still extant;



tant; the account of the charters, bulls of confirmation, donations, &c. is brought down to the year 1548. John Hamilton, the last abbot, was natural brother to the Duke of Hamilton, and, upon his promotion to the see of St. Andrew's, in 1546, resigned the abbacy of Paisley in favour of Lord Claud Hamilton, third son of that Duke; which resignation was afterwards confirmed by Pope Julius III. in the year 1553. This Lord Claud Hamilton, titular abbot of Paisley, upon the dissolution of the monasteries obtained from King James the VIth, a charter, erecting the lands belonging to the abbacy into a temporal lordship: this charter is dated at Edinburgh, July 29, 1587. He was, by the same prince, created a peer, in 1591, by the title of Lord Paisley, and died in 1621. In 1604 his eldest son had been created Lord Abercorn, and in 1606 was raised to the dignity of an Earl. The family is now represented by the Right Hon. James Earl of Abercorn, Baron Hamilton of Straban, in Ireland, &c. The lordship of Paisley was disposed of to the Earl of Angus, in the year 1652, and by him to William Lord Cochran, afterwards Earl of Dundonald, in 1653, in which family it continued till the year 1764, when the present Earl of Abercorn re-purchased the paternal inheritance of his family. The abbey-church, when entire, has been a grand building, in form of a cross; the great north window is a noble ruin, the arch very lofty, the middle pillar wonderfully light, and still entire: only the chancel now remains, which is divided into a middle and two side-aisles; all very lofty pillars, with Gothic arches; above these is another range of pillars, much larger, being the segment of a circle, and above a row of arched niches, from end to end; over which the roof ends in a sharp point. The outside of the building is decorated with a profusion of ornaments, especially the great west and north doors, than which scarce any thing lighter or richer can be imagined.

But notwithstanding popery and episcopacy were expelled this country, yet superstition and credulity kept full possession in these parts. In 1697 twenty poor wretches were condemned for the imaginary crime of witchcraft, and five actually suffered at the stake on June 10th in the same year\*. One young and handsome; to whom is attributed the heroic reply mentioned in my former volume†. So deep was the folly of excess in belief rooted here, that full credit seems to have been given to an account that one of the condemned (a wizzard) was strangled in his chair by the devil, I suppose lest he should make a confession to the detriment of the service.

The vestiges of the Roman camp at Paisley, are at present almost annihilated. Of the outworks mentioned by Camden, there are no traces of any excepting one, for at a place called Castle Head, are still left a few marks, but nothing entire. There had been a military road leading to the camp, which is supposed to have been the vanduara of Ptolemy.

Continue my journey towards Renfrew. On the road see a mount or tumulus, with a foss round the base, with a single stone erected on the top. Near this place was defeated and slain Sumerled Thane of Argyle, who in 1159, with a great army of banditti, collected from Ireland‡ and other parts, landed in the bay of St. Laurence, and led them in rebellion against Malcolm IV. That this mount was raised in memory

\* Narrative of the diabolical practices of above twenty wizzards, &c. printed 1697.

† The girl at Warhois made a reply equally great. Her persecutors had only one circumstance against her: that of concealing herself, for when the mob came to seize her mother, she hid herself in the coal-hole. On her trial the by-standers pitying her youth and innocence, advised her to plead her belly. She replied with the utmost spirit, that notwithstanding they had power to put her to death; they never should make her destroy her reputation by so infamous a plea.

‡ Major, 133.



of so signal an event is not improbable, especially as we are told by a most respectable writer \*, that his troops retired unmolested ; therefore might have leisure to fling up this usual tribute to the honour of their leader.

Reach Renfrew the county town, now an inconsiderable place. Robert II. had a palace here, which stood on a piece of ground of about half an acre, still called the Castle hill ; but nothing remains but the ditch which surrounded it. This monarch first made Renfrew an independent sheriffdom, for before it was joined to that of Lanerk.

Pass by the tower of Inch, or isle so called, from its once having been, as tradition says, surrounded by the Clyde. Mr. Crawford, in his history of the county informs us, it had been the property of the barons Ross of Haulkhead.

All the land in these parts excellent, but most ill and slovenly dressed. Cross the Clyde, pass by Partic, a village where the bakers of Glasgow have very considerable mills on the water of Kelvin, and a great tract of land, at present valued at ten thousand pounds ; originally granted to them by the regent Murray, in reward for their services in supplying his army with bread previous to the decisive battle of Langside. Return again to Glasgow.

June 13. Set out in company with Mr. Golborne for Loch Lomond. Pass for a few miles over a pleasant country, hilly, well cultivated, and often prettily planted, and thick set with neat villas. Go over the site of the Roman wall, near Bemulie, where had been a considerable fort, whose plan is engraven by Mr. Gordon. Cross the Kelvin, and enter the shire of Lenox, or sheriffdom of Dunbarton.

See on the right Mugdoc castle, a square tower, the antient seat of the Grahams ; and near it is a mount, probably the work of the Romans, for they penetrated on this side as far as the banks of Loch-Lomond, a gold coin of Nero and another of Trajan having been found in the parish of Drummond. The country now grows high, moory, black, and dreary. Pass over Fenwick bridge, flung over a dark and rocky glen, shaded with trees, impending over a violent torrent. Leave at some distance on the right the small house of Moss, immortalized by the birth of the great Buchanan. Cross a handsome bridge over the water of Enneric, and breakfast at the village of Drummin or Drummond with the Rev. Mr. Macfarlane, the minister of the place. The parish, which takes its name from Druim, a back, from the ridges that run along it, is in extent nine miles by seven ; and some years ago contained about a thousand eight hundred souls, but the number is much reduced by the unfeeling practice of melting several lesser farms into a greater. Arrive once more within sight of the charming Loch-Lomond.

Approach its shores, go through the narrow pass of Bualmacha, where the Grampian hills finish in the lake. Many of the isles run in a line with, and seem to have been a continuation of them ; appearing like so many fragments rent from them by some violent convulsion. Arrive in a beautiful bay : the braes of the hills on the right are lofty, some filled with small pebbles, others have a ferruginous look. The islands are mountainous, and exhibit variety of charms. Inch-Culloch, or the isle of nuns, has on it the remains of a church, is finely wooded, and is said to have been the seat of the fair recluses. Inch-Murrin, or the isle of St. Murrinus, is two miles long, is a deer-park, and has on it the ruins of a house once belonging to the family of Lenox. On this island John Colquhoun, laird of Lufs, with several of his followers, were barbarously murdered by a party of islanders, who, under conduct of Lauchlan Maclean, and Murdoc Gibson in 1439, carried fire and sword through this part of North Britain.

\* Rev Dr. John Macpherson.



Various other islands grace this fine expanse: Inch-Lonaig of great extent is blackened with the deep green of yews. The osprey inhabits a ruined castle on Inch-Galbraith; and several little low and naked isles serve to diversify the scene. From this spot the boundaries of the water are magnificent and distinct; the wooded side of the western, and the soaring head of Ben-lomond on the eastern, form a view that is almost unequalled.

The top of this great mountain is composed of a micaceous slate, mixed with quartz. The *Sibbaldia procumbens*, a plant unknown in England, grows on the upper parts. Ptarmigans inhabit its summit, and roes the woods near its base, the most southern resort of those animals in our island.

The height of Ben-lomond from the surface of the lake is three thousand two hundred and forty feet; the prospect from the summit of vast extent; the whole extent of Loch-lomond with its wooded isles appears just beneath. Loch-loung, Loch-kettering, Loch-earn and the river Clyde form the principal waters. The mountains of Arran appear very distinct, and to the north, Alps upon Alps fill up the amazing view.

Return the same way, and visit Buchanan, the seat of the Duke of Montrose, in a low and most disadvantageous situation, within a mile of the lake, without the least view of so delicious a water. This had been the seat of the Buchanans for six or seven ages, till it was purchased by the family of Montrose, sometime in the last century. Trees grow well about the house; and the country yields a good deal of barley and oats, and some potatoes, but very little wheat.

His Grace has in his possession a portrait of his heroic ancestor James Marquis of Montrose; his six victories, great as they were, do him less honour than his magnanimity at the hour of his death; he ascended the gibbet with a dignity and fortitude that caused the ignominy of his punishment to vanish; he fell with a gallant contempt of the cruellest insults; with that intrepid piety that blunted the malice of his enemies, and left them filled with the confusion natural to little minds, disappointed in the strained contrivances of mean revenge.

It is amusing to read the weak effects of fear, envy, and rancour in the reports of the times: "The witches (said the wretched covenanters) were consulted at his birth; it was predicted that the boy would trouble Scotland; and while he was a sucking child (add they) he eat a venomous toad\*."

Walk in the afternoon over the neighbouring environs. See the water of Enneric that discharges itself here into the lake. Salmon in their annual migration pass up the Leven, traverse the lake, and seek this river to deposit their spawn.

The surface of Loch-lomond has for several years past been observed gradually to increase and invade the adjacent shore; and there is reason to suppose that churches, houses, and other buildings have been lost in the water. Near Luss is a large heap of stones at a distance from the shore, known by the name of the Old Church; and about a mile to the south of that, in the middle of a large bay, between Camstraddan and the isle Inch-lavanack, is another heap, said to have been the ruins of a house. To confirm this, it is evident by a passage in Camden's *Atlas Britannica*, that an island, existing in his time, is now lost, for he speaks of the isle of Camstraddan, placed between the lands of the same name and Inch-lavanack, in which, adds he, was an house and orchard. Besides this proof, large trees with their branches still adhering are frequently found in the mud near the shore, overwhelmed in former times by the increase of water. This is supposed to be occasioned by the vast quantities of stone

\* Staggering State of Scotch Statesmen, p. 14.



and gravel that is continually brought down by the mountain rivers, and by the falls of the banks of the Leven: the first filling the bed of the lake, the last impeding its discharge through the bed of the river.

Mr. Golborne, at the request of the several proprietors, has made a voyage and survey of the lake, in order to plan some relief from the encroachment of the water. He proposes to form a constant navigation down the Leven, by deepening the channel, and cutting through the neck of two great curvatures, which will not only enable the inhabitants of the environs of Loch-lomond to convey their slate, timber, bark, &c. to the market; but also by lowering the surface of the lake, recover some thousands of acres now covered with water.

The tide flows up the Leven two miles and a quarter. From thence as far as the lake is a rapid current, the fall being nineteen feet in five miles; the water is also full of shoals, so that in dry seasons it becomes unnavigable; and even at best the vessels are drawn up by a number of horses.

I must not leave the parish of Drummond without saying, that the celebrated Napier of Merchiston, author of the logarithms, was born at Garlies, within its precincts.

June 14 and 15. Still at Glasgow: am honoured with the freedom of the city.

June 16. Set out for Greenock, pass again through Renfrew; the country very fine, the lanes for some space well planted on both sides. Ride over Inchinnan bridge, near which Matthew Earl of Lenox, in 1506, built a magnificent palace; get upon some high grounds, and, above the seat of Lord Glencairn, have a fine view of the Clyde, Dunbarton, and all the northern shore. Reach Greenock; after dinner take boat and cross into the shire of Lenox, and land where the parish of Rosneath juts out, and narrows the bay to the breadth of three miles, forming in that part a sort of strait; the prospect in the middle of this passage uncommonly fine; a contrast of fertility and savage views; to the east were the rich shores of the shires of Renfrew and Lenox, the pretty seats on the banks, and the wooded peninsula of Ardmore; and to the west appears the craggy tops of the hills of Argyleshire. Visit Rosneath house a neat seat of the Duke of Argyle, dated 1634; the grounds well planted, the trees thriving; in one part of the walks am shewn a precipitous rock, to which I was informed that the hero Wallace was pursued, and obliged to leap down to avoid captivity; his horse perished; the hero escaped unhurt. This country was the seat of the Mac-Aulays, who struggled long with the Campbells in defence of their rights, but their genius proved the weaker.

Cross over the mouth of Loch-gair, which runs to the north six or seven miles up the country, the end overhung with lofty ragged mountains. Visit Airden-capel, a new house of Lord Frederic Campbell, situate on an eminence, commanding a most beautiful view of the Renfrew shore, and the prospect of the ports of Port-Glasgow and Greenock, continually animated with the movement of ships, and the busy haunt of commerce. Ardin-capel was anciently possessed by a family of the same name; but in the time of James III. it was changed to that of Mac-Aulay, from the word Aulay happening to be the Christian name of the owner.

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#### A VOYAGE TO THE HEBRIDES.

June 17. Go on board the Lady Frederic Campbell, a cutter of 90 tons, Mr. Archibald Thompson, master. Sail at half an hour past two in the afternoon; pass on the left, the village and little bay of Gourock, a place of sailors and fishermen; on the right,



right, the point of Roseneath, in Lenox; between which, and that of Strone, in Cowal, a portion of Argyleshire, opens Loch-Loung, or the loch of ships, which runs north many miles up the country. This is the Skipafjord of the Norwegians, having in their tongue, the same signification. To this place, in 1263, Haco King of Norway, detached, with sixty ships, some of his officers, who landed and destroyed all the country round Loch-Lomond\*. Immediately beyond the point of Strone the land is again divided by the Holy-Loch, or Loch-Seant, extending westward. On its northern shore is Kilmun, once the seat of a collegiate church, founded by Sir Duncan Campbell, in 1442, and since that time the burial-place of the house of Argyle.

Steer south, conveyed rather by the force of the tide than wind; the channel strait, and so narrow as to make every object distinct. On the eastern shore is the square tower of Leven, and a little farther projects the point of Cloch. Almost opposite, on the western side, are the ruins of the castle of Dunoon: this fortress was possessed by the English in 1334, but was taken in behalf of David Bruce, by Sir Colin Campbell, of Lochow, who put the garrison to the sword; in reward he was made hereditary governor, and had the grant of certain lands towards its support.

The view down the Firth now appears extremely great: the shire of Renfrew bounds one side; the hills of Cowal, sloping to the water edge, and varied with woods and corn-lands, grace the other; in front are the greater and the lesser Cumrays, the first once remarkable for its church, dedicated to St. Columba†, and at present for the quarries of beautiful free-stone; the last for the abundance of rabbits; the isle of Bute, with its fertile shore, lies oblique, and the stupendous mountains of Arran, soar at some distance far, far above.

Am carried by the point and castle of Towart, the flat southern extremity of Cowal, leaving on the east the shire of Ayr. Towart is the property of the Lamonds, who, during the civil wars, siding with Montrose, were besieged in it, and, on the surrender, put to the sword‡. At a distance is pointed out to me, in that county, the site of Largs, distinguished in the Scottish annals for the final defeat of the Norwegians in 1263, which put an end to their invasions, and restored to Scotland the possession of the Hebrides.

Steer towards the coast of Bute, and in the evening land at the little point of Squollog, and walk up to Mount-Stewart, the seat of the Earl of Bute; a modern house, with a handsome front and wings: the situation very fine, on an eminence in the midst of a wood, where trees grow with as much vigour as in the more southern parts, and extend far beneath on each side; and thrushes, and other birds of song, fill the groves with their melody.

The isle of Bute is about twenty measured miles long; the breadth unequal, perhaps the greatest is five miles; the number of acres about twenty thousand; of inhabitants about four thousand; here are two parishes, Kingarth and Rothesay; at the last only the Erse language is used. It must be observed also, that in the last church were buried two of the bishops of the isles§, but whether it was at times the residence of the prelates does not appear.

The country rises into small hills, is in no part mountainous, but is highest at the south end. The strata of stone along the shore from Rothesay bay to Cil-chattan, is a red grit, mixed with pebbles; from the first, transverse to Scalpay bay, is a bed of slate, which seems to be a continuation of that species of stone, rising near Stonehive,

\* *Universas villas in circuitu Lacus Lokulofrii vastarunt.* Torfæus, *Hist. Orcad.* 167.

† Dean of the isles, 6.

‡ Buchanan's Clans, part i. 152.

§ Keith, 180.



on the eastern side of Scotland, and continued, with some interruptions, to this island; but is of a bad kind, both at its origin and termination. In the south end is some limestone; some spotted stone, not unlike lava, is found near the south end.

The quadrupeds of this island are hares, polecats, weasels, otters, seals, and as a compliment to the soil, moles. Among the birds, grouse and partridge are found here.

The cultivation of an extensive tract on this eastern side is very considerable. In the article of inclosure, it has the start of the more southern counties of this part of the kingdom: the hedges are tall, thick, and vigorous; the white-thorns and wicken trees now in full flower, and about two thousand acres have been thus improved. The manures are coral and sea-shells, sea-weeds, and lime. I observed in many places whole strata of corals and shells of a vast thickness, at present half a mile from the sea, such losses has that element sustained in these parts. The island is destitute of coal, but still much lime is burnt here, not only for private use, but for exportation at a cheap rate to the ports of Greenock and Port-Glasgow.

The produce of the island is barley, oats, and potatoes. The barley yields nine from one; the oats four. Turneps and artificial grasses have been lately introduced with good success: so that the inhabitants may have fat mutton throughout the year. A great number of cattle are also reared here. The highest farm here is sixty pounds a year, excepting a single sheep farm which rents for two hundred, but the medium is about twenty-five. Arable land is set at nine or ten shillings an acre; the price of labourers is eight-pence a day. Rents are at present mostly paid in money; the rent-roll of the island is about four thousand pounds a year. Lord Bute possesses much the greater share, and two or three private gentlemen own the rest.

The air is in general temperate; no mists or thick rolling fogs from the sea, called in the north a *harle*, ever infest this island. Snow is scarcely ever known to lie here; and even that of last winter so remarkable for its depth and duration in other places, was in this island scarce two inches deep. The evils of this place are winds and rains, the last coming in deluges from the west.

When the present Earl of Bute came to his estate, the farms were possessed by a set of men, who carried on at the same time, the profession of husbandry and fishing to the manifest injury of both. His Lordship drew a line between these incongruent employs, and obliged each to carry on the business he preferred, distinct from the other: yet in justice to the old farmers, notice must be taken of their skill in ploughing even in their rudest days, for the ridges were strait, and the ground laid out in a manner that did them much credit. But this new arrangement, with the example given by his Lordship of inclosing; by the encouragement of burning lime for some, and by transporting gratis to the nearest market the produce of all, has given to this island its present flourishing aspect.

This isle with that of Arran, the greater and the lesser Cumbray, and Inch-marnoc, form a county under the name of Bute. This shire and that of Caithness send a member to parliament alternately.

Civil causes are determined here as in other counties of this part of the kingdom, by the sheriff-depute, who is always resident: he is the judge in smaller matters, and has a salary of about a hundred and fifty pounds a year. Justices of peace have the same powers here, and over the whole county, as in other places; but in North Britain no other qualification is required, after nomination, than taking out their commissions, and giving the usual oaths.

Criminals



Criminals are lodged in the county jail at Rothesay, but are removed for trial to Inverary; where the judges of the court of justiciary meet twice a year for the determining of criminal causes of a certain district.

The Earl of Bute is admiral of the county by commission from his Majesty, but no way dependent on the Lord High Admiral of Scotland; so that if any maritime case occurs within this jurisdiction, (even crimes of as high a nature as murder or piracy,) his Lordship, by virtue of the powers as admiral, is sufficient judge, or he may delegate his authority to any deputies.

June 18. Visit the south part of the island: ride to the hill of Cil-chattan, a round eminence, from whence is a vast view of all around, insular and mainland. Observe, on the face of the hills, that the rocks dip almost perpendicularly, and form long columnar stacks, some opposing to us their sides, others their angles; are hard and cherty, but not basaltic; a term I apply to the jointed columns resembling those of the giant's causeway.

Descend to the ruin of old Kin-garth church. Two cemeteries belong to it, a higher and a lower; the last was allotted for the interment of females alone, because in old times certain women being employed to carry a quantity of holy earth, brought from Rome, lost some by the way, and so incurred this penalty for their negligence, *penishment* that of being buried separated from the other sex.

Near this place is a circular inclosure called the Devil's Cauldron: it is made of stone, of excellent masonry, but without mortar, having the inside faced in the most smooth and regular manner. The walls at present are only seven feet six inches high, but are ten feet in thickness; on one side is an entrance, wide at the beginning, but grows gradually narrower as it approaches the area, which is thirty feet diameter.

Mr. Gordon has engraven in tab. iii. a building similar to this, near the course of the wall, called Cairn-fual, and styles it a castellum. This, I presume, could never have been designed as a place of defence, as it is situated beneath a precipice, from whose summit the inmates might instantly have been oppressed by stones, or missile weapons; perhaps it was a sanctuary, for the name of the church, Kin garth, implies, kin, chief or head, garth\* a sanctuary; the common word for places of refuge, girth being corrupted from it.

The south end of Bute is more hilly than the rest, and divided from the other part by a low sandy plain, called Langal-chorid, on which are three great upright stones, the remains of a druidical circle, originally composed of twelve.

Return over a coarse country, and pass by lands lately inclosed with hedges, growing in a very prosperous manner. Pass by Loch-ascog, a small piece of water, and soon after by Loch-fad, about a mile and three quarters long, narrow, rocky on one side, prettily wooded on the other. The other lochs are Loch-Quyen, and Loch-Greenan, and each has its river. Reach Rothesay, the capital; a small but well-built town, of small houses, and about two hundred families, and within these few years much improved. The females spin yarn, the men support themselves by fishing. The town has a good pier, and lies at the bottom of a fine bay, whose mouth exactly opens opposite to that of Loch-Streven in Cowal: here is a fine depth of water, a secure retreat, and a ready navigation down the Firth for an export trade; magazines for goods for foreign parts might most advantageously be established here.

The castle has been built at different times, the present entrance by Robert III. the rest is quite round, with round towers at the sides, and is of unknown antiquity.

\* Garth originally means no more than yard or inclosure.



Hufbec \*, grandson of Somerled, was killed in the attack of a castle in Bute, perhaps of this. Haco † took the castle and whole island in the year 1263. It was seized by Edward Baliol in 1334 ‡, when possessed by the high steward of Scotland, a friend of the Bruces, and heir to the crown. In the year following the whole island, as well as that of Arran, was ravaged by the English, under the command of Lord Darcy, Lord Justice of Ireland. Soon after the natives of Arran and Bute arose §, and, unarmed, made an attack with stones on Alan Lile, the English governor, put his party to flight, and recovered the fortrefs. It became in after-times a royal residence: Robert III. ¶ lived there for a considerable time; much attention was bestowed on it, for in the reign of James V. we find that one of the articles of accusation against Sir James Hamilton, was his not accounting for three thousand crowns, destined to reform the castle and palace of Rosay ¶¶. In 1544, the Earl of Lenox, assisted by the English, made himself master of the place; and in the beginning of the last century (on what occasion I do not recollect) it was burnt by the Marquis of Argyle.

Bute is said to derive its name from Bothe, a cell, St. Brandan having once made it the place of his retreat; and, for the same reason, the natives of this isle, and also of Arran, have been sometimes styled Brandani. It was from very early times, part of the patrimony of the Stuarts: large possessions in it were granted to Sir John Stuart, natural son of Robert II. by one of his mistresses, but whether by his beloved More or Moreham, or his beloved Mariota de Cardny, is what I cannot determine \*\*.

Continue our ride along a hilly country, open, and under tillage; past on the right, the castle and bay of Cames, long the property of the Bannentynes; turn to the west, descend to the shore, and find our boat ready to convey us to the vessel, which lay at anchor a mile distant under Inch-marnoc.

An island so called from St. Marnoc, where appear the ruins of a chapel, and where (according to Fordun ††) had been a cell of monks. The extent of this little isle is about a mile, has a hundred and twenty acres of arable land, forty of brush-wood, near three hundred of moor, and has vast strata of coral and shells on the west side. It is inhabited by a gentleman on half-pay, who, with his family occupies the place under Lord Bute.

June 19. Weigh anchor at three o'clock in the morning; am teized with calms, but amused with a fine view of the circumambient land; the peninsula of Cantyre, here lofty, sloping, and rocky, divided by dingles, filled with woods, which reach the water-edge, and expand on both sides of the hollows; Inch-marnoc and Bute lie to the east; the mountainous Arran to the south; Loch-fine, the Sinus Lelalonius of Ptolemy, opened on the north, between the point of Skipnish in Cantyre and that of Lamond in Cowal, and shewed a vast expanse of water wildly bounded; numbers of herring-busses were now in motion, to arrive in time at Campbeltown, to receive the benefit of the bounty, and animated the scene.

Turn northward, leave the point of Skipnish to the south-west, and with difficulty get through a strait of about a hundred yards wide, with funk rocks on both sides, into the safe and pretty harbour of the eastern Loch-Tarbat, of capacity sufficient for a number of ships, and of a fine depth of water. The scenery was picturesque; rocky little islands lie across one part, so as to form a double port; at the bottom extends a small village, on the Cantyre side is a square tower, with vestiges of other ruins,

\* Torfæus.

† Buchanan.

‡ Boethius, 317.

§ Major, 229.

¶ Boethius 339.

¶ Lindesay, 165.

\*\* Vide Sir James Dalrymple's Collections. Edinburgh, 1705, p. p. xxxviii. lxxxiii.

†† Lib. ii. c. 10.



built by the family of Argyle to secure their northern dominions from the inroads of the inhabitants of the peninsula; on the northern side of the entrance of the harbour the rocks are of a most grotesque form: vast fragments piled on each other, the faces contorted and undulated in such figures as if created by fusion of matter after some intense heat; yet did not appear to me a lava, or under any suspicion of having been the recreation of a volcano.

Land at the village, where a great quantity of whisky is distilled.

Visit the narrow neck of land which joins Cantyre to South Knapdale; it is scarcely a mile wide, is partly morassy, partly intersected by strata of rocks, that are dipping continuations from the adjacent mountains of each district. There have been plans for cutting a canal through this isthmus to facilitate the navigation between the western ocean and the ports of the Clyde, and to take away the necessity of sailing through the turbulent tides of the Mull of Cantyre: it is supposed to be practicable, but at vast expence; at an expence beyond the power of North Britain to effect, except it could realize those sums which the wishes of a few of its sons had attained in idea. While I meditate on the project, and in imagination see the wealth of the Antilles sail before me, the illusion bursts, the shores are covered with wrecked fortunes, real distress succeeds the ideal riches of Alnaschar, and dispels at once the beautiful vision of Aaron Hill \*, and the much affected traveller.

Ascend a small hill, and from the top have a view of the western Loch-Tarbat, that winds along for about twelve miles, and is one continued harbour, for it has eight fathom water not very remote from this extremity, and opens to the sea on the west coast, at Aird-Patric: the boundaries are hilly, varied with woods and tracts of heath; the country yields much potatoes and some corn, but the land is so interrupted with rocks, that the natives, instead of the plough, are obliged to make use of the spade.

The time of the tides vary greatly at the terminations of each of these harbours: at this the flood had advanced in the east loch full three quarters, in the other only one hour. According to some remarks Mr. James Watts of Glasgow favoured me with, the spring-tides in East-Tarbat flow ten feet six inches; in West-Tarbat only four feet six inches, or, in very extraordinary tides, two feet higher. The tides in the west loch are most irregular; sometimes neither ebb nor flow; at other times ebb and flow twice in a tide, and the quantity of false ebb is about one foot. The mean height of the firth of Clyde is greater than that of West-Tarbat.

It is not very long since vessels of nine or ten tons were drawn by horses out of the west loch into that of the east, to avoid the dangers of the Mull of Cantyre, so dreaded and so little known was the navigation round that promontory. It is the opinion of many that these little isthmuses, so frequently stiled Tarbat in North Britain, took their name from the above circumstance; tarring signifying to draw, and bata, a boat. This too might be called, by way of pre-eminence, the tarbat, from a very singular circumstance related by Torfæus †. When Magnus the Barefooted, King of Norway, obtained from Donald-bane of Scotland the cession of the western isles, or all those places that could be surrounded in a boat, he added to them the peninsula of Cantyre by this fraud: he placed himself in the stern of a boat, held the rudder, was drawn over this narrow tract, and by this species of navigation wrested the country from his brother monarch.

In the afternoon attempt to turn out, but am driven back by an adverse gale.

\* Vide Tour of 1769, 1st ed. p. 215. 2d ed. p. 228.

† Hist. Orcad. 73.



June 20. Get out early in the morning into the same expanse as before : land on Inch-Bui, or the yellow isle ; an entire rock, covered with the lichen *parietinus*. Sail by Inch-Skaite ; amused by the sporting of seals. Hail a small fishing-boat, in order to purchase some of its cargo : am answered by the owner that he would not sell any, but that part was at my service ; a piece of generosity of greater merit, as in this scarce season the substance of the whole family depended on the good fortune of the day. Thus in these parts hospitality is found even among the most indigent.

Most of the morning was passed in a dead calm : in the afternoon succeeded brisk gales, but from points not the most favourable, which occasioned frequent tacks in sight of port : in one broke our top-sail yard. During these variations of our course, had good opportunity of observing the composition of the isle of Arran : a series of vast mountains, running in ridges across the whole ; their tops broken, serrated, or spiring ; the summit of Goatfield rising far above the rest, and the sides of all sloping towards the water edge ; a scene, at this distance, of savage sterility.

Another calm within two miles of land : take to the boat, and approach Loch-Ranza, a fine bay, at the north end of the isle of Arran, where I land in the evening. The approach was magnificent : a fine bay in front, about a mile deep, having a ruined castle near the lower end, on a low far projecting neck of land, that forms another harbour, with a narrow passage ; but within has three fathom of water, even at the lowest ebb. Beyond is a little plain watered by a stream, and inhabited by the people of a small village. The whole is environed with a theatre of mountains ; and in the back ground the serrated crags of Grianan-Athol soar above.

Visit the castle, which consists of two square parts united, built of red grit stone : in one room is a chimney-piece, and fire-place large enough to have roasted an ox ; but now strewed with the shells of limpets, the hard fare of the poor people who occasionally take refuge here.

This fortress was founded by one of the Scottish monarchs, and is of some antiquity ; for Fordun, who wrote about the year 1380, speaks of this and Brodie as royal castles.

The village of Ranza and a small church lie a little farther in the plain : the last was founded and endowed by Anne Dukes of Hamilton, in aid of the church of Kilbride, one of the two parishes this great island is divided into.

Am informed of a basking shark that had been harpooned some days before, and lay on the shore on the opposite side of the bay. Cross over to take a view of a fish so rarely to be met with in other parts of Great Britain, and find it a monster, notwithstanding it was much inferior in size to others that are sometimes taken ; for there have been instances of their being from thirty-six to forty feet in length.

This was twenty-seven feet four inches long. The tail consisted of two unequal lobes ; the upper five feet long, the upper three. The circumference of the body great ; the skin cinereous, and rough. The upper jaw much longer than the lower. The teeth minute, disposed in numbers along the jaws. The eyes placed at only fourteen inches distance from the tip of the nose. The apertures to the gills very long, and furnished with strainers of the substance of whalebone.

These fish are called in the Erse Cairban, by the Scotch Sail-fish, from the appearance of the dorsal fins above water. They inhabit most parts of the western coasts of the northern seas : Linnæus says within the arctic circle ; they are found lower, on the coast of Norway, about the Orkney isles, the Hebrides, and on the coast of Ireland in the bay of Balishannon, and on the Welch coasts about Anglesea. They appear in the first in June in small shoals of seven or eight, continue there till the end of July, and



then disappear. They are most inoffensive fish; feed either on exanguious marine animals, or an algæ, nothing being ever found in their stomachs except some dissolved greenish matter.

They swim very deliberately with their two dorsal fins above water, and seem quiescent as if asleep. They are very tame or very stupid, and permit the near approach of man: will suffer a boat to follow them without accelerating their motion, till it comes almost within contact, when a harpooner strikes his weapon into the fish as near the gills as possible; but they are often so insensible as not to move until the united strength of two men has forced in the harpoon deeper: as soon as they perceive themselves wounded, they fling up their tail and plunge headlong to the bottom, and frequently coil the rope round them in their agonies, attempting to disengage themselves from the weapon by rolling on the ground, for it is often found greatly bent. As soon as they discover that their efforts are in vain, they swim away with amazing rapidity, and with such violence that a vessel of seventy tons has been towed by them against a fresh gale: they sometimes run off with two hundred fathoms of line, and with two harpoons in them; and will find employ to the fishers for twelve and sometimes twenty-four hours before they are subdued. When killed they are either hauled on shore, or if at a distance, to the vessel's side. The liver (the only useful part) is taken out and melted into oil in vessels provided for that purpose: a large fish will yield eight barrels of oil, and two of sediment, and prove a profitable capture.

The commissioners of forfeited estates were at considerable expence in encouraging this species of fishery; but the person they confided in most shamefully abused their goodness; so at present it is only attempted by private adventurers.

Return, land again and walk through a pretty wood of small trees, up the side of a hill that bounds the western side of the bay. A gigantic frog\*, of the species called by Linnæus, *Bombina*, presented itself on the path. In the course of our ramble, fall in with the manse, or minister's habitation; pass a cheerful evening with him, and meet with a hearty welcome, and the best fare the place could afford. Return to our ship, which had anchored in the bay.

June 21. Procure horses, and (accompanied by Mr. Lindsay, the minister) ride up the valley, cross the little river Ranza, and leave that and a corn-mill on the right. Ascend the steep of the barren mountains, with precipices often on the one side of our path, of which our obstinate steeds preferred the very margin. See to the west the great crags of Grianan-Athol, with eagles soaring over their naked summits. Pass through woods of birch, small, weather-beaten, and blasted: descend by Mac farlane's Carn, cross the water of Sannocks, near the village of the same name: see a low monumental stone; keep along the eastern coast; hear a sermon preached beneath a tent formed of sails on the beach; the congregation numerous, devout, and attentive, seated along the shore, forming a groupe picturesque and edifying.

Dine at the Corry, a small house belonging to a gentleman of Ayrshire, who visits this place for the benefit of goats whey.

Much barrenness in the morning's ride: on the mountains were great masses of moor-stone; on the shore, mill-stone and red grit-stone.

The ride is continued along the coast beneath low cliffs, whose summits were cloathed with heath that hung from their margins, and seemed to distil showers of crystalline water from every leaf, the effect of the various springs above. Meet a flock of goats, skipping along the shore, attended by their herdsman; and observed them collecting as they went, and chewing with great delight, the sea plants. Reach

\* Vide Enumeration of Animals and Plants, No. 231.



Brodie castle, seated on an eminence amidst flourishing plantations, above a small bay, open to the east. This place has not at present much the appearance of a fortress, having been modernized; is inhabited by the Duke of Hamilton's agent, who entertained me with the utmost civility. It is a place of much antiquity, and seems to have been the fort held by the English under Sir John Hastings in 1306; when it was surprised by the partizans of Robert Bruce, and the garrison put to the sword. It was demolished in 1456 by the Earl of Ross, in the reign of James II.; is said to have been rebuilt by James V., and to have been garrisoned in the time of Cromwell's usurpation. Few are the records preserved of these distant places, therefore very wide must be their historic gaps.

Arran, or properly Arr-inn, or the island of mountains, seems not to have been noticed by the ancients, notwithstanding it must have been known to the Romans, whose navy, from the time of Agricola, had its station in the Glota Æstuarium, or the firth of Clyde: Camden indeed makes this island the Glota of Antonine, but no such name occurs in his itinerary; it therefore was bestowed on Arran by some of his commentators.

By the immense cairns, the vast monumental stones, and many reliques of druidism, this island must have been considerable in very ancient times. Here are still traditions of the hero Fingal, or Fin-mac-coul, who is supposed here to have enjoyed the pleasures of the chase; and many places retain his name: but I can discover nothing but oral history that relates to the island, till the time of Magnus the Barefooted, the Norwegian victor, who probably included Arran in his conquests of Cantyre\*. If he did not conquer that island, it was certainly included among those that Donald-bane was to cede; for it appears that Acho†, one of the successors of Magnus, in 1263, laid claim to Arran, Bute, and the Cumrays, in consequence of that promise: the two first he subdued, but the defeat he met with at Largs soon obliged him to give up his conquests.

Arran was the property of the crown: Robert Bruce retired here during his distresses, and met with protection from his faithful vassals: numbers of them followed his fortunes; and after the battle of Bannockbourn he rewarded several, such as the Mac-cooks, Mac-kinnons, Mac-bridges, and Mac-louis, or Fullertons, with different charters of lands in their native country. All these are now absorbed by this great family, except the Fullertons and a Stuart, descended from a son of Robert III., who gave him a settlement here. In the time of the Dean of the isles, his descendant possessed castle Douan; and "he and his bluid," says the dean, "are the best men in that country."

The manner in which Robert Bruce discovered his arrival to his friends, is so descriptive of the simplicity of the times, that it merits notice, in the very words of the faithful old poet, historian of that great prince:

The King then blew his horn in by,  
And gart his men that were him by,  
Hold them still in privitie:  
And syn again his horn blew he:  
James of Dowglas heard him blow,  
And well the blast soon can he know:  
And said furelie yon is the King,  
I ken him well by his blowing:  
The third time therewith als he blew,  
And then Sir Robert Boyde him knew,  
And said, yon is the King but dreed,  
Go we will forth to him good speed.

BARBOUR.

\* Torfæus, 71.

† Buchanan, lib. vii. c. 62.



About the year 1334 this island appears to have formed part of the estate of Robert Stuart, great steward of Scotland, afterwards Robert II. At that time \* the inhabitants took arms to support the cause of their master, who afterwards, in reward, not only granted at their request an immunity from their annual tribute of corn, but added several new privileges, and a donative to all the inhabitants that were present.

In 1456 the whole island was ravaged by Donald Earl of Ross, and lord of the isles. At that period it was still the property of James II. ; but in the reign of his successor, James III., when that monarch matched his sister to Thomas Lord Boyde, he created him Earl of Arran, and gave him the island as a portion : soon after, on the disgrace of that family, he caused the countess to be divorced from her unfortunate husband ; and bestowed both the lady and island on Sir James Hamilton, in whose family it continues to this time, a very few farms excepted.

Arran is of great extent, being twenty-three miles from Sgreadan point north to Beinnean south ; and the numbers of inhabitants are about seven thousand, who chiefly inhabit the coasts ; the far greater part of the country being uninhabitable by reason of the vast and barren mountains. Here are only two parishes, Kilbride and Kilmore, with a sort of chapel of ease to each, founded in the last century, in the golden age of this island, when it was blest with Anne Dukes of Hamilton, whose amiable disposition and humane attention to the welfare of Arran, render at this distant time her memory dear to every inhabitant. Blessed pre-eminence ! when power and inclination to diffuse happiness concur in persons of rank.

The principal mountains of Arran are, Goat-field, or Gaoil-bheinn, or the mountain of the winds, of a height equal to most of the Scottish Alps, composed of immense piles of moor-stone, in form of woolpacks, clothed only with lichens and mosses, inhabited by eagles and ptarmigans. Beinn-bbarrain, or the sharp-pointed ; Ceum-na-caillich, the step of the carline or old hag ; and Grianan-Athol, that yields to none in ruggedness.

The lakes are Loch-jorfa, where salmon come to spawn ; Loch-tana ; Loch-na-hjura, on the top of a high hill ; Loch-mhachrai, and Loch-knoc-a-charbeil, full of large eels. The chief rivers are, Abhan-mhor, Moina-mhor, Slaodrai-machrai, and Jorfa ; the two last remarkable for the abundance of salmon.

The quadrupeds are very few : only otters, wild cats, shrew mice, rabbits, and bats : the stags which used to abound are now reduced to about a dozen. The birds are eagles, hooded crows, wild pigeons, staves, black game, grouse, ptarmigans, daws, green plovers, and curlews. Mr. Stuart, in ascending Goat-field, found the secondary feather of an eagle, white with a brown spot at the base, which seemed to belong to some unknown species. It may be remarked that the partridge at present inhabits this island, a proof of the advancement of agriculture.

The climate is very severe : for besides the violence of winds, the cold is very rigorous ; and snow lay here in the vallies for thirteen weeks of the last winter. In summer the air is remarkably salubrious ; and many invalids resort here on that account, and to drink the whey of goats milk.

The principal disease here is the pleurisy : small-pox, measles, and chin-cough visit the island once in seven or eight years. The practice of bleeding twice every year seems to have been intended as a preventative against the pleurisy ; but it is now performed with the utmost regularity at spring and fall. The Duke of Hamilton keeps a surgeon in pay, who at those seasons makes a tour of the island. On notice of his approach, the

\* Boethius, 318.



inhabitants of each farm assemble in the open air, extend their arms, and are bled into a hole made in the ground, the common receptacle of the vital fluid.

In burning fevers a tea of wood sorrel is used with success, to allay the heat.

An infusion of ramsons, or *allium ursinum* in brandy, is esteemed here a good remedy for the gravel.

The men are strong, tall and well made; all speak the Erse language, but the ancient habit is entirely laid aside. Their diet is chiefly potatoes and meal; and during winter some dried mutton or goat is added to their hard fare. A deep dejection appears in general through the countenances of all: no time can be spared for amusement of any kind; the whole being given for procuring the means of paying their rent, of laying in their fuel, or getting a scanty pittance of meat and cloathing.

The leases of farms are nineteen years. The succeeding tenants generally find the ground little better than a *caput mortuum*; and for this reason, should they at the expiration of the lease leave the lands in a good state, some avaricious neighbours would have the preference in the next setting, by offering a price more than the person who had expended part of his substance in enriching the farm could possibly do. This induces them to leave it in the original state.

The method of letting a farm is very singular: each is commonly possessed by a number of small tenants; thus a farm of forty pounds a year is occupied by eighteen different people, who by their leases are bound, conjunctly and severally, for the payment of the rent to the proprietor. These live in the farm in houses clustered together, so that each farm appears like a little village. The tenants annually divide the arable land by lot; each has his ridge of land, to which he puts his mark, such as he would do to any writing; and this species of farm is called run-rig, i. e. ridge. They join in ploughing: every one keeps a horse or more; and the number of those animals consume so much corn as often to occasion a scarcity; the corn and peas raised being (much of it) designed for their subsistence, and that of the cattle, during the long winter. The pasture and moor-land annexed to the farm is common to all the possessors.

All the farms are open. Inclosures of any form, except in two or three places, are quite unknown: so that there must be a great loss of time in preserving their corn, &c. from trespass. The usual manure is sea plants, coral, and shells.

The run-rig farms are now discouraged; but since the tenements are set by roup, or auction, and advanced by an unnatural force to above double the old rent, without any allowance for inclosing; any example set in agriculture; any security of tenure, by lengthening the leases, affairs will turn retrograde, and the farms relapse into their old state of rudeness; migration will increase (for it has begun), and the rents be reduced even below their former value: the late rents were scarce twelve hundred a year; the expected rents three thousand.

The produce of the island is oats, of which about five thousand bolls, each equal to nine Winchester bushels, are sown: five hundred of beans, a few peas, and above a thousand bolls of potatoes, are annually set; notwithstanding this, five hundred bolls of oat-meal are annually imported to subsist the natives.

The live stock of the island is 3183 milch cows; 2000 cattle, from one to three years old; 1058 horses; 1500 sheep; and 500 goats; many of the two last are killed at Michaelmas, and dried for winter provision, or sold at Greenock. The cattle are sold from forty to fifty shillings per head, which brings into the island about 1200l. per annum: I think that the sale of horses also brings in about 300l. Hogs were introduced here only two years ago. The herring-fishery round the island brings in 300l.; the sale of herring-nets 100l.; and that of thread about 300l., for a good deal of flax is sown



here. These are the exports of the island ; but the money that goes out for mere necessities is a melancholy drawback.

The women manufacture the wool for the cloathing of their families ; they set the potatoës, and dress and spin the flax : they make butter for exportation, and cheese for their own use.

The inhabitants in general are sober, religious, and industrious : great part of the summer is employed in getting peat for fuel, the only kind in use here ; or in building or repairing their houses, for the badness of the materials requires annual repairs : before and after harvest they are busied in the herring-fishery ; and during winter the men make their herring-nets ; while the women are employed in spinning their linen and woollen yarn. The light they often use is that of lamps. From the beginning of February to the end of May, if the weather permits, they are engaged in labouring their ground : in autumn they burn a great quantity of fern to make kelp : so that, excepting at new-year's-day, at marriages, or at the two or three fairs in the island, they have no leisure for any amusements ; no wonder is there then at their depression of spirits.

This forms part of the county of Bute, and is subject to the same sort of government : but besides, justice is administered at the baron's baily-court, who has power to fine as high as twenty shillings ; can decide in matters of property, not exceeding forty shillings ; can imprison for a month : and put delinquents into the stocks for three hours, but that only during day time.

June 22. Take a ride into the country : descend into the valley at the head of the bay ; fertile in barley, oats, and peas. See two great stones, in form of columns, set erect, but quite rude ; these are common to many nations ; are frequent in North Wales, where they are called Main-hirion, i. e. tall stones, Meini-gwir, or men pillars, and Lleche : are frequent in Cornwall, and are also found in other parts of our island : their use is of great antiquity ; are mentioned in the Mosaic writings as memorials of the dead, as monuments of friendship, as marks to distinguish places of worship, or of solemn assemblies \*. The northern nations erected them to perpetuate the memory of great actions, such as remarkable duels ; of which there are proofs both in Denmark and in Scotland ; and the number of stones was proportionable to the number of great men who fell in the fight † : but they were besides erected merely as sepulchral for persons of rank ‡, who deserved well of their country.

Not far from hence is a stone, the most singular that I ever remember to have seen, and the only one of the kind that ever fell within my observation : this lies on the ground, is twelve feet long, two broad, one thick ; has at one end the rude attempt to carve a head and shoulders, and was certainly the first deviation from the former species of monument ; the first essay to give to stone a resemblance to the human body. All that the natives say of this, that it was placed over a giant, and is called Mac Bhrolchin's stone.

Ascend a steep hill, with vast gullies on the side ; and, on descending, arrive in a plain inhabited by curlews, resorting there to breed, and which flew round our heads like lapwings. At a place called Moni-quil is a small circle of small stones, placed close to each other : whether a little druidical place of worship, or of assembly ; or whether

\* Joshua, xxiv. 26.

† Wormii Monum. Dan. 62, 63. Boethius, Scot. Prisc. et Recentis Mores, 10.

‡ Hist. Scot. 20.



a family place of sepulture, as is usual \* with the northern nations, is not easy to determine. If an urn is found in the centre of this coronet, as is not uncommon, the doubt will cease.

Pass by the river Machrai, flowing through a rocky channel, which, in one part has worn through a rock, and left so contracted a gap at the top as to form a very easy step a-crofs. Yet not long ago a poor woman in the attempt, after getting one foot over, was struck with such horror at the tremendous torrent beneath, that she remained for some hours in that attitude, not daring to bring her other foot over, till some kind passenger luckily came by, and assisted her out of her distress.

Arrive at Tormore, an extensive plain of good ground, but quite in a state of nature: seems formerly to have been cultivated, for there appear several vestiges of dikes, which might have served as boundaries. There is a tradition that in old times the shores were covered with woods; and this was the habitable part.

The want of trees in the internal part at present, and the kindly manner in which they grow about Brodie, favour this opinion.

On this plain are the remains of four circles, in a line, extending N. E. by S. W.; very few stones are standing to perfect the inclosure, but those are of a great size; and stand remote from each other. One is fifteen feet high and eleven in circumference. On the outside of these circles are two others: one differs from all I have seen, consisting of a double circle of stones and a mound within the lesser. Near these are the reliques of a stone chest, formed of five flat stones, the length of two yards in the inside: the lid or top is lost. In the middle of these repositories was placed the urn filled with the ashes of the dead to prevent its being broken; or to keep the earth from mixing with the burnt remains. In all probability there had been a cairn or heap of stones above.

By the number of the circles; and by their sequestered situation, this seems to have been sacred ground. These circles were formed for religious purposes: Boethius relates, that Mainus, son of Fergus I. a restorer and cultivator of religion after the Egyptian manner (as he calls it) instituted several new and solemn ceremonies: and caused great stones to be placed in form of a circle; the largest was situated towards the south, and served as an altar for the sacrifices to the immortal gods †. Boethius is right in part of his account: but the object of the worship was the sun ‡, and what confirms this, is the situation of the altar pointed towards that luminary in his meridian glory. In this place the altar and many of the stones are lost: probably carried to build houses and dikes not very remote from the place.

At a small distance farther is a cairn of a most stupendous size, formed of great pebbles: which are preserved from being scattered about by a circle of large stones, that surround the whole base: a circumstance sometimes usual in these monumental heaps §.

Descend through a narrow cleft of a rock to a part of the western shore called Drum-an-dùin, or the ridge of the fort, from a round tower that stands above. The beach is bounded by cliffs of whitish grit stone, hollowed beneath into vast caves. The most remarkable are those of Fin-mac-cuil, or Fingal, the son of Cumhal, the father of

\* Olaus Magnus, lib. 1. c. 16. Various circles of this nature are engraven in Dahlberg's *Suecia Hodierna et Antiqua*, tab. 104. Other very curious antiquities similar to these, are preserved in tab. 280, 281. 315. 322, and 323.

† Boethius, lib. 11. p. 15.

‡ Doctor Macpherson, p. 314, and Mr. Macpherson, p. 162.

§ Borlase *Antiq. Cornwall*, tab. xvii. fig. 4.



Offian, who, tradition says, resided in this island for the sake of hunting. One of these caverns is a hundred and twelve feet long, and thirty high, narrowing to the top like a Gothic arch; towards the end it branches into two: within these two recesses, which penetrate far, are on each side several small holes, opposite to each other: in these were placed tranverse beams, that held the pots in which the heroes seethed their venison; or probably, according to the mode of the times, the bags \* formed of the skins of animals slain in the chase, which were filled with flesh, and served as kettles sufficiently strong to warm the contents; for the heroes of old devoured their meat half raw †, holding, that the juices contained the best nourishment.

On the front of the division between these recesses, and on one side, are various very rude figures, cut on the stone, of men, of animals, and of a clymore or two-handed sword: but whether these were the amusements of the Fingallian age, or of after-times, is not easy to be ascertained; for caves were the retreats of pirates as well as heroes. Here are several other hollows adjacent, which are shewn as the stable, cellars and dog-kennel of the great Mac-cuil: one cave, which is not honoured with a name, is remarkably fine, of great extent, covered with a beautiful flat roof, and very well lighted by two august arches at each end: through one is a fine perspective of the promontory Carn-baan, or the white heap of stones whose side exhibits a long range of columnar rocks (not basaltic) of hard grey whin stone, resting on a horizontal stratum of red stone: at the extremity one of the columns is insulated, and forms a fine obelisk.

After riding some time along the shore, ascend the promontory: on the summit is an ancient retreat, secured on the land side by a great dike of loose stones, that incloses the accessible part; within is a single stone, set erect; perhaps to mark the spot where the chieftain held his council, or from whence he delivered his orders.

From this stone is a fine view of Cantyre, the western side of Arran, being separated from it by a strait about eight miles wide.

Leave the hills, and see at Feorling another stupendous cairn, a hundred and fourteen feet over, and of a vast height; and from two of the opposite sides are two vast ridges; the whole formed of rounded stones, or pebbles, brought from the shores. These immense accumulations of stones are the sepulchral protections of the heroes among the ancient natives of our islands: the stone-chest, the repository of the urns and ashes, are lodged in the earth beneath; sometimes one, sometimes more, are found thus deposited; and I have one instance of as many as seventeen of these stone chests being discovered under the same cairn. The learned have assigned other causes for these heaps of stones; have supposed them to have been, in times of inauguration, the places where the chieftain-elect stood to shew himself to the best advantage to the people; or the place from whence judgment was pronounced; or to have been erected on the road side in honour of Mercury; or to have been formed in memory of some solemn compact ‡. These might have been the reasons, in some instances, where the evidences of stone chests and urns are wanting; but those generally are found to overthrow all other systems.

These piles may be justly supposed to have been proportioned in size to the rank of the person, or to his popularity; the people of a whole district assembled to shew their respect to the deceased, and, by an active honouring of his memory, soon accumulated heaps equal to those that astonish us at this time. But these honours were not merely those of the day; as long as the memory of the deceased existed, not a passenger went

\* Major, lib. v. p. 215.

† Boethius Mores Scot. 11.

‡ Vide Rowland's Mon. Ant. 50. Borlase Antiq. Cornwall, 209.



by without adding a stone to the heap : they supposed it would be an honour to the dead, and acceptable to his manes.

*Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa : licebit  
Injecto ter pulvere, curras.*

To this moment there is a proverbial expression among the Highlanders allusive to the old practice : a suppliant will tell his patron, "*Curri mi cloch er do charne \**," I will add a stone to your cairn, meaning, when you are no more I will do all possible honour to your memory.

There was another species of honour paid to the chieftains, that I believe is still retained in this island, but the reason is quite lost : that of swearing by his name, and paying as great a respect to that as to the most sacred oath † : a familiar one in Arran is, by Nail : it is at present unintelligible, yet is suspected to have been the name of some ancient hero.

These cairns are to be found in all parts of our islands, in Cornwall, Wales, and all parts of North Britain ; they were in use among the northern nations ; Dahlberg, in his 323d plate has given the figure of one. In Wales they are called Carneddau ; but the proverb taken from them, with us, is not of the complimentary kind : "*Karn ar dy ben*," or, a cairn on your head is a token of imprecation.

Dine at Skeddag, a small hamlet : after dinner, on the road side, see, in Shiskin or Seafgain church-yard, a tomb stone called that of St. Maol Jos, that is, the servant of Jesus. The faint is represented in the habit of a priest, with a chalice in his hands, and a crozier by him : the stone was broken about half year ago by some sacrilegious fellow, in search of treasure ; but an islander, who stood by, assured me, that the attempt did not go unpunished, for soon after the audacious wretch was visited with a broken leg.

St. Maol-Jos was a companion of St. Columba : the last chose Jona for the place of his residence ; this saint fixed on the little island of Lamfash, and officiated by turns at Shiskin, where he died at the age of a hundred, and was there interred.

In this evening's ride pass by some farms, the only cultivated tract in the internal parts of the country : saw one of forty pounds a year, which had sixty acres of arable land annexed to it. Am-informed that the general size or value of farms was eight or nine pounds a year.

Return to Brodie castle.

June 23. Take a ride to visit other parts of the island : go through the village of Brodie, at a small distance beneath the castle. Visit Glencloy, a plain, on which are five earthen tumuli, or barrows, placed in a row, with another on the outside of them : on the top of one is a depression, or hollow ; on that of another is a circle of stones, whose ends just appear above the earth. These are probably the memorial of some battle : the common men were placed beneath the plain barrows ; the leaders under those distinguished by the stones.

Pass by the ruins of Kirk-michel chapel : visit Mr. Fullerton, descended from the Mac-Louis, originally a French family, but settled in this island near seven hundred years. He is one of the lesser proprietors of this island : his farm is neat, well cultivated, and inclosed with very thriving hedges. Robert Bruce, out of gratitude for the protection he received from this gentleman's ancestor, Fergus Fullerton, gave him a charter dated at Arnele, Nov. 26, in the 2d year of his reign, for the lands of Killmichel and Arywhonyne, or Straith-oughlian, which are still in the family.

\* Doctor Macpherfon, 319.

† Boethius, lib. 1. p. 4.



Amile farther is a retreat of the ancient inhabitants, called Torr-an-schian castle, surrounded with a great stone dike. Here Robert Bruce sheltered himself, for some time, under the protection of Mac-Louis.

Two miles farther east, near the top of a great hill Dunfuin, on the brow, is a great stratum of most singular stone, of a dull black-green cast, smooth glossy surface, lustrous in its composition, semi-transparent, in small pieces, and of a most vitreous appearance: it sometimes breaks into forms rather regular, and like those of that species called Iceland crystal; but cannot be reduced to that class, as it strikes fire with steel, and refuses to ferment with acids. Some pieces, more mature, break like glass; of which it seems an imperfect species, less pure than the Iceland agate\*, and like that to have been the effect of a volcano.

The other fossil productions of this island, that I had an opportunity of seeing, were, An iron ore, Bolus martialis, Cronsted, sec. 87, 207.

A most ponderous white spar, in all probability containing lead, found near Sannox. The stone called Breccia quartzosa, Cronsted, sect. 275.

Schistus ardesia of Linnaeus, p. 38. No. 5. A fine smooth black kind of slate.

Granites durus griseus of Cronsted, sect. 270, No. 26. Like our Cornish moor-stone, but the particles finer.

Very fine and large black crystals, that would be useful to seal-cutters and lapidaries.

Great variety of beautiful Sardonyxes: and other beautiful stones indiscriminately called Scotch pebbles.

A coal-mine has formerly been worked near the Cock of Arran, at the N. end of the island. The coal had all the qualities of that of Kilkenny, and might prove of the utmost benefit to this country, was the work pursued; not only as it might prove the means of restoring the salt-pans, which formerly flourished here, but be of the utmost benefit to agriculture, in burning the lime-stone which abounds in many parts.

In the course of my ride, on the other side of the hill of Dunfuin, facing the bay of Lamlaish, saw, on the road side a cairn, of a different kind to what I had seen before: it was large, of an oblong form, and composed like the others of round stones: but along the top was a series of cells, some entire, but many fallen in: each was covered with a single flat stone of a great size, resting on others upright, that served as supports; but I could not count them by reason of the lapse of the lesser stones. Doctor Borlase says, that in Cornwall the number of upright stones are three; but in Wales they sometimes exceed that number.

These cells are called in Wales, Cromlêh and Cest-va en or stone chests: are spoken of largely by Mr. Rowland†, and by Doctor Borlase,‡, and by Wormius§, under the name of Ara, or altar: the first is divided in his opinion, for he partly inclines to the notion of their having been altars, partly to their having been sepulchres: he supposes them to have been originally tombs, but that in after-times sacrifices were performed on them to the heroes deposited in them: but there can be doubt of the former. Mr. Keyser preserves an account of King Harold having been interred beneath a tomb of this kind in Denmark: but Mr. Wright discovered in Ireland a skeleton deposited beneath one of these Cromlêh ||. The great similarity of the monuments throughout the north, evinces the sameness of religion to have been spread in every part, perhaps with some slight deviations. Many of these monuments are both British and Danish; for we find them where the Danes never penetrated. It must not be forgotten, that at one end

\* Pumex vitreus, Lin. syst. iii. 182.

§ 105.

|| Louthiana.

† 48.

‡ 213, &c.



of the cairn in question are several great stones, some extending beyond the cairn; and on one side is a large erect stone, perhaps an object of worship.

Return near the shore at the head of Brodic bay, and see a vast stratum of coral and shells, the gift of the sea some ages ago, some part being covered with peat.

June. 24. In the afternoon leave Brodic castle, cross a hill, descend by the village of Kilbride, and reach the harbour of Lamlash, where our vessel lay at anchor in the safest port in the universe, a port perfectly Virgilian:

Hic insula portum  
Efficit objectu laterum.

a beautiful femilunar bay forms one part: while the lofty island of Lamlash extending before the mouth secures it from the east winds: leaving on each side a safe and easy entrance. The whole circumference is about nine miles; and the depth of the water is sufficient for the largest ships. This is a place of quarantine: at this time three merchantmen belonging to Glasgow lay here for that purpose, each with the guard boat astern.

In the bottom of the bay was a fine circular basin or pier now in ruins; the work of the good Dutchess of Hamilton.

Land on the island of Lamlash, a vast mountain in great part covered with heath; but has a sufficient pasture and arable land to feed a few milch cows, sheep and goats, and to raise a little corn and a few potatoes.

In the year 1558, the English fleet under the Earl of Suffex, after ravaging the coast of Cantyre, at that time in possession of James Mac-comel, landed in this bay, and burned and destroyed all the neighbouring country: proceeded afterwards to Cumray, and treated it in the same manner.

Buchanan gives this the Latin name of Molas and Molassa, from its having been the retreat of St. Maol-jos: for the same reason it is called the holy island, and Hellan Leneow\*, or that of Saints, and sometimes Ard-na-molas. St. Maol-jos's cave, the residence of that holy man, his well of most salutary water, a place for bathing, his chair, and the ruins of his chapel are shewn to strangers; but the walk is far from agreeable, as the island is greatly infested with vipers.

The Dean of the isles says, that on this isle of Molas was foundit by John Lord of the isles ane Monastery of Friars which is decayit. But notwithstanding this, it contributed largely to the support of others on the main-land. Thus Lamlash and the lands round the bay; and those from Corry to Loch-ranza, were annexed to the abbey of Kil-whinnin. And those of Shislin, Kilmore, Torelin, and Benans to that of Sandale or Saddle in Cantyre. I imagine that I must have seen the site of it from the top of Carn baan: therefore take the liberty of mentioning it as having been a convent of Cistercians, founded by Reginaldus, son of Somerled, lord of the isles: the same Somerled who was slain near Renfrew in 1164. Here was also a castle belonging to the successors of that petty prince; whose owner Angus, lord of the isles, gave protection during his distresses to Robert Bruce.

June 25. Weighed anchor at half an hour past one in the morning, and going through the south passage of the harbour, get into the middle of the Firth. Have a magnificent view on all sides of Arran and Lamlash, and the coast of Cantyre on one side; and of the coasts of Cunningham and Carrick on the other. In front lay the hills of Galloway and the coast of Ireland; and the vast crag of Ailfa, appearing here

\* Fordun. lib. ii. c. 10.



like an inclined hay-cock, rose in the midst of the channel. In our course leave to the west the little and low island of Plada, opposite, and as if rent from that of Arran, a circumstance the name from *bladhan*, to break, seems to import.

After a very tedious calm reach the crag of Ailsa, and anchor on the N. E. within fifty yards of the side in twelve fathom water, gravelly bottom. On this side is a small beach, all the rest is a perpendicular rock for an amazing height, but from the edges of the precipice, the mountain assumes a pyramidal form; the whole circumference of the base is two miles. On the east side is a stupendous and amazing assemblage of precipitous columnar rocks of great height rising in wild series one above the other; beneath these, amidst the ruins that had fallen from time to time, are groves of elder trees, the only trees of the place: the sloping surface being almost entirely covered with fern and short grass. The quadrupeds that inhabit this rock are goats and rabbits; the birds that nestle in the precipices are numerous as swarms of bees, and not unlike them in their flight to and from the crag. On the verge of the precipice dwell the gannets and the shags. Beneath are guillemots, and the razor-bills, and under them the grey gulls and kittiwaks, helped by their cry to fill the deafening chorus. The puffins made themselves burroughs above, the sea-pies found a scanty place for their eggs near the base. Some land birds made this their haunt: among them ravens, hooded crows, pigeons, wheat-eats and rock-larks; and, what is wonderful, throbbles exerted the same melody in this scene of horror as they do in the groves of Hertfordshire.

Three reptiles appeared here very unexpectedly: the naked black snail, the common and the striped shell snail; not volunteer inhabitants, but probably brought in the salads of some visitants from the neighbouring shores.

This rock is the property of the Earl of Cassils, who rents it for 33*l.* per ann. to people who come here to take the young gannets for the table, and the other birds for the sake of their feathers. The last are caught when the young birds are ready for their flight. The fowler ascends the rocks with great hazard, is provided with a long rod, furnished at the end with a short hair line with a running noose. This he flings round the neck of the bird, haws it up, and repeats it till he takes ten or twelve dozen in an evening\*.

Land on the beach, and find the ruins of a chapel, and the vestiges of places inhabited by fishermen who resort here during the season for the capture of cod, which abound here from January to April, on the great bank, which begins a little south of Arran, passes this rock, and extends three leagues beyond. The fish are taken with long lines, very little different from those described in the third volume of the *Br. Zoology*: a repetition is unnecessary; the fish are dried and then salted, but there are seldom sufficient caught for foreign exportation.

With much difficulty ascend to the castle, a square tower of three stories, each vaulted, placed pretty high on this only accessible part of the rock. The path is narrow, over a vast slope, so ambiguous that it wants but little of a true precipice: the walk is horrible, for the depth is alarming. It would have been thought that nothing but an eagle would have fixed his habitation here; and probably it was some chieftain not less an animal of rapine. The only mark of civilization I saw in the castle was an oven; a conveniency which many parts of North Britain are yet strangers to.

In 1597 one Barclay of Ladyland undertook the romantic design of possessing himself of this rock, and of fortifying it for the service of the Spaniards. He arrived there

\* I cannot learn where these feathers are used.



with a few assistants, as he imagined, undiscovered; but one day walking alone on the beach, he unexpectedly encountered Mr. John Knox, who was sent to apprehend him; and the moment he saw the unfriendly party, in despair, he rushed into the sea, and put an end to his existence\*.

Made a hearty dinner under the shade of the castle, and even at that height procured fine water from a spring within a hundred yards of the place. The view of the bay of Girvan in Carrick, within nine miles, and that of Campbeltown, about twenty-two, bounded each side of the Firth.

The weather was so hot that we did not ascend to the summit, which is said to be broad, and to have had on it a small chapel, designed (as is frequent on the promontories of foreign shores) for the devout seaman to offer up his prayer, of supplication for a safe voyage, or of gratitude for a safe return.

In the evening return on board, and steer towards Campbeltown, but make very little way, by reason of the stillness of the night.

June 26. In the morning find ourselves within nine miles of the town, having to the south (near the end of Cantyre) Sanda, or Avoyn, or island of harbours †, so called from its being the station of the Danish fleets, while that nation possessed the Hebrides; a high island, about two miles long, inhabited by four families. In Fordun's time here was the chapel of St. Annian, and a sanctuary for the refuge of criminals ‡. Near it is Sheep island; and a mile to the east lies Peterfon's rock, dreaded by mariners. The Mull, or extremity of Cantyre, lies at a small distance beyond this groupe.

Direct Mr. Thompson to carry the vessel round the Mull, and to wait under the the isle of Gigha. Take the boat, and make for Campbeltown; after seven miles reach the mouth of the harbour, crossed by a small and high island, with a deep but narrow passage on one side; on the other, connected to the land by a beach, dry at the ebb of the tides, and so low, that strange ships, mistaking the entrance, sometimes run on shore. The harbour widens to a very considerable extent, is two miles in length, and of a considerable depth of water, even close to the town, which lies at the bottom.

Campbeltown is now a very considerable place, having risen from a petty fishing town to its present flourishing state in less than thirty years. About the year 1744 it had only two or three small vessels belonging to the port; at present there are seventy-eight sail, from twenty to eighty tons burthen, all built for and employed in the herring-fishery, and about eight hundred sailors are employed to man them. This town in fact was created by the fishery, for it was appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses; two hundred and sixty have been seen in the harbour at once, but their number declines since the ill payment of the bounty. I do not know the gradual increase of the inhabitants here, but it is computed that there are seven thousand in the town and parish. Two ministers officiate, besides another for the church of the seceders, called the Relief-house. This is a remarkable neat building, and quite shames that of the established church; was raised by a voluntary subscription of 2300*l.* collected chiefly among the posterity of oppressed natives of the Lowlands, encouraged to settle here (in times of persecution) by the Argyle family. These still keep themselves distinct from the old inhabitants, retain the zeal of their ancestors, are obstinately averse to patronage, but are esteemed the most industrious people in the country.

The antient name of this place was Cean-loch-chille-Ciarain, or the end of the loch of St. Kerran, a saint of the neighbourhood. The country of which it is the capital,

\* Spotiswood's Hist of Scot. p. 416 and 417.

† Buchanan, lib. i. 35. The Dean of the isles calls it Avoyn, fra the armies of Denmark callit in their leid, Havin.

‡ Fordun, lib. ii. c. 10.



is Cantyre, the most southern part of Argyleshire; derived from *Ceann*, a head and tire of the land; was the country of the *Epidii* of the Romans, and the extremity, the *Epidii promontorium*, now the Mull of Cantyre, noted for the violence of the adverse tides, compared to the force of a mill-race, from whence the modern name. Magnus the Barefooted made a conquest of it, and added it to the Hebrides, making an island of it by the *ratio ultima regum*. Torfæus says, that the antient name was *Saltiria*, or *Satiria*, perhaps Norwegian\*.

This peninsula, from the Tarbat to the Mull, is above forty miles long, and from five to twelve miles broad: is hilly, but, comparative to other parts, cannot be called mountainous; is open and in general naked, but near Campbeltown are some thriving plantations. The country is at present a mixture of heath and arable land; the land is good, capable of bearing wheat, but little is raised for want of mills to grind it; either the inhabitants buy their flower from England, or send the grain they have to be ground in the shire of Ayr. Much bear is sown here, great quantities of potatoes raised, and near 800*l.* worth annually exported. Numbers of black cattle are reared, but chiefly killed at home, and salted for the use of the buffes at Campbeltown. Much butter and cheese is made; the last large and bad. There are besides sheep and goats; the last killed for winter provision.

Notwithstanding the quantity of bear raised; there is often a sort of dearth: the inhabitants being mad enough to convert their bread into poison, distilling annually six thousand bolls of grain into whisky. This seems a modern liquor, for in old times the distillation was from thyme, mint, anise †, and other fragrant herbs, and ale was much in use with them. The former had the same name with the *usquebaugh*, or water of life; but by Boethius' account, it was taken with moderation.

The Duke of Argyle, the principal proprietor of this country, takes great pains in discouraging the pernicious practice; and obliges all his tenants to enter into articles, to forfeit five pounds and the still, in case they are detected in making this *liqueur d'enfer*; but the trade is so profitable that many persist in it, to the great neglect of manufactures. Before this business got ground, the women were accustomed to spin a great deal of yarn (for much flax is raised in these parts) but at present they employ themselves in distilling, while their husbands are in the field.

Rural economy is but at a low ebb here: his Grace does all in his power to promote that most useful of arts, by giving a certain number of bolls of burnt lime to those who can shew the largest and best fallow; and allowing ten per cent. out of the rents to such farmers who lay out any money in solid improvements; for example, in inclosing, and the like. The Duke also shews much humanity in another instance, by permitting his tenants, in the places of his estates where stags inhabit, to destroy them with impunity; resigning that part of the antient chieftain's magnificence, rather than beasts of chase should waste the bread of the poor.

Cantyre was granted to the house of Argyle after a suppression of a rebellion of the Mac-donalds of the isles (and I suppose of this peninsula) in the beginning of the last century ‡, and the grant was afterwards ratified by parliament §. The antient inhabitants were the Mac-donalds, Mac-eachrans, Mac-kays, and Mac-maths.

June 27. Take a ride along the west side of the bay. See, in Kilkerran churchyard, several tombs of artificers, with the instruments of their trades engraven: amongst others appear a goose and shears, to denote that a taylor lay beneath. A little further on the shore are the ruins of Kilkerran castle, built by James V. when he visited

\* Torfæus, 73.

† Br. Biography, ii. 1141.

‡ Boethius de Moribus Scot. 11.

§ Crawford's Peerage, 19.



this place in order to quell a rebellion : he was obliged to fly to it for protection, and, as is said, to abandon it to the fury of the insurgents, who took the fortrefs, and hung his governor.

Turn to the south, and visit some caves in the rocks that face the Firth : these are very magnificent, and very various ; the tops are lofty, and resemble Gothic arches ; one has on all sides a range of natural seats, another is in form of a cross, with three fine Gothic porticos, for entrances ; this had been the residence of St. Kerran, had formerly a wall at the entrance, a second about the middle, and a third far up, forming different apartments. On the floor is the capital of a cross, and a round basin, cut out of the rock, full of fine water, the beverage of the saint in old times, and of sailors in the present, who often land to dress their victuals beneath this shelter. An antient pair, upwards of seventy years of age, once made this their habitation for a considerable time.

Return ; view the cross in the middle of the town : a most beautiful pillar, richly ornamented with foliage, and with this inscription on one side ; *Hæc : est : crux : Domini : Yvari : M : H : Eachyrna : quondam : Rectoris : de Kyreacan : et : Domini : Andre : nati : ejus : Rectoris de Kil : coman : qui hanc crucem fieri faciebat.* Mr. Gordon (by report) mentions this as a Danish obelisk, but does not venture the description as he had not opportunity of seeing it : his informant said, that it was brought from Jona, which concurs with the tradition of this place.

At night am admitted a freeman of Campbeltown, and, according to the custom of the place, consult the Oracle of the Bottle about my future voyage, assisted by a numerous company of brother burgeses.

June 28. Leave Campbeltown with a full sense of all the civilities received there. Ride over a plain about five miles wide. See on the road side a great wheel, designed for the raising water from the neighbouring collieries. The coal is eight feet thick, dips one yard in five, and points N. E. by N. W. ; is sold on the bank for four shillings per ton ; but sufficient is not yet raised for the use of the country.

This plain is fruitful, pretty much inclosed, and the hedges grow well ; a great encouragement for further experiments ; the improved land is rented here from fifteen to twenty shillings an acre.

Observe on the road side the ruins of the chapel of Cill-chaovain, or Kil-chyvain ; within are some old grave-stones, engraven with figures of a two-handed sword, and of dogs chasing a deer.

Ride three miles along the sands of Machrai'-Shanais bay, noted for the tremendous size and roaring of its waves in stormy seasons ; and for the loss of many ships, which, by reason of the lowness of the land, are received into destruction.

Dine at a tolerable house at Bar ; visit the great cave of Bealach-a'-chaochain, near the shore. Embark in a rotten, leaky boat, and passing through six miles of rippling sea, find late at night our vessel safe at anchor, under the east side of the isle of Gigha, in the little harbour of Caolas-giogram, protected by Gigha, and the little isle of Cara on the west and south, and by a chain of vast rocks to the east : numbers appear just peeping above water in several parts, and others that run out far from the Cantyre shore correspond with these so exactly, as to make it probable that they once formed the same bed.

June 29. Land on Gigha, an island about six miles, and one broad ; the most eastern of the Hebrides : this, with Cara, forms a parish in the county of Bute, in the presbytery of Cantyre. Has in it no high hills, and is a mixture of rock, pasture, and arable land. Produces barley, bear, oats, flax, and potatoes. Malt is made here and exported ;



exported; and about a hundred and fifty bolls of bear; infomuch that sometimes the natives feel the want of it, and suffer by a scarcity arising from their own avarice. They also rear more cattle than they can maintain, and annually lose numbers for want of fodder.

The island is divided into thirty marklands, each of which ought to maintain fourteen cows and four horses, besides producing a certain quantity of corn. The bear yields five, the oats three fold. Each markland is commonly occupied by one farmer, who has several married servants under him, who live in separate cottages and are allowed to keep a few cattle and sheep. The wages are from three to four pounds a year to the men-servants; from twenty to thirty shillings to the women. The young men employ themselves in the summer in the herring fishery; but during winter give themselves up entirely to an inactive life.

This island contains about five hundred inhabitants, and the revenue is about six hundred a year; most of it belonging to Mr. Macneile of Taynish. In old times the laird was styled Thane of Gigha: his family has been long owner of these little territories, this sea-girt reign, but was dispossessed of it in 1549, by the \* clan Donald, and recovered it again; but history omits the time of restoration. Discontent has even reached this small island, and two families have migrated to America.

Breakfast with the minister, who may truly be said to be wedded to his flock. The ocean here forbids all wandering, even if inclination excited; and the equal lot of the Scotch clergy is a still stronger check to every aspiring thought: this binds them to their people, and invigorates every duty towards those to whom they consider themselves connected for life; this equal lot may perhaps blunt the ambition after some of the more specious accomplishments; but makes more than amends by sharpening the attention to those concerns which end not with this being.

Visit the few wonders of the isle: the first is a little well of a most miraculous quality; for, in old times, if ever the chieftain lay here wind-bound, he had nothing more to do than cause the well to be cleared, and instantly a favourable gale arose. But miracles are now ceased.

Examine the ruins of a church, and find some tombs with two-handed swords, the Claidh-da-laimb of the hero deposited beneath.

A little farther, at Kil-chattan, is a great rude column, sixteen feet high, four broad, and eight inches thick, and near it, a cairn. On a line with this, at Cnoc-a'-ehara, is another, and still higher in the same direction, at Cnoc-a'-crois, is a cross and three cairns; probably the cross, after the introduction of Christianity, was formed out of a pagan monument similar to the two former.

In the bottom a little east from these, is a large artificial mount of a square form, growing less and less towards the top, which is flat, and has the vestige of a breast-wall around. The mount Romelborg in Sweden, engraven by M. Dahlberg, No. 325, is somewhat similar: this probably was the work of the Danes, the neighbouring nation.

Return to the shore; observe a vast bed of most pure and fine sand, useful in the glass manufacture: the same species, but defiled with a mixture of sea sand, appears again on the opposite coast of Cantyre.

The birds that appear here at present are the common gull, common sandpiper, and sea pie. The great arctic diver, of the British Zoology, sometimes visits these seas, and is styled in the Erse *farbhuaichaille*, or the herdsman of the ocean; because, as is pre-

\* Dean of the Isles, 7.



tended, it never leaves that element, never flies, and hatches the young beneath its wing.

The weather extremely fine; but so calm that Mr. Thompson is obliged to tow the vessel out of this little harbour, which is of unequal depths, but unfit for vessels that draw more than fourteen feet water. Pass under Cara, an isle one mile long, divided by a narrow channel, south of Gigha, is inhabited by one family, and had once a chapel. At the south end it rises into a hill exactly formed like a loaf of bread. The property of this little place is in Mr. Macdonald of Largis.

Attempt to steer for the island of Ilay, but in vain. Am entertained with the variety and greatness of the views that bound the channel; the great sound of Jura; to the east the mountains of Arran over-top the far-extending shores of Cantyre; to the west lies Jura, mountainous and rugged; four hills, naked and distinct, aspire above the rest, two of them known to the seamen by the name of the Paps, useful in navigation: far to the north just appears a chain of small isles; and to the south the island of Rathry, the supposed Ricnea, or Ricina of Pliny\*, on the coast of Ireland, which stretches beyond far to the west.

#### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HEBRIDES.

The leisure of a calm gave ample time for reflection on the history and greater events of the islands now in view, and of the others, the objects of the voyage. In justice to that able and learned writer the Rev. Dr. John Macpherson, late minister of Slate in Skie, let me acknowledge the assistance I receive from his ingenious essay on this very subject; for his labours greatly facilitate my attempt, not undertaken without consulting the authors he refers to; and adding numbers of remarks overseen by him, and giving a considerable continuation of the history. It would be an ostentatious task to open a new quarry, when such heaps of fine materials lie ready to my hand.

All the accounts left us by the Greek and Roman writers are enveloped with obscurity; at all times brief, even in their description of places they had easiest access to, and might have described with the most satisfactory precision; but in remote places their relations furnish little more than hints, the food for conjecture to the visionary antiquary.

That Pytheas, a traveller mentioned by Strabo, had visited Great Britain, I would wish to make only apocryphal: he asserts that he visited the remoter parts; and that he had also seen Thule, the land of romance among the ancients, which all may pretend to have seen; but every voyager, to swell his fame, made the island he saw last the ultima Thule of his travels. If Pytheas had reached these parts he might have observed floating in the seas multitudes of gelatinous animals, the medusæ of Linnæus, and out of these have formed his fable: he made his Thule a composition of neither earth, sea, nor air, but like a composition of them all; then, catching his simile from what floated before him, compares it to the lungs† of the sea, the Aristotelian idea of these bodies; and from him adopted by naturalists, successors to that great philosopher. Strabo very justly explodes these absurd tales, yet allows him merit in describing the climate of the places he had seen. As a farther proof of his having visited the Hebrides, he mentions their unfriendly sky, that prohibits the growth of the finer fruits; and that the natives are obliged to carry their corn under shelter, to beat the grain out, lest it should be spoiled by the defect of the sun, and violence of the rains‡. This is the probable part of his narrative; but when the time that the great geographer wrote is considered; at

\* Lib. iv. c. 16.

† Hist. Ang. lib. xv. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 71.

‡ Strabo, lib. iv. 139. This is also mentioned by Diodorus Siculus.



a period that these islands had been neglected for a very long space by the Romans, and when the difficulties of getting among a fierce and unfriendly nation must be almost insuperable, doubts innumerable respecting the veracity of this relater must arise: all that can be admitted in favour of him is, that he was a great traveller, that he might have either visited Britain, with some of the nations commercing with our isle, or have received from them accounts, which he afterwards dressed out mixed with the ornaments of fable. A traffic must have been carried on with the very northern inhabitants of our islands in the time of Pytheas, for one of the articles of commerce mentioned by Strabo, the ivory bits, were made either of the teeth of the walrus, or of a species of whale native of the northern seas.

The geographer Mela, who flourished in the reign of Claudius, is the next who takes notice of our lesser islands. He mentions the *Orcades* as consisting of thirty; the *Æmodæ* of seven. The Romans had then made a conquest of the former, and might have seen the latter; but from the words of the historian, it is probable that the Shetland islands were those intended; for he informs us, that the *Æmodæ* were carried out over against Germany: the site of the Hebrides will not admit of this description, which agrees very well with the others; for the ancients extended their Germany, and its imaginary islands, to the extreme north.

Pliny the elder is the next that mentions these remote places. He lived later than the preceding writers, and of course his information is fuller: by means of intervening discoveries, he has added ten more to the number of the *Orcades*: is the first writer that mentions the Hebrides, the islands in question; and joins in the same line the *Æmodæ*, or, as it is in the best editions more properly written, the *Acmodæ*\*, or extreme point of the Roman expeditions to the north, as the Shetland isles in the highest probability were. Pliny and Mela agree in the number of the *Æmodæ*, or *Acmodæ*; the former makes that of the *Hæbudes* thirty; an account extremely near the truth, deducting the little isles, or rather rocks, that surrounded most of the greater, and many of them so indistinct as scarcely to be remarked, except on an actual survey.

Solinus succeeds Pliny: if he, as is supposed, was cotemporary with Agricola, he has made very ill use of the light he might have received from the expeditions of that great general, whose officers might have furnished the historian with better materials than those he has communicated. He has reduced the number of the *Hæbudes* to five: he tells us, that "the inhabitants were unacquainted with corn; that they lived only on fish and milk; that they had one king, as the islands were only separated from each other by narrow straits; that their prince was bound by certain rules of government to do justice; and was prevented by poverty from deviating from the true course; being supported by the public, and allowed nothing that he could call his own, not even a wife; but then he was allowed free choice, by turns one out of every district of any female that caught his affection, which deprived him of all ambition about a successor †."

By the number of these islands, and by the minute attention given by the historian to the circumstance of their being separated from each other by very narrow straits, I should imagine that which is now called the Long island, and includes Lewis, North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist, and Barra; to have been the five *Hæbudes* of Solinus; for the other great islands, such as Skie, &c. are too remote from each other to form the preceding very characteristic description of that chain of islands. These might naturally fall under the rule of one petty prince; almost the only probable part of Solinus's narrative.

\* Lib. iv. c. 16.

† Polyhistor, c. 35.



After a long interval appears Ptolemy, the Egyptian geographer : he also enumerates five Ebudæ, and has given each a name; the western, Ebuda; the eastern, Ricina, Maleos, Epidium. Camden conjectures them to be the modern Skie, Lewis, Rathry, or Racline, Mull, and Ilay; and I will not controvert his opinion.

The Roman historians give very little light into the geography of these parts. Tacitus, from whom most might have been expected, is quite silent about the names of places; notwithstanding he informs us, that a fleet by command of Agricola performed the circumnavigation of Britain. All that he takes notice of is the discovery and the conquest of the Orknies: it should seem that with the biographers of an ambitious nation, nothing seemed worthy of notice, but what they could dignify with the glory of victory.

It is very difficult to assign a reason for the change of name from Ebudæ to Hebrides; the last is modern, and seems, as the annotator on Dr. Macpherson supposes, to have arisen from the error of a transcriber, who changed the *u* into *ri*.

From all that has been collected from the ancients, it appears that they were acquainted with little more of the Hebrides than the bare names: it is probable that the Romans, either from contempt of such barren spots, from the dangers of the seas, the violence of the tides, and horrors of the narrow sounds in the inexperienced ages of navigation, never attempted their conquest, or saw more of them than what they had in fight, during the few circumnavigations of Great Britain, which were expeditions more of ostentation than of utility.

The inhabitants had probably for some ages their own governors: one little king to each island, or to each groupe, as necessity required. It is reasonable to suppose, that their government was as much divided as that of Great Britain, which it is well known was under the direction of numbers of petty princes before it was reduced under the power of the Romans.

No account is given in history of the time these islands were annexed to the government of Scotland. If we may credit our Saxon historians, they appear to have been early under the dominion of the Picts; for Bede and Adamnanus inform us, that soon after the arrival of St. Columba in their country, Brudeus, a Pictish monarch, made the saint a present of the celebrated island of Jona\*.

But neither the holy men of this island, nor the natives of the rest of the Hebrides, enjoyed a permanent repose after this event.

The first invasion of the Danes does not seem to be easily ascertained: it appears that they ravaged Ireland, and the isle of Rathry, as early as the year 735. In the following century their expeditions became more frequent: Harold Harfager, or the Light-haired, pursued in 875 several petty princes whom he had expelled out of Norway, who had taken refuge in the Hebrides, and molested his dominions by perpetual descents from those islands. He seems to have made a rapid conquest: he gained as many victories as he fought battles; he put to death the chief of the pirates, and made † an indiscriminate slaughter of their followers. Soon after his return, the islanders repossessed their ancient seats; and in order to repress their insults, he sent Ketil, the Flat-nosed, with a fleet and some forces for that purpose. He soon reduced them to terms; but made his victories subservient to his own ambition; he made alliances with the Reguli he had subdued; he formed intermarriages, and confirmed to them their old dominions. This effected, he sent back the fleet to Harold, openly declared himself independent, made himself prince of the Hebrides, and caused them to acknow-

\* Bede, lib. iii. c. i. Adamnanus vit. Columbæ, lib. ii. c. 10, and 28.

† Torfæus, 10. ledge



ledge him as such by the payment of tribute, and the badges of vassalage\*. Ketil remained during life master of the islands, and his subjects appear to have been a warlike set of freebooters, ready to join with any adventurers. Thus when Eric, son of Harold Harfager, after being driven out of his own country, made an invasion of England, he put with his fleet into the Hebrides, received a large reinforcement of people, fired with the hopes of prey, and then proceeded on his plan of rapine†. After the death of Ketil a kingdom was in after-times composed out of them, which from the residence of the little monarch in the isle of Man, was stiled that of Man‡. The islands became tributary to that of Norway§ for a considerable time, and princes were sent from thence|| to govern; but at length they again shook off the yoke. Whether the little potentates ruled independent, or whether they put themselves under the protection of the Scottish monarchs, does not clearly appear; but it is reasonable to suppose the last, as Donald-bane is accused of making the Hebrides the price of the assistance given him by the Norwegians against his own subjects. Notwithstanding they might occasionally seek the protection of Scotland, yet they never were without princes of their own: from the chronicles of the kings of Man\*\* we learn that they had a succession.

In 1089 is an evident proof of the independency of the islanders on Norway; for on the death of Lagman, one of their monarchs, they sent a deputation to O'Brian, King of Ireland, to request a regent of royal blood to govern them during the minority of their young prince. They probably might in turn compliment in some other respects their Scottish neighbours: the islanders must have given them some pretence to sovereignty, for,

In 1093, Donald-bane, King of Scotland, calls in the assistance of Magnus, the Barefooted, King of Norway, and bribes him with a promise of all the islands††: Magnus accepts the terms, but at the same time boasts that he does not come to invade the territories of others, but only to resume the ancient rights of Norway. His conquests are rapid and complete, for besides the islands, by an ingenious fraud‡‡, he adds Cantyre to his dominions.

The Hebrides continued governed by a prince dependent on Norway, a species of viceroy appointed by that court, and who paid, on assuming the dignity, ten marks of gold, and never made any other pecuniary acknowledgement during life; but if another viceroy was appointed, the same sum was exacted from him§§. These viceroys were sometimes Norwegians, sometimes natives of the isles. In 1097 we find that Magnus||| deposes a nobleman, of the name of Ingemund: in after-times we learn that natives were appointed to that high office; yet they seem at times to have shaken off their independency, and to have assumed the title of king. Thus in 1206 we find¶ King John gives to his brother monarch Reginald, king of the isles, a safe conduct; and in six years after, that Reginald swears fidelity to our monarch, and becomes his liege-man. It is probable they suited their allegiance to their conveniency; acknowledging the superiority of England, Scotland, or Norway, according to the necessity of the times. Thus were the Hebrides governed, from the conquest, by Magnus till the year 1263, when Acho, or Haquin, King of Norway, by an unfortunate invasion of Scotland, terminating in his defeat at Largs, so weakened the powers of his kingdom, that his successor, Magnus IV., was content in 1266 to make a cession of the islands to Alexander III.; but not without stipulating for the payment of a large sum, and of a tribute

\* Torfæus, 14.

+ Ibid. 23.

† Ibid. 29.

§ Camden, 1444.

|| Camden, 1444.

\* In Camden.

†† Buchanan, lib. vii. c. 23.

‡‡ Torfæus, 73.

§§ Hist. Normannorum. p. 1000.

||| Chron. Man.

¶ Rymer's Fœdera, I. 140. 159.



of a hundred marks for ever, which bore the name of the annual of Norway. Ample provision was also made by Magnus in the same treaty, for the security of the rights and properties of his Norwegian subjects who chose to continue in the isles, where many of their posterity remain to this day.

Notwithstanding this revolution, Scotland seems to have received no real acquisition of strength: the islands still remained governed by powerful chieftains, the descendants of Somerled, thane of Heregaidel, or Argyle, who, marrying the daughter of Olave, King of Man, left a divided dominion to his sons Dugal and Reginald: from the first were descended the Mac-dougals of Lorn; from the last the powerful clan of the Mac-donalds. The lordship of Argyle with Mull, and the islands north of it, fell to the share of the first; Ilay, Cantyre, and the southern isles were the portion of the last: a division that formed the distinction of the Sudereys and Nordereys, which will be farther noticed in the account of Jona.

These chieftains were the scourges of the kingdom: they are known in history but as the devastations of a tempest; for their paths were marked with the most barbarous desolation. Encouraged by their distance from the seat of royalty, and the turbulence of the times, which gave their monarchs full employ, they exercised a regal power, and often assumed the title; but are more generally known in history by the title of the Lords of the isles, or the Earls of Ross; and sometimes by that of the great Mac-donald.

Historians are silent about their proceedings, from the retreat of the Danes, in 1263, till that of 1335, when John, lord of the isles, withdrew his allegiance\*. In the beginning of the next century his successors were so independent, that Henry IV. † sent two ambassadors, in the years 1405 and 1408, to form an alliance with the brothers Donald and John: this encouraged them to commit fresh hostilities against their natural prince. Donald, under pretence of a claim to the earldom of Ross, invaded and made a conquest of that country; but penetrating as far as the shire of Aberdeen, after a fierce but undecisive battle with the royal party, thought proper to retire, and in a little time to swear allegiance to his monarch ‡, James I. But he was permitted to retain the county of Ross, and assume the title of earl. His successor, Alexander, at the head of ten thousand men, attacked and burnt Inverness; at length terrified with the preparations made against him, fell at the royal feet, and obtained pardon as to life, but was committed to strict confinement.

His kinsman and deputy, Donald Balloch, resenting the imprisonment of his chieftain, excited another rebellion, and destroyed the country with fire and sword; but on his flight was taken and put to death by an Irish chieftain, with whom he sought protection.

These barbarous inroads were very frequent with a set of banditti, who had no other motive in war but the infamous inducement of plunder. In p 251 we see their cruel invasion of the shire of Lenox, and the horrible massacre in consequence.

In the reign of James II., in the year 1461, Donald, another petty tyrant, and Earl of Ross, and lord of the isles, renewed the pretence of independency, surprised the castle of Inverness, forced his way as far as Athol, obliged the Earl and Countess, with the principal inhabitants, to seek refuge in the church of St. Bridget, in hopes of finding security from his cruelty by the sanctity of the place; but the barbarian and his followers set fire to the church, put the ecclesiastics to the sword, and, with a great booty, carried the Earl and Countess prisoners to his castle of Claig, in the island of Ilay §. In

\* Buchanan, lib. ix. c. 22.

† Rymer's Fædera, viii. 418. 527.

‡ Boeth. lib. xvi. 342.

§ Buchanan, lib. xii. c. 19.



a second expedition, immediately following the first, he suffered the penalty of his impiety; a tempest overtook him, and overwhelmed most of his associates; and he escaping to Inverness, perished by the hands of an Irish harper\*: his surviving followers returned to Ilay, conveyed the Earl and Countess of Athol to the sanctuary they had violated; and expiated their crime by restoring the plunder, and making large donations to the shrine of the offended saint.

John, successor to the last Earl of Ross, entered into an alliance with Edward IV. †, sent ambassadors to the court of England, where Edward empowered the Bishop of Durham, and Earl of Worcester, the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, and John Lord Wenlock to conclude a treaty with him, another Donald Balloch, and his son and heir John. They agreed to serve the king with all their power, and to become his subjects: the Earl was to have a hundred marks sterling for life in time of peace, and two hundred pounds in time of war; and these island allies, in case of the conquest of Scotland, were to have confirmed to them all the possessions to the north of the Scottish sea; and in case of a truce with the Scottish monarch, they were to be included in it ‡. But about the year 1476, Edward, from a change of politics, courted the alliance of James III., and dropt his new allies. James, determined to subdue this rebellious race, sent against them a powerful army, under the Earl of Athol, and took leave of him with this good-wish, "Furth, fortune, and fil the fetters;" as much as to say, "Go forth, be fortunate, and bring home many captives;" which the family of Athol have used ever since for its motto. Ross was terrified into submission, obtained his pardon, but was deprived of his earldom, which by act of parliament was then declared unalienably annexed to the crown; at the same time the king restored to him Knapdale and Cantyre §, which the Earl had resigned, and invested him anew with the lordship of the isles, to hold them of the king by service and relief ||.

Thus the great power of the isles was broken; yet for a considerable time after, the petty chieftains were continually breaking out into small rebellions, or harassed each other in private wars; and tyranny seems but to have been multiplied. James V. found it necessary to make the voyage of the isles in person in 1536; seized and brought away with him several of the most considerable leaders, and obliged them to find security for their own good behaviour, and that of their vassals. The names of these chieftains were (according to Lindeſay \*\*) Mydyart, Mac-connel, Mac-loyd of the Lewis, Mac-niel, Mac-lane, Mac-intosh, John Mudyart, Mac-kay, Mac-kenzie, and many others; but by the names of some of the above, there seem to have been continental as well as insular malecontents. He examined the titles of their holdings, and finding several to have been usurped, re-united their lands to the crown. In the same voyage he had the glory of causing surveys to be taken of the coasts of Scotland, and of the islands, by his pilot, Alexander Lindeſay; which were published in 1583, at Paris, by Nicholas de Nicholay, geographer to the French monarch ††.

The troubles that succeed the death of James occasioned a neglect of these insulated parts of the Scottish dominions, and left them in a state of anarchy: in 1614, the Macdonalds made a formidable insurrection, oppugning the royal grant of Cantyre to the Earl of Argyle and his relations ‡‡. The petty chieftains continued in a sort of rebellion, and the sword of the greater, as usual in weak government, was employed against

\* Holinshed Hist. Scot. 279.

† For the sake of making a diversion in their favour, both Edward III. and Henry IV. condescended to enter into an alliance with these Reguli.

‡ Rym. Fœd. xi. 483, 484.

§ Boet. Hist. Scot. app. 393.

|| Holinshed Chr. Scot. 282.

\*\* P. 152.

†† Br. Topograph. 617.

‡‡ Feuds of the clans, 99. Biogr. Britan. II. 1141:

them :



them: the encouragement and protection given by them to pirates, employed the power of the Campells during the reign of James VI. and the beginning of that of Charles I. \*

But the turbulent spirit of old times continued even to the present age. The heads of clans were by the divisions, and a false policy that predominated in Scotland during the reign of William III. flattered with an unreal importance: instead of being treated as bad subjects, they were courted as desirable allies; instead of feeling the hand of power, money was allowed to bribe them into the loyalty of the times. They would have accepted the subsidies, notwithstanding they detested the prince that offered them. They were taught to believe themselves of such consequence that in these days turned to their destruction. Two recent rebellions gave legislature a late experience of the folly of permitting the feudal system to exist in any part of its dominions. The act of 1748 at once deprived the chieftains of all power of injuring the public by their commotions†. Many of these Reguli second this effort of legislature, and neglect no opportunity of rendering themselves hateful to their unhappy vassals, the former instruments of ambition. The Halcyon days are near at hand: oppression will beget depopulation; and depopulation will give us a dear-bought tranquillity.

The remainder of the day is past in the sound of Jura: about twelve at noon a pleasant but adverse breeze arose, which obliged us to keep on towards the north, sometimes tacking towards the coast of lower Knapdale, black with heathy mountains, verdant near the shores with tracts of corn: advance towards upper Knapdale, rugged and alpine: am told of a dangerous rock in the middle of a channel. About one o'clock of June 30, receive notice of getting into the harbour of the small isles of Jura, by the vessel's touching ground in the entrance. On the appearance of daylight find ourselves at anchor in three fathom and a half of water, in a most picturesque bay, bounded on the west by the isle of Jura, with the paps overshadowing us; and to the east several little islands cloathed with heath, leaving narrow admissions into the port at North and South: in the maps this is called the bay of Meil.

Land on the greater isle, which is high and rocky. A boat filled with women and children crosses over from Jura, to collect their daily wretched fare, limpets and periwinkles. Observe the black guillemots in little flocks, very wild and much in motion.

Mr. Campbell, principal proprietor of the island, is so obliging as to send horses: land in Jura, at a little village, and see to the right on the shore the church, and the minister's manse. Ride westward about five miles to Ard-fin, the residence of Mr. Campbell, seated above the sound of Ilay.

Jura, the most rugged of the Hebrides, is reckoned to be about thirty-four miles long, and in general ten broad, except along the sound of Ilay: is composed chiefly of vast mountains, naked and without the possibility of cultivation. Some of the south, and a little of the Western sides only are improveable: as is natural to be supposed, this island is ill peopled, and does not contain about seven or eight hundred inhabitants; having been a little thinned by the epidemic migrations.

The very old clans are the Mac-il-vuys and the Mac-ràines: but it seems to have changed masters more than once: in 1549‡, Donald of Cantyre, Mac-guillayne of Doward, Mac-guillayne of Kinlyck-buy, and Mac-duffie of Colonsay were the proprie-

\* In the beginning of the last century the islanders were continually harrassing Ireland with their plundering invasions; or landing there to support rebellions: at length it was made treason to receive these Hebridian Redshanks, as they were styled. Camden II. 1407.

† The act for abolishing heritable jurisdictions, &c.

‡ Dean of the isles.



tors: Mac-lean of Mull had also a share in 1586. At present Mr. Campbell by purchase from Mr. Campbell of Shawfield; Mr. Mac-neile of Colonsay, Mr. Campbell of Shawfield; and the Duke of Argyle divide this mass of weather-beaten barrenness among them.

In 1607 Jura was included in the lordship of Cantyre, by charter, dated the last of May, then granted to Archibald Earl of Argyle.

The produce is about three or four hundred head of cattle, sold annually at 3*l.* each, to graziers who come for them. About a hundred horses are also sold annually: here are a few sheep with fleeces of most excellent fineness, and numbers of goats. In good seasons sufficient bear and oats are raised as will maintain the inhabitants: but they sometimes want, I suppose from the conversion of their grain into whisky. But the chief food of the common people is potatoes and fish and shell fish. It is to be feared that their competence of bread is very small. Bear produces four or five fold: oats three fold.

Fern ashes bring in about a hundred pounds a year: about two hundred tons of kelp is burnt annually, and sold from 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* per ton.

Sloes are the only fruits of the island. An acid for punch is made of the berries of the mountain ash: and a kind of spirit is also distilled from them.

Necessity hath instructed the inhabitants in the use of native dyes. Thus the juice of the tops of heath boiled supplies them with a yellow; the roots of the white water lily with a dark brown. Those of the yellow water iris with a black: and the *Galium verum*, Rû of the islanders with a very fine red, not inferior to that from Madder.

The quadrupeds of Jura are about a hundred stags. Some wild cats, otters, stoats, rats and seals. The feathered game, black cocks, grouse, ptarmigans, and snipes. The stags must have been once more numerous, for the original name of the island was Deiry, or the isle of Deer, so called by the Norwegians from the abundance of those noble animals.

The hard fare of these poor people seems to have been no impediment to the population of the island; nor yet to the longevity of the natives. The women are very prolific, and very often bear twins. The inhabitants live to a great age, and are liable to very few distempers. Men of ninety work; and there is now living a woman of eighty who can run down a sheep. The account given by Martin of Gillour Mac-crain, was confirmed to me. His age exceeded that of either Jenkins or Par: for he kept a hundred and eighty christmasses in his own house, and died in the reign of Charles I. Among the modern instances of longevity I forgot to mention John Armour, of Campbeltown, aged one hundred and four, who was a cockswain in our navy at the time of the peace of Utrecht; and within these three years was stout enough to go out a shooting.

This parish is supposed to be the largest in Great Britain, and the duty the most troublesome and dangerous: it consists of Jura, Colonsay, Oransay, Skarba, and several little isles divided by narrow and dangerous sounds; forming a length of not less than sixty miles; supplied by only one minister and an assistant.

Some superstitions are observed here at this time. The old women, when they undertake any cure, mumble certain rhythmical incantations; and like the ancients, endeavour decantare dolorem. They preserve a stick of the wicken tree, or mountain ash, as a protection against elves.

I had some obscure account here of a worm, that in a less pernicious degree, bears some resemblance to the *Furia infernalis*\* of Linnæus, which in the vast bogs of Kemi

\* Faun. Succ. No. 2070.



drops on the inhabitants, eats into the flesh and occasions a most excruciating death. The Fillian, a little worm of Jura, small as a thread and not an inch in length, like the Furia, insinuates itself under the skin, causes a redness and great pain, flies swiftly from part to part; but is curable by a poultice of cheese and honey.

After dinner walk down to the sound of Ilay, and visit the little island of Fruchlan, near to the shore, and a mile or two from the eastern entrance. On the top is a ruined tower of a square form, with walls nine feet thick; on the west side the rock on which it stands is cut through to a vast depth, forming a foss over which had been the draw bridge. This fortress seemed as if intended to guard the mouth of the sound; and was also the prison where the Mac-donalds kept their captives, and in old times was called the castle of Claig.

July 1. Ride along the shore of the sound: take boat at the ferry, and go a mile more by water: see on the Jura side some sheelins or summer huts for goatherds, who keep here a stock of eighty for the sake of the milk and cheeses. The last are made without salt, which they receive afterwards from the ashes of sea-tang, and the tang itself which the natives lap in it.

Land on a bank covered with sheelins, the habitations of some peasants who attend the herds of milch cows. These formed a grotesque groupe; some where oblong, many conic, and so low that entrance is forbidden, without creeping through the little opening, which has no other door than a faggot of birch twigs, placed there occasionally: they are constructed of branches of trees, covered with fods; the furniture a bed of heath, placed on a bank of fod; two blankets and a rug; some dairy vessels, and above, certain pendant shelves made of basket work, to hold the cheese, the produce of the summer. In one of the little conic huts, I spied a little infant asleep, under the protection of a faithful dog.

Crofs, on foot, a large plain of ground, seemingly improveable, but covered with a deep heath, and perfectly in a state of nature. See the arctic-gull, a bird unknown in South Britain, which breeds here on the ground: it was very tame, but, if disturbed, flew about like the lapwing, but with a more flagging wing. After a walk of four miles, reach the Paps: left the lesser to the south-east, preferring the ascent of the greatest, for there are three; Beinn-a-chaolois, or, the mountain of the sound; Beinn-sheunta, or the hallowed mountain; and Beinn-an-air, or, the mountain of gold. We began to scale the last; a task of much labour and difficulty; being composed of vast stones, slightly covered with mosses near the base, but all above bare, and unconnected with each other. The whole seems a cairn, the work of the sons of Saturn; and Ovid might have caught his idea from this hill, had he seen it.

*Affectasse ferunt regnum celeste Gigantes,  
Altaque congestos struxisse ad sidera montes.*

Gain the top, and find our fatigues fully recompenced by the grandeur of the prospect from this sublime spot: Jura itself afforded a stupendous scene of rock, varied with little lakes innumerable. From the west side of the hill ran a narrow stripe of rock, terminating in the sea, called, the side of the old hag. Such appearances are very common in this island and in Jura, and in several parts of North Britain, and the North of Ireland, and all supposed to be of volcanic origin, being beds of lava of various breadths, from three feet to near seventy. Their depth is unknown; and as to length, they run for miles together, cross the sounds, and often appear on the opposite shores. They frequently appear three or four feet above the surface of the ground, so that they are called on that account Whin-dikes, forming natural dikes, or boundaries.



The fissures were left empty from earliest times. It is impossible to fix a period when some tremendous volcanic eruption happened, like that of late years infested Iceland, with such fatal effects, and filled every chasm and every channel with the liquid lava. Such a stream poured itself into these fissures, that cooled and consolidated; and remains evident proofs of the share which fire had in causing the wondrous appearances we so frequently meet with, and so greatly admire. In a certain bay in the isle of Mull, there remains a fissure which escaped receiving the fiery stream. The sides are of granite: the width only nine or ten feet; the depth not less than a hundred and twenty. It ranges N. by W. and S. by E. to a vast extent: and appears against a correspondent fissure on the opposite shore. In the Ph. Transf. tab. iv. is a view of this tremendous gap: together with the two stones which have accidentally fell, and remained hitched near the top of the northern extremity. These and numbers of other volcanic curiosities in the Hebrides, are well described by Abraham Mills, Esq. of Macclesfield, who in 1788 visited several of the islands, and in the lxxxth vol. of the Ph. Transf. has favoured the public with his ingenious remarks. To the south appeared Ilay, extended like a map beneath us; and beyond that, the north of Ireland; to the west, Gigha and Car, Cantrye and Arran, and the Firth of Clyde, bounded by Airshire; an amazing tract of mountains to the N. E. as far as Ben-lomond; Skarba finished the northern view; and over the Western Ocean were scattered Colonsay and Oranay, Mull, Jona, and its neighbouring groupe of isles; and still further the long extents of Tirey and Col just apparent.

On the summit are several lofty cairns, not the work of devotion, but idle herds, or curious travellers. Even this vast heap of stones was not uninhabited: a hind passed along the sides full speed, and a brace of ptarmigans often favoured us with their appearance, even near the summit.

The other paps are seen very distinctly: each inferior in height to this, but of all the same figure, perfectly mamillary. Mr. Banks and his friends mounted that to the south, and found the height to be two thousand three hundred and fifty-nine feet: but Beinn an-óir far over-topped it; seated on the pinnacle, the depth below was tremendous on every side.

The stones of this mountain are white (a few red) quartz and composed of small grains; but some are brecciated, or filled with crystalline kernels, of an amethystine colour. The other stones of the island that fell under my observation, were a cinereous slate, veined with red, and used here as a whet stone: a micaceous sand stone; and between the small isles and Ardefin, abundance of a quartz micaceous rock-stone.

Return by the same road, cross the Sound, and not finding the vessel arrived, am most hospitably received by Mr. Freebairn, of Freeport, near Port-askaig, his residence on the southern side of the water, in the island of Ilay.

July 2. Walk into the interior parts: on the way see abundance of rock and pit marle, convertible into the best of manures. Visit the mines, carried on under the directions of Mr. Freebairn, since the year 1763; the ore is of lead, much mixed with copper, which occasions expence and trouble in the separation: the veins rise to the surface, have been worked at intervals for ages, and probably in the time of the Norwegians, a nation of miners. The old adventurers worked by trenching, which is apparent every where: the trenches are not above six feet deep; and the veins which opened into them not above five or six inches thick; yet, by means of some instrument, unknown to us at present, they picked or scooped out the ore with good success, following it in that narrow space to the length of four feet.



The veins are of various thicknesſes; the ſtrings numerous, conducting to large bodies, but quickly exhausted. The lead-ore is good: the copper yields thirty-three pounds per hundred; and forty ounces of ſilver from a ton of the metal. The lead ore is ſmelted in an air-furnace, near Freeport; and as much fold in the pig, as ſince the firſt undertaking by this gentleman, has brought in fix thouſand pounds.

Not far from theſe mines are vaſt ſtrata of that ſpecies of iron called bog-ore, of the concreted kind: beneath that large quantities of vitriolic mundic.

On the top of a hill, at ſome little diſtance, are ſome rocks, with great viens of emery running in the midſt, in a horizontal direction, and from one to three feet thick.

A ſmall quantity of quickſilver has been found in the moors, which ought to encourage a farther ſearch.

Continue the walk to the neighbouring hill of Dun-Bhorairag: on the ſummit is a Daniſh fort, of a circular form, at preſent about fourteen feet high, formed of excellent maſonry, but without mortar: the walls are twelve feet thick; and within their very thickneſs is a gallery, extending all around, the caſerne for the garrifon, or the place where the arms were lodged ſecure from wet. The entrance is low, covered at top with great flat ſtone, and on each ſide is a hollow, probably intended for guard-rooms; the inſide of the fort is a circular area, of fifty-two feet diameter, with a ſtone ſeat running all round the bottom of the wall, about two feet high, where might have been a general reſting-place of chieftains and foldiers.

On the outſide of the fort, is another work, under which is the veſtige of a ſubterraneous paſſage conducting into it, a fort of ſally port. Round the whole of this ancient fortrefs is a deep ſofs. Three of theſe forts are generally within ſight, ſo that in caſe of any attempt made on any one, a ſpeedy alarm might be given to the others. Each was the centre of a ſmall diſtriſt; and to them the inhabitants might repair for ſhelter in caſe of any attack by the enemy: the notice was given from the fort, at night by the light of a torch, in the day by the ſound of trumpet: an inſtrument celebrated among the Danes, ſometimes made of braſs, ſometimes of horn\*. The northern Bards ſpeak hyperbolically of the effect of the blaſt blown by the mouth of the heroes. The great Roland cauſed his trumpet Olivant† to be heard twenty miles, and by the ſound ſcattered about the very brains of one of his hearers.

Return, and ſee on the road ſide the ruins of a chapel dedicated to St. Colomba; and near it an ancient croſs.

July 3. Several gentlemen of the iſland favour me with a viſit: and offer their ſervice to conduct me to whatever was worthy of attention. Set out, in their company, on horſeback, and ride ſouth, croſſing the country; find the roads excellent, but the country quite open; and too much good land in a ſtate of nature, covered with heath, but mixed with plenty of natural herbage. See ſome ſtunted woods of birch and hazels, giving ſhelter to black game. On Imiriconart, or the plain ridge, are the veſtiges of ſome butts, where the great Mac-donald exerciſed his men at archery. Reach and dine at Kilarow, a village ſeated on Loch-in-daal, a vaſt bay, that penetrates very deeply into the iſland. Oppoſite Bomore, ſhips of three hundred tons may ride with ſafety: which renders it a very convenient retreat.

Near Kilarow is the ſeat of the proprietor of the iſland. In the church yard is now proſtrate a curious column, perhaps the ſhaft of a croſs, for the top is broken off; and

\* Wormii Muſeum, 378. Boate's Nat. Hiſt. Ireland, 197. Smith's Hiſt. Cork, ii. 404.

† Wormii Mon. Dan. 381.



near it is a flat stone, with a hole in the middle, the probable pedestal. The figures and inscriptions are faithfully expressed in the plate given by Mr. Pennant.

The two most remarkable grave-stones are, one of a warrior, in a close vest and sleeves, with a sort of phillebeg reaching to his knees, and the covering of his head of a conic form, like the Bared of the ancient Irish \*: a sword in his hand, and dirk by his side. The other has on it a great sword; a beautiful running pattern of foilage round it; and a griffin, a lion, and another animal at one end: near to them is a plain tablet, whether intended to be engraven, or whether like Peter Papin, Lord of Utrique, he was a new knight, and wanted a device, must remain undetermined.

On a little flat hill, near the village, are the remains of the gallows: this was the place of execution in the days of the lords of the isles. From hence is a pretty view of the loch, and the church and village of Bomore.

This part of the island is in many places bounded by a sort of terrafs near twenty-two feet high, entirely formed of rounded sea-worn pebbles, now some hundred yards distant from the medium line between high and low water mark; and above twenty-five yards above it. This is another proof of the loss sustained by the sea in the Scottish islands; which, we know, makes more than reprizals in other places.

Ride along the head of the bay; at Tralaig, on a heathy eminence that faces the sands, are three deep hollows; their inside once lined with stone: these had been the watch-towers of the natives, to attend the motions of any invaders from the sea. Observe near them a great column of rude stone.

Pass by two deep channels, at present dry: these had been the harbour of the great Macdonald; had once piers, with doors to secure his shipping: a great iron hook, one of the hinges having lately been found there.

The vessels then in use were called Birlings, probably corrupted from Bydinga †, a species of ship among the Norwegians: but by the size of the harbours, it is plain that the navy of this potentate was not very considerable.

Turn a little out of the road to see the site of one of his houses, called Kil-choman, and a deep glen, which is pointed out to me as the place where he kept his fat cattle: such a conveniency was very necessary, as most of the establishment of the great Macdonald's household was paid in kind. Mr. Campbell, of Ballole, favoured me with the state of it in 1542, which was as follows:

## North Cantyre.

In money, 125l. 10 B.  
Oat-meal, 388 stones three-quarters.  
Malt, 4 ch. 10 bolls.  
Marts, i. e. a stall-fed ox, 6.  
Cow, 1.  
Muttons, 41.  
Cheese, 307 ft. three-quarters.

## South Cantyre.

In money, 162l. 8 B. 48.  
Meal, 480 ft. 2 pt.  
Malt, 25 ch. 14 B. 2 fir.  
Marts, 48.  
Mutton, 53.  
Cheese, 342 ft. three-quarters.

## Ilay and Reinds †.

Money, 45l. 1d. Meal, 2593 ft. Marts, 301. Mutton, 301. Cheese, 2161, 3 pt.  
Geese, 301. Poultry, 301.

\* Mr. O'Connor's Diff. Hist. Ireland, 112.

† Torfæus, 106.

‡ A traß of Ilay to the west between Kilarow and Sunderland.



	£.	B.	d.
Total in money, 332l. 18 B. 6.	332	18	6
Meal, 3061 ft. three-quarters, 2 pt. at 2 B.	366	2	10
Malt, 30 chal. 8 bolls, 2 fir. at 5 B.	122	2	6
Marts, 356, at 2 marks,	553	6	8
Mutton, 595, at 2 B.	45	11	10
Cheefe,	237	2	0
Geefe, 301, at 4d.	6	0	4
Poultry, 301.	2	18	3
	<hr/>		
In Scotch money	1666	2	11

Observe, near this place, a tract quite covered with clover, sown by nature. Proceed west, and am conducted to Sunderland \*, the seat of ——— Campell, Esq. The improvements of his lands are excellent, and the grass so good, and the fields so clean, as to vie with any place. Near the house, in a well-sheltered nook, is an apple-orchard, which bore plentifully: these, with strawberries, are the fruits of these remote islands; the climate denies other luxuries of this nature: and even in these articles, Pomona smiles but where she finds a warm protection.

About a mile from the house, on the coast, separated from the land by a deep but dry chasm, is a large rock, with a pretty large area on the top: on it are vestiges of various habitations, the retreat of the ancient natives in times of irresistible invasion: here they were secure, for the ascent is as difficult and hazardous as most I have undertaken. The place is called Burg-coul, and by the name refers to Fingal, or Fin-mac-cuil.

Sat up late, which gave me opportunity of knowing the lightness of the night in the island at this season: for at half an hour past one in the morning, I could read the small print of a newspaper.

July 4. Visit Loch-guirm, about two miles distant from Sunderland; a water of four miles in circumference, shallow, but abounding with trout. It is most remarkable for a regular fort of the Mac-donald's, placed in a small island, but now in ruins: the form is square, with a round bastion at each corner; and in the middle are some walls, the remains of the buildings that sheltered the garrison: beneath one side, between the two bastions, was the place where Mac-donald secured his boats: they were drawn beneath the protection of the wall of the fort, and had another on their outside, built in the water, as an additional security. The Déan of the isles says, that in his time this castle was usurped by Mac-killayne, of Doward.

Dine at Mr. Campbell's, of Balnabbi. His land is quite riante; his pastures in good order; and his people busily employed in hay-making: observed one piece of good grass ground, which he assured me was very lately covered with heath, now quite destroyed by the use of shell-land. Perhaps it may seem trifling to mention, that some excellent new potatoes were served up at dinner; but this circumstance, with the forwardness of the hay harvest, shews what may be effected by culture in this island, when the tenure is secure, for both Sunderland and Balnabbi are proprietors.

See, near the house, three upright stones, of a stupendous size, placed nearly equidistant: the largest was seventeen feet high, and three broad.

Ride two miles N. W. to Doun-vollan, where some high rocks project one behind the other into the sea, with narrow isthmuses between: on the ascent of each are strong dikes, placed transversely, and a path leading towards the top; and on some parts are

\* Near this place is the dangerous bay of Sallego.



hollows, probably the lodging of the occupiers. The last of these rocks terminates in a precipice over the sea, and was the *dernier resort* of the defendants: such were the fortifications of the barbarous ages: here were the assailants successful, the garrison had no alternative but to perish by the edge of the sword, or to precipitate themselves into the ocean.

In various parts of this neighbourhood are scattered small holes, formed in the ground, large enough to hold a single man in a sitting posture: the top is covered with a broad stone, and that with earth: into these unhappy fugitives took shelter after a defeat, and drawing together fods, found a temporary concealment from enemies, who in early times knew not the giving or receiving of quarter. The incursions of barbarians were always short; so that the fugitives could easily subsist in their earths till the danger was over. Men were then almost in a state of nature: how strong was their resemblance to beasts of prey! The whole scenery of this place was unspeakably savage, and the inhabitants fuitable. Falcons screamed incessantly over our heads, and we disturbed the eagles perched on the precipice.

Continue clambering among the rocks impending over the sea, and spilt by intervals into chasms, narrow, black, and of a stupendous depth; whose bottom appeared and disappeared according to the momentary convulsions of the furious foam of the waves, rolling from the heavy ocean. Proceed along a narrow path, surrounding the face of a promontory hanging over the water, skipping nimbly over a way that fear alone could make dangerous, laughing at a bulky companion whom the rest had distanced.

Descend a deep tract, and found part of our company (who chose a less picturesque road) in possession of the fine cave of *Saneg-mor*: the entrance was difficult: but after some travel found the inside of an august extent and height; the roof solid rock, which returned with the noise of thunder, the discharge of our muskets. Within this cave was another strait before us, with a fine arched entrance: several of the company had got into it, and passing with their tapers backwards and forwards; from recess to recess, appeared at our distance like the gliding spectres of Shakespeare in the pit of Acheron. We followed, and found our grotto divided into numbers of far-winding passages, sometime opening into fine expanses, again closing, for a long space, into galleries, passable but with difficulty: a perfect subterraneous labyrinth. A bagpiper preceded: at times the whole space was filled with the sound, which died away by degrees to a mere murmur, and soon after again astonished us with the bellowing, according as the meanders conducted him to, or from our singular stations.

July 5. Take leave of the hospitable family of Sunderland: ride along a different road across the island; pass by some cairns, and some ancient fences on the heaths. Reach the head of Loch-Druinard, a place celebrated for the battle of *Traii-dhruinard*, in 1593, between the lord of the isles, and Sir Lauchlan Mac-lean, of Mull: the last, with fifteen hundred men, invaded Ilay, with a view of usurping it from his nephew: the first had only eleven hundred, and was at first obliged to retreat till he was joined by a hundred and twenty fresh forces: this decided the engagement. Sir Lauchlan was slain, with four-score of his principal kinsmen, and two hundred of his soldiers, who lay surrounding the body of their chieftain. A stone on the spot, was erected in memory of his fall.

Sir Lauchlan consulted a witch, the oracle of Mull, before he set out on his expedition; and received three pieces of advice: first, not to land on a Thursday: a storm forced him into disobedience. The second, not to drink of a certain spring: which he did through ignorance. The third, not to fight beside Loch-druinard: but this the fates may be supposed to have determined.

Ride



Ride by Loch-finlagan, a narrow piece of water, celebrated for its isle, a principal residence of the great Mac-donald. The ruins of this place and chapel still exist, and also the stone on which he stood when he was crowned King of the isles. This custom seems to have been common to the northern nations. The Danes \* had their Kong-stolen.

The ceremony, (after the new lord had collected his kindred and vassals) was truly patriarchal. After putting on his armour his helmet and his sword, he took an oath to rule as his ancestors had done; that is, to govern as a father would his children: his people in return swore that they would pay the same obedience to him as children would their parent. The dominions of this potentate about the year 1586 consisted only of Ilay, Jura, Knapdale and Cantyre. So reduced were they, from what they had been, before the deprivation of the great Earl of Ross, in the reign of James III.

Near this is another little isle, where he assembled his council: *Illan na Corlle*, or, The island of council; where thirteen judges constantly sat to decide differences among his subjects; and received for their trouble the eleventh part of the value of the affair tried before them †.

In the first island were buried the wives and children of the lords of the isles; but their own persons were deposited in the more sacred ground of Jona.

On the shores of the lake are some marks of the quarters of his Carnauch and Gilliglassies, the military of the isles: the first signifying a strong man; the last, a grim-looking fellow. The first were light armed, and fought with darts and daggers; the last with sharp hatchets ‡. These are the troops that Shakespeare alludes to, when he speaks of a Donald, who

From the western isles  
Of Kernes and Gallow glassies was supplied.

Upon the shore are remains of a pier, and on a stone is cut, A. H. or, *Æneas* the second, one of the lords of the isles, in whose reign it was founded §. This proves sufficiently that Mac-donald was not their general title, as some have imagined: the mistake arose from two of the name of Donald, who were most remarkable for the ravages they made in Scotland, in the reign of Edward Baliol, in 1368, and that of James I. in 1410. As the title is popular still in the isles, I chuse to continue what is so much in use.

Besides those already mentioned, the lords had a house and chapel at Laganon, on the south side of Loch-an-daal: a strong castle on a rock in the sea, at Dunowaick, at the south-east end of the country; for they made this island their residence after their expulsion from that of Man, in 1304.

There is a tradition, that while the isle of Man was part of the kingdom of the isles, that the rents were for a time paid in this country: those in silver were paid on a rock still called *Creig-a-nione*, or the rock of the silver rent: the other, *Creig-a-nairgid*, or, the rock of rents in kind. These lie opposite to each other, at the mouth of a harbour, on the south side of this island.

\* *Stephanis notæ in Sax. Gramm.* 29.

† These were the Armin or Tierna heads of the principal families; who also assisted the lord of the isles with their advice.

‡ Camden, 1421.

§ Boethius, 383. Fordun says, that the lord of the isles had here duas mansiones et Castrum Domorum.



Return to Freeport, and go on board my vessel, now at anchor on the Jura side of the sound in Whitefa lane bay.

The isle of Ilay, Ila, or, as it is called in Erse, Ile, is of a square form, deeply indented on the south by the great bay of Loch-an-daal, divided from Jura, on the north-east, by the sound which is near fourteen miles long, and about one broad. The tides the most violent and rapid; the channel clear, excepting at the south entrance, where there are some rocks on the Jura side.

The length of Ilay, from the point of Ruval to the Mull of Kinoth, is twenty-eight miles; is divided into the parishes of Kildalton, Kilarow, Kilchoinan, and Kilmenie. The latitude \* of Freeport,  $55^{\circ} 52' 29''$  N. The face of the island is hilly, but not high: the loftiest hills are Aird-inisdail, Diur-bheinn, and Sgarb-bhein. The land in many parts is excellent, but much of it is covered with heath, and absolutely in a state of nature.

The produce is corn of different kinds; such as bear, which sometimes yields eleven fold, and oats six fold; a ruinous distillation prevails here, inasmuch that it is supposed that more of the bear is drank in form of whisky, than eaten in the shape of bannocks. Wheat has been raised with good success in an inclosure belonging to the proprietor; but in an open country where most of the cattle go at large, it is impossible to cultivate that grain, and the tenants are unable to inclose. Much flax is raised here, and about 2000l. worth, sold out of the island in yarn, which might be better manufactured on the spot, to give employ to the poor natives.

A set of people worn down with poverty; their habitations scenes of misery, made of loose stones, without chimnies, without doors, excepting the faggot opposed to the wind at one or other of the apertures, permitting the smoke to escape through the other, in order to prevent the pains of suffocation. The furniture perfectly corresponds: a pothook hangs from the middle of the roof, with a pot pendent over a grateless fire, filled with fare that may rather be called a permission to exist, than a support of vigorous life; the inmates, as may be expected, lean, withered, dusky, and smoked-dried. But my picture is not of this island only.

Notwithstanding the excellency of the land, above a thousand pounds worth of meal is annually imported, a famine threatened at this time, but was prevented by the seasonable arrival of a meal ship; and the inhabitants, like the sons of Jacob of old, flocked down to buy food.

Ale is frequently made in this island of the young tops of heath, mixing two thirds of that plant with one of malt, sometimes adding hops. Boethius relates that this liquor was much used among the Picts, but when that nation was extirpated by the Scots, the secret of making it perished with them †.

The country blest with fine manures; besides sea-wrack, coral, shell-sand, rock and pit marle, it possesses a tract of thirty-six square miles of limestone. What treasures, if properly applied, to bring wealth and plenty into the island.

Numbers of cattle are bred here, and about seventeen hundred are annually exported at the price of fifty shillings each. The island is often overstocked, and numbers die in March for want of fodder. None but milch cows are housed; cattle of all other kinds, except the saddle-horses, run out during winter.

The number of inhabitants is computed to be between seven and eight thousand. About seven hundred are employed in the mines and in the fishery; the rest are

\* I am greatly indebted to Dr. Lind for the true latitude; and for a beautiful map of the isle from which I take my measurements.

† Deser. Regni Scotorum.



gentlemen-farmers, subtenants or servants. The women spin. Few as yet have migrated.

The servants are paid in kind; the sixth part of the crop. They have houses gratis: the master gives them the seed for the first year, and lends them horses to plough annually the land annexed.

The air is less healthy than that of Jura: the present epidemical diseases are dropsies and cancers; the natural effects of bad food.

The quadrupeds of this island are stoats, weasels, otters, and hares: the last small, dark-coloured, and bad runners. The birds are eagles, peregrine falcons, black and red game, and a very few ptarmigans. Red breasted goosanders breed on the shore among the loose stones, wild geese in the moors. Herons in the island in Loch-guirm. The fish are plaice, lineardab, large dabs, mullets, ballan, lump-fish, black goby, greater dragonet, and that rare fish the Lepadogaster of M. Gouan.

Vipers swarm in the heath; the natives retain the vulgar error of their stinging with their forked tongues; that a sword on which the poison has fallen will hiss in water like a red hot iron; and that a poultice of human ordure is an infallible cure for the bite.

In this island several antient diversions and superstitions are still preserved; the last indeed are almost extinct, or at most lurk only among the very meanest of the people.

The late wakes or funerals, like those of the Romans, were attended with sports and dramatic entertainments, composed of many parts, and the actors often changed their dresses suitable to their characters. The subject of the drama was historical and preserved by memory.

The active sports are wrestling. Another is performed by jumping on a pole held up horizontally by two men; the performer lights on his knees, takes hold with both hands, bends and kisses it, and then springs off. He who succeeds in the feat when the pole is at highest elevation, carries the prize.

A second game of activity is played by two or three hundred, who form a circle; and every one places his stick in the ground before him by way of barrier. A person, called the odd man, stands in the middle, and delivers his bonnet to any one in the ring. This is nimbly handed round, and the owner is to recover it; and on succeeding, takes the place of the person whom he took it from, and that person again takes the middle place.

There are two other trials of strength: first, throwing the sledge-hammer. The other seems local. Two men sit on the ground foot to foot; each lays hold of a short stick, and the champion that can pull the other over is the winner.

The power of fascination is as strongly believed here as it was by the shepherds of Italy in times of old:

*Nescio quis teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos?*

But here the power of the evil eye affects more the milch cows than lambs. If the good housewife perceives the effect of the malicious on any of her kine, she takes as much milk as she can drain from the enchanted herd, for the witch commonly leaves very little. She then boils it with certain herbs, and adds to them flints and untempered steel; after that she secures the door, and invokes the three sacred persons. This puts the witch into such an agony, that she comes nilling-willing to the house, begs to be admitted, to obtain relief by touching the powerful pot; the good woman then makes



makes her terms; the witch restores the milk to the cattle, and in return is freed from her pains.

But sometimes to save the trouble of those charms (for it may happen that the disorder may arise from other causes than an evil-eye,) the trial is made by immersing in milk a certain herb, and if the cows are super-naturally affected, it instantly distills blood.

The unsuccessful lover revenges himself on his happy rival by charms potent as those of the shepherd Alphesibæus, and exactly similar:

Necte tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores :  
Necte. Amarylli modo.

Donald takes three threads of different hues, and ties three knots on each, three times imprecating the most cruel disappointments on the nuptial bed: but the bridegroom to avert the harm, stands at the altar with an untied shoe, and puts a sixpence beneath his foot.

A present was made me of a clach clun ceilach, or cock-knee stone, believed to be obtained out of that part of the bird; but I have unluckily forgotten its virtues. Not so with the clach crubain, which is to cure all pains in the joints. It is to be presumed both these amulets have been enchanted; for the first very much resembles a common pebble, the other is that species of fossil shell called Gryphites.

I was also favoured with several of the nuts, commonly called Molucca beans, which are frequently found on the western shores of this and others of the Hebrides. They are the seeds of the *Dolichos urens*, *Guilandina Bonduc*, *G. Bonduccetta*, and *mimosa scandens* of Linnæus, natives of Jamaica. The fifth is a seed called by Bauhin, *fructus exot: orbicularis sulcis nervisque quatuor*, whose place is unknown. The four first grow in quantities on the steep banks of the rivers of Jamaica, and are generally supposed to drop into the water, and to be carried into the sea; from thence by tides and currents, and the predominancy of the east wind, to be forced through the gulf of Florida into the North American ocean, in the same manner as the Sargasso, a plant growing on the rocks in the seas of Jamaica. When arrived in that part of the Atlantic, they fall in with the westerly winds, which generally blow two-thirds of the year in that tract; which may help to convey them to the shores of the Hebrides and Orkneys\*. I was for resolving this phenomenon into shipwrecks, and supposing that they might have been flung on these coasts out of some unhappy vessels; but this solution of mine is absolutely denied, from the frequency and regularity of the appearance of these seeds. American tortoises, or turtles, have more than once been taken alive on these coasts, tempest-driven from their warm seas; and part of the mast of the Tilbury man of war, burnt at Jamaica, was taken up on the western coast of Scotland; facts that give probability to the first opinion.

History furnishes very few materials for the great events or revolutions of Ilay. It seems to have been long a seat of empire, probably jointly with the isle of Man, as being most conveniently situated for the government of the rest of the Hebrides; for Crovan the Norwegian, after his conquest of that island in 1066, retired and finished his days in Ilay†. There are more Danish or Norwegian names of places in this island than any other; almost all the present farms derive their titles from them, such as Persibus, Torridale, Torribolfe, and the like. On the retreat of the Danes it became the seat of their successors, the lords of the isles, and continued after their

\* Phil. Trans. abridged, iii. 540.

† Chron. Man.



power was broken, in the reign of James III. in their descendants, the Mac-donalds, who held, or ought to have held it from the crown. It was in the possession of a Sir James Mac-donald, in the year 1598, the same who won the battle of Traii-dhruinard before mentioned. His power gave umbrage to James VI. who directed the Lord of Mac-leod, Cameron of Lochiel, and the Mac-neiles of Barra, to support the Mac-leanes in another invasion. The rival parties met near the hill of Ben-bigger, east of Kilarow; a fierce engagement ensued, and the Macdonalds were defeated, and almost entirely cut off. Sir James escaped to Spain; but returned in 1620, was pardoned, received a pension, and died the same year at Glasgow, and in him expired the last of the great Macdonalds. But the King, irritated by the disturbances raised by private wars, waged between these and other clans, resumed \* the grant made by his predecessor, and transferred it to Sir John Campbel of Calder, who held it on paying an annual feu-duty of five hundred pounds sterling, which is paid to this day. The island was granted to Sir John, as a reward for his undertaking the conquest, but the family considered it as a dear acquisition, by the loss of many gallant followers, and by the expences incurred in support of it. At present it is in possession of Mr. Campbel, of Shawfield, and the rents are about 2300l. per annum.

July 6. Weigh anchor at three o'clock in the morning; with the assistance of the tide get out of the Sound. See on the north-west side the place where that gallant enemy Thurot lay, at different times, expecting the fit opportunity of his invasion, to be determined by the news he had of the success of the Brest squadron. He was told that he lay in a dangerous place; but he knew that his security consisted, in case a superior force came against him, in being able either to take to sea, or escape through the Sound, according to the quarter the attack came from. His generosity and humanity are spoken of in high terms by the islanders; and his distress appeared very deep when he was informed of the miscarriage of Conflan's fleet.

Leave on the coast of Ilay, near the mouth of the Sound, the celebrated cave of Uamh-Fhearnaig, or Uam-mhòr. Fourteen or fifteen families retire to it during the fine season, as their sheelins, or summer residence, and three families reside in it the whole year.

About eight or nine miles from the mouth of the Sound lie the isles of Oransey and Colonsay. The stillness of the day made the passage tedious, which induced us to take boat; the view midway was very fine of Ilay and Jura, of the opening into Loch-Tarbat, a bay penetrating deep into Jura, and affording anchorage for large vessels; as was experienced a very few years ago by one of eight hundred tons, driven in during night: the master found an opening, and passed providentially between two rocks, at a small distance from each other; and, finding himself in smooth water, dropped anchor, and lay secure in a fine natural wet dock. A discovery worthy the attention of mariners†.

Beyond Jura appears the gulph of Corry-vrekan, bounded by the isle of Skarba; the mountains of Mull succeed; and before us extend the shores of the two islands, the immediate objects of our visit. Land about one o'clock on Oransey; the ship arrives soon after, and anchors within Ghudimal, which, with two or three other little rocky isles, forms a harbour.

\* Feuds of the Isles, 99.

† Mariners have overlooked the account of this harbour given by Alexander Lindsay, pilot to James V. in his navigation round Scotland, in 1536, who pronounces it to have good anchorage. James in person executed the great design of taking charts of the coasts of his dominions, and founding the most distant and dangerous rocks.



After about a mile's walk reach the ruins of the antient monastery, founded (as some say) by St. Columba, but with more probability by one of the Lords of the isles, who fixed here a priory of canons regular of Augustine, dependent on the abby of Holyrood in Edinburgh. The church is fifty-nine feet by eighteen, and contains the tombs of numbers of the antient islanders, two of warriors recumbent, seven feet long: a flattery perhaps of the sculptor, to give to future ages exalted notions of their prowess. Besides these, are scattered over the floor lesser figures of heroes, priests and females; the last seemingly of some order: and near them is a figure, cut in stone, of full size, apparently an abbeſs.

In a side chapel, beneath an arch, lies an abbot, of the name of Mac-duſie, with two of his fingers elated, in the attitude of benediction: in the same place is a stone enriched with foliage, a stag furrounded with dogs, and a ship with full ſail: round is inſcribed, "Hic jacet Murchardus Mac-duſie de Collonſa, An. Do. 1539, menſe mart. ora me ille. ammen."

This Murchardus is ſaid to have been a great oppreſſor, and that he was executed, by order of the Lord of the isles, for his tyranny. Near his tomb is a long pole, placed there in memory of the enſign-ſtaff of the family, which had been preſerved miraculoſly for two hundred years: on it (report ſays) depended the fate of the Mac-duſian race, and probably the original perished with this Murchardus.

Adjoining to the church is the cloiſter, a ſquare of forty-one feet: one of the ſides of the inner wall is ruined; on two of the others are ſeven low arches, one ſeven feet high including the columns, which are nothing more than two thin ſtones\*, three feet high, with a flat ſtone on the top of each, ſerving as a plinth; and on them two other thin ſtones, meeting at top, and forming an acute angle, by way of arch: on the foreſide are five ſmall round arches; theſe ſurround a court of twenty-eight feet eight inches. This form is peculiar (in our part of Europe) to this place; but I am told that the ſame is obſerved in ſome of the religious houſes in the iſlands of the Archipelago.

Several other buildings join this, all in a ruinous ſtate; but a moſt elegant croſs is yet ſtanding, twelve feet high, one foot ſeven broad, five inches thick.

St. Columba, when he left Ireland, made a vow never to ſettle within ſight of his native country: accordingly when he and his friend Oran landed here, they aſcended a hill, and Ireland appeared in full view. This induced the holy men to make a ſudden retreat; but Oran had the honour of giving name to the iſland.

July 7. Aſcend the very hill that the ſaint did: lofty and craggy, inhabited by red-billed choughs and ſtares. On the top is a retreat of the old inhabitants, protected by a ſtrong ſtone dike and advanced works. On the plain below is a large round mount, flat at top, on which had probably been a ſmall Daniſh fort, ſuch as are frequently ſeen in Ireland. Nearer the ſhore in the eaſt ſide of the iſland is a large conic tumulus; and on the ſame plain, a ſmall croſs placed, where a Mac-duſie's corps is ſaid to have reſted.

Take a boat and viſit Bird iſland, and ſome other rocks divided by narrow paſſages, filled by a moſt rapid tide. Saw ſeveral eider ducks and ſome ſhieldrakes. The iſlanders neglect to gather the down of the former, which would bring in a little money.

This is the bird called by the dean of the iſles colk. From the circumſtance of its depluming its breaſt, he fables that, "at that time her fleiche of fedderis falleth of her haily, and ſayles to the mayne ſea againe, and never comes to land quhyll the zeir end again, and then ſhe comes with her nev fleiche of fedderis: this fleiche that ſhe leaves zeirly upon her neſt heſ nae pens in the fedderis, bot utter ſine downes."

\* On one of theſe there is an inſcription, which was copied, but by ſome accident loſt.



The seals are here numerous: a few are caught in nets placed between these rocks. The great species is taken on Du hirtach, a great rock about a mile round, ten leagues to the west; reported to be the nearest of any to America.

Oranay is three miles long; the south part low and sandy, the rest high and rocky: is divided from Colonsay by a narrow sound dry at low water. This island is a single farm, yielding bear, flax, and much potatoes, which are left in their beds the whole winter, covered with sea-wrack, to protect them from the frost. The manure is shell sand and wrack: the last laid on grass will produce but one crop; on corn-land it will produce two. Sixty milch cows are kept here; and this year eighty head of cattle were fold from the island at three pounds a-piece: some butter and cheese are also exported.

This island is rented by Mr. Mac-Neile, brother to the proprietor of both islands. The rent is not more than forty pounds a year; yet according to the custom of the isles, the farm employs a number of servants, viz. a chief labourer, who has fifty shillings a year, and a stone of meal per week; a principal herdsman, whose wages are grass for two cows, and meal sufficient for his family; a cow-herd, who has twenty-four shillings a year and shoes; one under him, whose wages are about sixteen shillings; and a calf-herd, who is allowed ten shillings. Besides these are two other men, called from their employ *aoireannan*, who have the charge of cultivating a certain portion of land, and also overseeing the cattle it supports: these have grass for two milch cows and six sheep, and the tenth sheaf, the produce of the ground, and as many potatoes as they chuse to plant. The maid servants are a housekeeper, at three pounds a year; a principal dairy maid, twelve marks Scots each half year; and five other women, five marks.

Crofs the sound at low water, and enter the island of Colonsay, twelve miles long, three broad, full of rocky hills, running transversely, with variety of pretty meandering vales full of grass, and most excellent for pasturage. Even the hills have plenty of herbage mixed with the rock. The vallies want inclosures and want woods, the common defect of all the Hebrides: they yield bear and potatoes; much of the first is used in distillation, to the very starving of the islanders, who are obliged to import meal for their subsistence. About two hundred and twenty head of cattle are annually exported at 3*l.* each. In 1736 the price was only five-and-twenty shillings; but the rise commenced two years after the rebellion. Yet even this advance does not enrich the people of this pretty island, for their whole profit is exhausted in the purchase of bread, which their own industry ought to supply.

Oats are sown here about the middle of April, and yield three and a half. Bear produces eight fold. Forty or fifty tons of kelp are annually made in both islands. The materials are collected on the shores in the middle of April, and the kelp exported in August, at the rate of 3*l.* 10*s.* or 4*l.* per ton.

Their poverty prevents them from using the very means Providence has given them of raising a comfortable subsistence. They have a good soil, plenty of limestone, and sufficient quantity of peat. A sea abounding with fish; but their distressed state disables them from cultivating the one, and taking the other. These two islands contain eight thousand four hundred acres, of which about two thousand six hundred are arable. How inadequate then is the produce of cattle; and how much more so is that of corn!

The soil of this island is far superior in goodness to that of Oranay; yet how disproportionably less are the exports: Oranay owes its advantages to the good management of the tenant.



In both islands are between five and six hundred souls. The old inhabitants were the Mac-dufies and the Mac-vurechs. The first were chief: "This isle (says the dean) is brukit be ane gentle capitane callit Mac-dufyke and pertened of auld to Clandonald of Kyntyre," and it is now brukit be ane gentle capitane callit Mac-neile, who has never raised his rents, has preserved the love of his people, and lost but a single family by migration.

This island, since the time of the dean, was the property of the Argyle family, who sold it to an ancestor of the present proprietor about sixty years ago. I conjecture that the ancient owner might have forfeited by engaging in the last rebellion of the Macdonalds; and that it was included in the large grant of islands made to the Campbells, in reward for their services.

Met with nothing very interesting in the ride. Pass by a chain of small lakes, called Loch-fad, by two great erect stones monumental, at Cil-chattan, and by a ruined chapel. There are three others; but notwithstanding, from this circumstance, Oransay and Colonsay might be supposed to have been isles of sanctity, yet from the reformation till within the last six years, the sacrament had been only once administered.

Reach Cil-oran, the seat of the proprietor, Mr. Mac-neile, who entertained us with much politeness. His house is well-sheltered, and trees grow very vigorously in its neighbourhood. There is scarcely an island, where vallies protected from winds may not be found, in which trees might be planted to great advantage. Ash and maple would succeed particularly well; and in many places the best kinds of willows would turn to good account, and produce a manufacture of baskets and hampers, articles our commercial towns have a great demand for.

Rabbits abound here; about a hundred and twenty dozen of their skins are annually exported.

Bernacles appear here in vast flocks in September, and retire the latter end of April or beginning of May. Among the domestic fowls I observed peacocks to thrive well in the farm at Oransay; so far north has this Indian bird been naturalized.

Neither frogs, toads, nor vipers are found here; or any kind of serpent, except the harmless blind-worm.

I met with no remarkable fossils. Black talc, the *mica lamellata martialis nigra* of Cronsted, sect. 95, is found here, both in large detached flakes, and immersed in indurated clay. Also rock stone formed of glimmer and quartz. An imperfect granite is not unfrequent.

July 8. In the morning walk down to the eastern coast of the island, to a creek guarded by the little rocky isle of Olamsay, where small vessels may find shelter. Find Mr. Thompson plying off at a mile's distance. Go on board, and sail for Jona. The lofty mountains of Mull lay in the front: the eastern views were Ilay, Jura, Scarba, and the entrance of the gulph of Corryvreckan; beyond lies Lorn, and at a distance soars the high hill of Crouachan.

Steer to the north-west; but our course greatly delayed by calms: take numbers of grey gurnards in all depths of water, and find young herrings in their stomachs.

Towards evening arrive within sight of Jona, and a tremendous chain of rocks lying to the south of it, rendered more horrible by the perpetual noise of breakers. Defer our entrance into the sound till day-light.

July 9. About eight of the clock in the morning very narrowly escape striking on the rock Bòairevor, apparent at this time by the breaking of a wave: our master was at some distance in his boat, in search of sea-fowl, but alarmed with the danger of his vessel,



vessel, was hastening to its relief; but the tide conveyed us out of reach of the rock, and saved him the trouble of landing us, for the weather was so calm as to free us from any apprehensions about our lives. After tiding for three hours, anchor in the sound of Jona, in three fathoms water, on a white sandy bottom; but the safest anchorage is on the east side, between a little isle and that of Mull: this sound is three miles long and one broad, shallow, and in some parts dry at the ebb of spring tides: it is bounded on the east by the island of Mull; on the west by that of Jona, the most celebrated of the Hebrides.

Multitudes of gannets were now fishing here: they precipitated themselves from a vast height, plunged on their prey at least two fathoms deep, and took to the air again as soon as they emerged. Their sense of seeing must be exquisite; but they are often deceived, for Mr. Thompson informed me that he had frequently taken them by placing a herring on a hook, and sinking it a fathom deep, which the gannet plunges for and is taken.

The view of Jona was very picturesque: the east side, or that which bounds the sound, exhibited a beautiful variety; an extent of plain, a little elevated above the water, and almost covered with the ruins of the sacred buildings, and with the remains of the old town still inhabited. Beyond these the island rises into little rocky hills, with narrow verdant hollows between (for they merit not the name of vallies), and numerous enough for every recluse to take his solitary walk, undisturbed by society.

The island belongs to the parish of Ross, in Mull; is three miles long and one broad; the east side mostly flat; the middle rises into small hills; the west side very rude and rocky; the whole is a singular mixture of rock and fertility.

The soil is a compound of sand and comminuted sea shells, mixed with black loam; is very favourable to the growth of bear, natural clover, crowsfoot, and daisies. It is in perpetual tillage, and is ploughed thrice before the sowing: the crops at this time made a promising appearance, but the seed was committed to the ground at very different times; some, I think, about the beginning of May, and some not three weeks ago. Oats do not succeed here; but flax and potatoes come on very well. I am informed that the soil in Col, Tir-I, and North and South Uist, is similar to that in Jona.

The tenants here run-rig, and have the pasturage in common. It supports about a hundred and eight head of cattle, and about five hundred sheep. There is no heath in this island: cattle unused to that plant give bloody milk; which is the case with the cattle of Jona transported to Mull, where that vegetable abounds; but the cure is soon effected by giving them plenty of water.

Servants are paid here commonly with a fourth of the crop, grafs for three or four cows and a few sheep.

The number of inhabitants is about a hundred and fifty: the most stupid and the most lazy of all the islanders; yet many of them boast of their descent from the companions of St. Columba.

A few of the more common birds frequent this island: wild geese breed here, and the young are often reared and tamed by the natives.

The beautiful sea-bugloss makes the shores gay with its glaucous leaves and purple flowers. The eryngo, or sea-holly, is frequent; and the fatal belladonna is found here.

The granites durus rubescens, the same with the Egyptian, is found in Nuns-isle, and on the coast of Mull: a breccia quartzosa, of a beautiful kind, is common; and the rocks to the south of the bay of Martyrs is formed of the Swedish trapp, useful to glass-makers\*.

\* Cronsted, No. cclxvii.



Jona derives its name from a Hebrew word signifying a dove, in allusion to the name of the great saint, Columba, the founder of its fame. This holy man, infligated by his zeal, left his native country, Ireland, in the year 565, with the pious design of preaching the gospel to the Picts. It appears that he left his native soil with warm resentment, vowing never to make a settlement within sight of that hated island. He made his first trial at Oransey, and on finding that place too near Ireland, succeeded to his wish at Hy, for that was the name of Jona at the time of his arrival. He repeated here the experiment on several hills, erecting on each a heap of stones; and that which he last ascended is to this day called Carnan-chul-reh-Eirinn, or the eminence of the back turned to Ireland.

Columba was soon distinguished by the sanctity of his manners: a miracle that he wrought so operated on the Pictish king, Bradeus, that he immediately made a present of the little isle to the saint. It seems that his majesty had refused Columba an audience, and even proceeded so far as to order the palace gates to be shut against him; but the saint, by the power of his word, instantly caused them to fly open.

As soon as he was in possession of Jona he founded a cell of monks, borrowing his institutions from a certain oriental monastic order\*. It is said that the first religious were canons regular, of whom the founder was the first abbot; and that his monks, till the year 716, differed from those of the church of Rome, both in the observation of Easter, and the clerical tonsure. Columba led here an exemplary life, and was highly respected for the sanctity of his manners for a considerable number of years. He is the first on record who had the faculty of second-sight, for he told the victory of Aidan over the Picts and Saxons on the very instant it happened. He had the honour of burying in this island Convallus and Kinnatil, two kings of Scotland, and of crowning a third. At length, worn out with age, he died, in Jona, in the arms of his disciples; was interred there, but (as the Irish pretend) in after-times translated to Down, where, according to the epitaph, his remains were deposited with those of St. Bridget and St. Patrick.

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno;  
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.

But this is totally denied by the Scots; who affirm that the contrary is shewn in the life of the saint, extracted out of the pope's library, and translated out of the Latin into Erse, by father Cal-o-horan, which decides in favour of Jona the momentous dispute†.

After the death of St. Columba, the island received the name of Y-columb-cill, or the isle of the cell of Columba. In process of time the island itself was personified, and by a common blunder in early times converted into a saint, and worshipped under the title of St. Columb-kill.

The religious continued unmolested during two centuries; but in the year 807 were attacked by the Danes, who with their usual barbarity put part of the monks to the sword, and obliged the remainder, with their abbot Cellach, to seek safety by flying from their rage. The monastery remained depopulated for seven years; but on the retreat of the Danes received a new order, being then peopled by Cluniacs, who continued there till the dissolution, when the revenues were united to the see of Argyle.

Took boat and landed on the spot called the Bay of Martyrs, the place where the bodies of those who were to be interred in this holy ground were received during the period of superstition.

\* Sir Roger Twissden's Rise of Monastic States, 36.

† M. S. in Advoc. Libr. 1693.



Walked about a quarter of a mile to the south, in order to fix on a convenient spot for pitching a rude tent, formed of oars and sails, as our day residence, during our stay on the island.

Observe a little beyond an oblong inclosure, bounded by a stone dike, called Clachnan Druinach, and supposed to have been the burial-place of the Druids, for bones of various sizes are found there. I have no doubt but that druidism was the original religion of this place; yet I suppose this to have been rather the common cemetery of the people of the town, which lies almost close to the bay of Martyrs.

Having settled the business of our tent, return through the town, consisting at present of about fifty houses, mostly very mean, thatched with straw of bear pulled up by the roots, and bound tight on the roof with ropes made of heath. Some of the houses that lie a little beyond the rest seemed to have been better constructed than the others, and to have been the mansions of the inhabitants when the place was in a flourishing state, but at present are in a very ruinous condition.

Visit every place in the order that they lay from the village. The first was the ruin of the nunnery, filled with canonessees of St. Augustine, and consecrated to St. Oran. They were permitted to live in community for a considerable time after the reformation, and wore a white gown, and above it a retchet of fine linen\*.

The church was fifty-eight feet by twenty: the roof of the east end is entire, is a pretty vault made of very thin stones, bound together by four ribs meeting in the centre. The floor is covered some feet thick with cow-dung; this place being at present the common shelter for the cattle; and the islanders are too lazy to remove this fine manure, the collection of a century, to enrich their grounds.

With much difficulty, by virtue of fair words and a bribe, prevail on one of these listless fellows to remove a great quantity of this dunghill, and by that means once more expose to light the tomb of the last prioress. Her figure is cut on the face of the stone; an angel on each side supports her head; and above them is a little plate and a comb. The prioress occupies only one half of the surface; the other is filled with the form of the Virgin Mary, with head crowned and mitred; the child in her arms; and to denote her Queen of Heaven, a sun and moon appear above. At her feet is this address, from the prioress: "*Sancta Maria ora pro me.*" And round the lady is inscribed: "*Hic jacet Domina Anna Donaldi Terleti † filia quondam priorissa de Jona quæ obiit a<sup>n</sup>o m<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> xi<sup>mo</sup> ejus animam altissimo commendamus.*"

Mr. Stuart, who some time past visited this place, informed me that at that time he observed this fragment of another inscription: "*Hic jacet Mariota filia Johan: Lauchlani Domini de . . . .*"

Besides this place of sepulture, was another on the outside, allotted for the nuns; where, at a respectable distance from the virtuous recluses, lies in solitude a frail sister.

This nunnery could never have been founded (as some assert) in the days of St. Columba, who was no admirer of the fair sex: in fact he held them in such abhorrence, that he detested all cattle on their account, and would not permit a cow to come within sight of his sacred walls; because "*'Sfar am bi bo, bi'dh bean, 'Sfar am bi bean, bi'dh mallacha:*" "Where there is a cow, there must be a woman; and where there is a woman, there must be mischief."

Advance from hence along a broad paved way, which is continued in a line from the nunnery to the cathedral: another branches from it to the bay of Martyrs; and a third, narrower than the others, points towards the hills.

\* Keith, 280.

† Or Charles.



On this road is a large and elegant cross, called that of Maclean, one of three hundred and sixty that were standing in this island at the reformation\*, but immediately after were almost entirely demolished by order of a provincial assembly, held in the island. It seems to have been customary in Scotland for individuals to erect crosses, probably in consequence of some vow, or perhaps out of a vain hope of perpetuating their memory.

Arrive at Reilig Ourain, or the burying-place of Oran, a vast enclosure; the great place of interment for the number of monarchs who were deposited here, and for the potentates of every isle, and their lineage; for all were ambitious of lying in this holy spot. The place is in a manner filled with grave-stones, but so overgrown with weeds, especially with the common butter-bur, that very few are at present to be seen.

I was very desirous of viewing the tombs of the kings, described by the Dean of the isles, and from him by Buchanan: the former says †, that in his time there were three, built in form of little chapels; on one was inscribed, "Tumulus Regum Scotiæ." In this were deposited the remains of forty-eight Scottish monarchs, beginning with Fergus II., and ending with the famous Macbeth: for his successor, Malcolm Canmore, decreed for the future Dumferline to be the place of royal sepulture ‡. Of the Scottish monarchs interred in Jona, sixteen are pretended to be of the race of Alpin, and are styled, Righrid Ailpeanaeh.

Fergus was the founder of this mausoleum (Boethius calls it *abbatia* §), and not only directed that it should be the sepulchre of his successors, but also caused an office to be composed for the funeral ceremony.

The next was inscribed, "Tumulus Regum Hiberniæ," containing four Irish monarchs; and the third, "Tumulus Regum Norwegiæ," containing eight Norwegian princes, or more probably viceroys, of the Hebrides, while they were subject to that crown.

That so many crowned heads, from different nations, should prefer this as the place of their interment, is said to have been owing to an ancient prophecy:

Seachd bliadna roimh'n bhraà  
Thig muir thar Eirin re aon tra'  
S'har Ile ghu irm ghlaish  
Ach Snàmhaidh I cholum clairich.

Which is to this effect: "Seven years before the end of the world a deluge shall drown the nations: the sea, at one tide, shall cover Ireland, and the green-headed Ilay; but Columba's isle shall swim above the flood."

But of these celebrated tombs we could discover nothing more than certain slight remains, that were built in a ridged form, and arched within; but the inscriptions were lost. These are called *Jomaire nan righ*, or the ridge of the kings. Among these stones were found two with Gaelic inscriptions, and the form of a cross carved on each: the words on one were, "Cros Domhail Fat'asich," or the cross of Donald Longshanks; the other signified the cross of Urchvine o Guin. The letters were those of the most ancient Irish alphabet, exhibited in Vallancy's Irish grammar.

Among the same stones is also the following: "Hic jacent quatuor priores de—ex una natione V: Johannes, Hugonius, Patricius: in decretis olim Bacularius, alter Hugonius || qui obiit an. Dom. millesimo quingentesimo."

\* Short Descr. of Jona, 1693. Advoc. Libr. M. S.

† P. 19.

‡ Boethius, lib. vii. p. 122.

§ Lib. vii. p. 119.

|| Corrected by John Lloyd, Esq. of Wyg-fair, Flintshire.



I am indebted to Mr. Stuart for these three inscriptions, which he met with in his former voyage; arriving before the growth of the all-covering weeds. Mr. Frazier, son to the Dean of the isles, informed Mr. Sacheverel, governor of the isle of Man, who visited Jona in 1688, that his father had collected there three hundred inscriptions, and presented them to the Earl of Argyle; which were afterwards lost in the troubles of the family.

The chapel of St. Oran stands in this space, which legend reports to have been the first building attempted by St. Columba; by the working of some evil spirit, the walls fell down as fast as they were built up.

After some consultation it was pronounced; that they never would be permanent till a human victim was buried alive: Oran a companion of the saint, generously offered himself, and was interred accordingly: at the end of three days St. Columba had the curiosity to take a farewell look at his old friend, and caused the earth to be removed. To the surprize of all beholders, Oran started up, and began to reveal the secrets of his prison-house; and particularly declared, that all that had been said of hell was a mere joke. This dangerous impiety so shocked Columba, that, with great policy, he instantly ordered the earth to be flung in again; poor Oran was overwhelmed, and an end for ever put to his prating. His grave is near the door, distinguished only by a plain red stone.

Boethius \* gives us reason to suppose, before this period, Jona to have been the habitation of the weird sisters and cacodæmons; for King Natholocus, like Saul of old, consulted in this island an old witch, of uncommon fame: no wonder, therefore, that the prince of darkness should be interested in the overthrow of edifices that were to put an end to his influence.

In Oran's chapel are several tombs, and near it many more: within, beneath a recess formed with three neat pointed arches, is a tomb-stone with a ship and several ornaments. I forgot whether the sails were furled: in that case the deceased was descended from the ancient Kings of Man of the Norwegian † race, who used those arms.

Near the south end is the tomb of the abbot Mac-kinnan's father, inscribed, *Hæc est crux Lauchlani Mc. Fingon et ejus filii Johannis Abbatis de Hy. facta an. Dom. m<sup>o</sup>++ cccclxxxix.*

Another of Macdonald of Ilay and Cantyre, commonly called Innus, or Angus oig, the chief of the name. He was a strong friend to Robert Bruce, and was with him at the battle of Bannockbourne. His inscription is, *Hic jacet corpus Angusii filii Domini Angusii Mc. Domhnill de Ilay.*

In another place lies the grave-stone of Ailean Nan Sop, a Ceatharnarch, or head of a party, of the name of Maclean; from whom is descended the family of Torloisg. The stone is ornamented with carving and a ship.

A Maclean, of Col, appears in armour with a sword in his left hand. A Maclean of Duart, with armour, shield and two-handed sword. And a third, of the same name of the family of Lochbuy: his right hand grasps a pistol, his left a sword. Besides these, are numbers of other ancient heroes, whose very names have perished, and they deprived of their expected glory: their lives were, like the path of an arrow, closed up and lost as soon as past; and probably in those times of barbarism, as fatal to their fellow creatures.

About seventy feet south of the chapel is a red unpolished stone; beneath which lies a nameless King of France. But the memory of the famous old doctor of Mull has had

\* Lib. vi. p. 90.

† Doctor Macpherson.



a better fate, and is preserved in these words: *Hic jacet Johannes Betonus Maclenorum familiæ, medicus, qui mortuus est 19 Novembris 1657. Æt. 63. Donaldus Betonus fecit. 1674.*

*Ecce cadit jáculo víctricis mortis iniquæ;  
Qui toties alois solverat ipse malis.  
Soli Deo Gloria.*

A little north-west of the door is the pedestal of a cross: on it are certain stones, that seem to have been the support of a tomb. Numbers who visit this island (I suppose the elect impatient for the consummation of all things) think it incumbent on them to turn each of these thrice round, according to the course of the sun. They are called *Clacha-bràth*; for it is thought that the bràth, or end of the world, will not arrive till the stone on which they stand is worn through. Originally, says Mr. Sacheverel, here were three noble globes, of white marble, placed on three stone basons, and these were turned round; but the synod ordered them, and sixty crosses, to be thrown into the sea. The present stones are probably substituted in place of these globes.

The precinct of these tombs was held sacred, and enjoyed the privileges of a Girth, or sanctuary\*. These places of retreat were by the ancient Scotch law, not to shelter indiscriminately every offender, as was the case in more bigotted times in Catholic countries: for here all atrocious criminals were excluded; and only the unfortunate delinquent, or the penitent sinner shielded from the instant stroke of rigorous justice. The laws are penned with such humanity and good sense, that the reader cannot be displeased with seeing them in their native simplicity†.

“Gif any fleis to *HALIE KIRK* moved with repentance confesses there that he heavily sinned, and for the love of God is come to the house of God for safetie of himself, he sall nocht time life nor limme bot quhat he has taken frae anie man he sall restore same-ikill to him, and sall satisfie the King according to the law of the countrie.

“And swa fall swere upon the *Halie Evangell* that there-after he sall never commit reif nor theft.” *Alex. 11. c. 6.*

“If ane manslayer takes himself to the immunitie of the Kirk, he sould be admonished and required to come forth and present himself to the law; to know gif the slauchter was committed be forthocht felonie or murther.

“And gif he be admonished, and will not come furth; fra that time furth in all time thereafter he sal be banished and exiled as ane committer of murther and forethocht felonie; keep and reservand to him the immunitie of the kirk to the whilk he take himself.” *Rob. 11. c. 9.*

Particular care was also taken that they should receive no injury during their retreat: penalties were enacted for even striking; but for the murder of any, “The King was to have from the slayer twentye nine kyes and ane zounge kow; and the offender was also to assithe to the friends of the defunct conforme to the laws of the countrie.” *Wil. c. 5.*

The cathedral lies a little to the north of this inclosure: is in the form of a cross. The length from east to west is a hundred and fifteen feet. The breadth twenty-three. The length of the transept seventy. Over the centre is a handsome tower: on each of which is a window with some stone work of different forms in every one.

On the south side of the chancel are some Gothic arches supported by pillars, nine feet eight inches high, including the capitals; and eight feet nine inches in circumfer-

\* Fordun, lib. ii. c. 10.

† From the *Regiam Majestatem*.



ence. The capitals are quite peculiar; carved round with various superstitious figures, among others is an angel weighing of souls.

The altar was of white marble veined with grey, and is vulgarly supposed to have reached from side to side of the chancel: but Mr. Sacheverel \*, who saw it when almost entire, assures us, that the size was six feet by four.

The demolition of this stone was owing to the belief of the superstitious; who were of opinion, that a piece of it conveyed to the possessor success in whatever he undertook. A very small portion is now left; and even that we contributed to diminish.

Near the altar is the tomb of the abbot Mac-kinnon. His figure lies recumbent, with this inscription round the margin, "Hic jacet Johannes Mac-Fingone abbas de Hy, qui obiit anno Domini Milleffimo quingentesimo, cujus animæ propitiatur Deus altissimus. Amen."

On the other side is the tomb and figure of Abbot Kenneth.

On the floor is the effigy of an armed knight, with a whilk by his side, as if he just had returned from the feast of shells in the hall of Fingal.

Among these funeral subjects, the interment (a few years ago) of a female remarkable for her lineage must not be omitted. She was a direct descendant, and the last of the Clan-an-oister, ostiarii, or door-keepers to the monastery. The first of the family came over with Columba, but falling under his displeasure, it was decreed on the imprecation of this irritable saint, that never more than five of his clan should exist at one time; and in consequence when a sixth was born, one of the five was to look for death. This, report says, always happened till the period that the race was extinguished in this woman.

It is difficult to say when the present church was built: if we may credit Boethius, it was rebuilt by Malduinus, in the seventh century, out of the ruins of the former. But the present structure is far too magnificent for that age. Most of the walls are built with red granite from the Nuns isle in the sound.

From the south-east corner are two parallel walls about twelve feet high, and ten feet distant from each other. At present they are called Dorus targh, or the door to the shore: are supposed to have been continued from the cathedral to the sea, to have been roofed, and to have formed a covered gallery the whole way.

In the church-yard is a fine cross, fourteen feet high, two feet two inches broad, and ten inches thick, made of a single piece of red granite. The pedestal is three feet high.

Near the south-east end is Mary's chapel. Besides this, we are informed, that there were several other founded by the Scottish monarchs, and the Reguli of the isles †.

The monastery lies behind the cathedral. It is in a most ruinous state, a small remnant of a cloister is left. In a corner are some black stones, held so sacred, but for what reason I am ignorant, that it was customary to swear by them: perhaps from their being neighbours to the tutelar saint, whose grave is almost adjacent.

Boethius † gives this monastery an earlier antiquity than perhaps it can justly claim. He says, that after the defeat of the Scots, at the battle of Munda, A. D. 379, the survivors with all religions fled to this island; and were the original founders of this house. But the account given by the venerable Bede is much more probable, that St. Columba was the original founder, as has been before related.

This isle, says the Dean, has beine richlie dotat by the Scotch kings: and mentions several little islands that belonged to it, which he calls Soa, Naban, Moroan, Reringe,

\* P. 132.

† Buchanan, lib. i. c. 37. Dean of the isles, 19.

‡ Lib. vi. p. 108, 109.



Inch Kenzie, Eorsey, and Kannay. If these had been all the endowments, they would never serve to lead the religious into the temptation of luxury; but they were in possession of a considerable number of churches and chapels in Galway, with large estates annexed, all which were taken from them, and granted to the canons of Holyrood house by William I. between the years 1172 and 1180\*.

Columba was the first abbot: he and his successors maintained a jurisdiction over all the other monasteries that branched from this; and over all the monks of this abbey that exercised the priestly or even episcopal function in other places. One of the institutes of Loyola seems here to have been very early established, for the elevens of this house seem not to think themselves freed from their vow of obedience to the abbot of Jona. Bede† speaks of the singular pre-eminence, and says that the island always had for a governor an abbot-prefbyter, whose power (by a very uncommon rule) not only every province, but even the bishops themselves, obeyed. From this account the enemies to episcopacy have inferred, that the rank of bishop was a novelty, introduced into the church in corrupt times; and the authority they assumed was an errant usurpation, since a simple abbot for so considerable a space was permitted to have the superiority. In answer to this, archbishop Usher‡ advances, that the power of the abbot of Jona was only local; and extended only to the bishop who resided there: for after the conquest of the isle of Man by the English, and the division of the see after that event, the bishop of the isles made Jona his residence, which before was in Man. But notwithstanding this, the venerable Bede seems to be a stronger authority, than the Ulster annals quoted by the archbishop, which pretend no more than that a bishop had always resided in Jona, without even an attempt to refute the positive assertion of the most respectable author we have (relating to church matters) in those primitive times.

North of the monastery are the remains of the bishop's house: the residence of the bishops of the isles after the isle of Man was separated from them. This event happened in the time of Edward I. On their arrival the abbots permitted to them the use of their church, for they never had a cathedral of their own, except that in the isle of Man. During the time of the Norwegian reign, which lasted near two hundred years, the bishops were chosen without respect of country, for we find French, Norwegian, English and Scotch among the prelates, and they were generally, but not always, consecrated at Drontheim. Even after the cession of the Ebudæ to Scotland by Magnus, the patronage of this bishoprick was by treaty reserved to the archbishop § of Drontheim. This see was endowed with || thirteen islands; but some of them were forced from them by the tyranny of some of the little chieftains; thus for example, Rassa, as the honest Dean says, was pertaining to Mac-Gyllychallan by the sword, and to the bishop of the isles by heritage.

The title of these prelates, during the conjunction of Man and Sodor, had been universally mistaken, till the explications of that most ingenious writer Dr Macpherson ¶: it was always supposed to have been derived from Soder, an imaginary town, either in Man or in Jona: whose derivation was taken from the Greek Soter or Saviour. During the time that the Norwegians were in possession of the isles, they divided them into two parts: the northern, which comprehended all that lay to the north of the point of

\* Sir James Dalrymple's Coll. 271, 272.

† Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, ejus juri et omnis Provincia et ipsi etiam Episcopi ordine inlitaio debeant esse subjecti. Lib. iii c. 4.

‡ De Brit. Eccles. Primord. cap. xv p. 701.

§ Sir David Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, 178.

¶ The Dean.

¶ P. 222, and Torseus, in many parts of his history of the Orkneys.



Arnamurchan, and were called the Nordereys, from norder North, and ey an island. And the Sudereys took in those that lay to the south of that promontory. This was only a civil division, for the sake of governing these scattered dominions with more facility; for a separate viceroy was sent to each, but both were subject to the same jurisdiction civil and ecclesiastical. But as the Sudereys was the most important, that had the honour of giving name to the bishoprick, and the isle of Man retained both titles, like as England unites that of France, notwithstanding many centuries have elapsed since our rights to the now usurped titles are lost.

Proceed on our walk. To the west of the convent is the abbot's mount, overlooking the whole. Beneath seem to have been the gardens once well cultivated, for we are told that the monks transplanted from other places, herbs both esculent and medicinal.

Beyond the mount are the ruins of a kiln, and a granary: and near it, was the mill. The lake or pool that served it lay behind; is now drained, and is the turbery, the fuel of the natives: it appears to have been once divided, for along the middle runs a raised way, pointing to the hills. They neglect at present the conveniency of a mill, and use only querns.

North from the granary extends a narrow flat, with a double dike and fofs on one side, and a single dike on the other. At the end is a square containing a cairn and furrounded with a stone dike. This is called a burial place: it must have been in very early times cotemporary with other cairns, perhaps in the days of Druidism; for bishop Pocock mentions, that he had seen two stones seven feet high, with a third laid across on their tops, an evident cromlech: he also adds, that the Irish name of the island was lish Drunish; which agrees with the account I have somewhere read, that Jona had been the seat of Druids expelled by Columba, who found them there.

Before I quit this height, I must observe, that the whole of their religious buildings were covered on the north side by dikes, as a protection from the northern invaders, who paid little regard to the sanctity of their characters.

The public was greatly interested in the preservation of this place, for it was the repository of most of the ancient Scotch records\*. The library here must also have been invaluable, if we can depend upon Boethius, who asserts that Fergus the II. assisting Alaric the Goth, in the sacking of Rome, brought away as his share of the plunder, a chest of books, which he presented to the monastery of Jona. Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) intended, when he was in Scotland, to have visited the library in search of the lost books of Livy, but was prevented by the death of the King, James I. A small parcel of them were in 1525 brought to Aberdeen†, and great pains were taken to unfold them, but through age and the tenderness of the parchment, little could be read: but from what the learned were able to make out, the work appeared by the style to have rather been a fragment of Sallust than of Livy. But the register and records of the island, all written on parchment, and probably other more antique and valuable remains, were all destroyed by that worse than Gothic synod‡, which at the reformation declared war against all science.

At present, this once celebrated seat of learning is destitute of even a school-master; and this seminary of holy men wants even a minister to assist them in the common duties of religion.

\* Vide Mac-kenzie, Stillingfleet, Llyud.

† Boethius, lib. vii. p. 114, Paulus Jovius, quoted by Usher, Br. Eccl. 597.

I am informed that numbers of the records of the Hebrides were preserved at Dronheim till they were destroyed by the great fire which happened in that city either in the last or present century.

‡ M. S. Advocates Library.



July 10. Cross the island over a most fertile elevated tract to the south-west side, to visit the landing place of St. Columba; a small bay, with a pebbly beach, mixed with variety of pretty stones, such as violet-coloured quartz, nephritic stones, and fragments of porphyry, granite and Zæblitz marble: a vast tract near this place was covered with heaps of stones, of unequal sizes: these, as is said, were the penances of monks who were to raise heaps, of dimensions equal to their crimes: and to judge by some, it is no breach of charity to think there were among them enormous sinners.

On one side is shewn an oblong heap of earth, the supposed size of the vessel that transported St. Columba and his twelve disciples from Ireland to this island.

On my return saw, on the right hand, on a small hill, a small circle of stones, and a little cairn in the middle, evidently Druidical, but called the hill of the Angels, Cnoc nar-aimgeal; from a tradition that the holy man had there a conference with those celestial beings soon after his arrival. Bishop Pocock informed me, that the natives were accustomed to bring their horses to this circle at the feast of St. Michael, and to course round it. I conjecture that this usage originated from the custom of blessing the horses in the days of superstition, when the priest and the holy water pot were called in: but in latter times the horses are still assembled, but the reason forgotten.

The traveller must not neglect to ascend the hill of Dun-ii; from whose summit is a most picturesque view of the long chain of little islands, neighbours to this; of the long low isles of Còl and Tir-I to the west; and the vast height of Rum and Skie to the north.

July 11. At eight of the clock in the morning, with the first fair wind we yet had, set sail for the sound: the view of Jona, its clustered town, the great ruins, and the fertility of the ground, were fine contrasts, in our passage to the red granite rocks of the barren Mull.

Loch-Screban, or Loch-Leven in Mull, soon opens to our view. After passing a cape, placed in our maps far too projecting, see Loch-in-a-Gaal; a deep bay, with the isles of Ulva and Gometra in its mouth. On Ulva are basaltic columns of a lighter colour than usual. In Loch-Screban that intelligent voyager Mr. Mills in 1788, discovered in a glen near Ardlun head, a wonderful collection of basaltic columns, variously disposed, some erect, others bending as if pressed by the incumbent weight, and attended by lava and vitrified matter. An insulated rock of a very surprising composition is to be seen at the extremity of the glen, supported by lofty basaltic pillars slightly inclined. The greater part of the rock is formed of rude lava, but one side consists of pillars lying horizontally upon the others, and regularly resting on them till they reach the summit of the lava, and form on that part a most beautiful and singular facing\*.

On the west appears the beautiful groupe of the Treashunish isles†. Nearest lies Staffa, a new giant's causeway, rising amidst the waves; but with columns of double the height of that in Ireland; glossy and resplendent, from the beams of the eastern sun. Their greatest height was at the southern point of the isle, of which they seemed the support. They decreased in height in proportion as they advanced along that face of Staffa opposed to us, or the eastern side; at length appeared lost in the formless strata: and the rest of the island that appeared to us was formed of slopes to the water edge, or of rude but not lofty precipices. Over part of the isle, on the western side, was plainly to be seen a vast precipice, seemingly columnar, like the preceding. I wished to make a

\* Phil. Transf. lxxx. p. 73. tab. iv.

† These are most erroneously placed in the maps a very considerable distance too far to the north.



nearer approach, but the prudence of Mr. Thompson, who was unwilling to venture in these rocky seas, prevented my farther search of this wondrous isle; I could do no more than cause an accurate view to be taken of its eastern side, and of those of the other picturesque islands then in sight. But it is a great consolation to me, that I am able to lay before the public a most accurate account communicated to me through the friendship of Sir Joseph Banks, who, on August 12 of this summer, visited these parts on his interesting voyage to Iceland.

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ACCOUNT OF STAFFA, BY SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BARONET.

August 12. "In the foun of Mull, we came to anchor, on the Morven side, opposite to a gentleman's house, called Drumnien: the owner of it, Mr. Maclean, having found out who we were, very cordially asked us ashore; we accepted his invitation, and arrived at his house, where we met an English gentleman, Mr. Leach\*, who no sooner saw us than he told us, that about nine leagues from us was an island where he believed no one even in the Highlands had been†, on which were pillars like those of the Giant's-Causeway: this was a great object to me who had wished to have seen the causeway itself, would time have allowed; I therefore resolved to proceed directly, especially as it was just in the way to the Columb-kill: accordingly, having put up two days provisions, and my little tent, we put off in the boat about one o'clock for our intended voyage, having ordered the ship to wait for us in Tobirmore, a very fine harbour on the Mull side.

"At nine o'clock, after a tedious passage, having had not a breath of wind, we arrived, under the direction of Mr. Maclean's son, and Mr. Leach. It was too dark to see any thing, so we carried our tent and baggage near the only house upon the island, and began to cook our suppers, in order to be prepared for the earliest dawn, to enjoy that which from the conversation of the gentlemen we had now raised the highest expectations of.

"The impatience which every body felt to see the wonders we had heard so largely described, prevented our morning's rest; every one was up and in motion before the break of day, and with the first light arrived at the south-west part of the island, the seat of the most remarkable pillars; where we no sooner arrived than we were struck with a scene of magnificence which exceeded our expectations, though formed, as we thought, upon the most sanguine foundations; the whole of that end of the island supported by ranges of natural pillars, mostly above fifty feet high, standing in natural colonnades, according as the bays or points of land formed themselves; upon a firm basis of solid unformed rock, above these, the stratum which reaches to the soil or surface of the island, varied in thickness as the island itself formed into hills or vallies; each hill, which hung over the columns below, forming an ample pediment; some of these above sixty feet in thickness, from the base to the point, formed by the sloping of the hill on each side, almost into the shape of those used in architecture.

\* "I cannot but express the obligations I have to this gentleman for his very kind intentions of informing me of this matchless curiosity; for I am informed that he pursued me in a boat for two miles, to acquaint me with what he had observed; but, unfortunately for me, we out-sailed his liberal intention."

† "When I lay in the foun of Jona, two gentlemen, from the isle of Mull, and whose settlements were there, seemed to know nothing of this place; at least they never mentioned it as any thing wonderful."

"Compared



" Compared to this what are the cathedrals or the palaces built by men! mere models or playthings, imitations as diminutive as his works will always be when compared to those of nature. Where is now the boast of the architect! regularity, the only part in which he fancied himself to exceed his mistress, Nature, is here found in her possession, and here it has been for ages undescribed\*. Is not this the school where the art was originally studied, and what has been added to this by the whole Grecian school? a capital to ornament the column of nature, of which they could execute only a model; and for that very capital they were obliged to a bush of *Acanthus*: how amply does nature repay those who study her wonderful works!

" With our minds full of such reflections we proceeded along the shore, treading upon another Giant's Causeway, every stone being regularly formed into a certain number of sides and angles, till in a short time we arrived at the mouth of a cave, the most magnificent, I suppose, that has ever been described by travellers.

" The mind can hardly form an idea more magnificent than such a space, supported on each side by ranges of columns; and roofed by the bottoms of those, which have been broke off in order to form it; between the angles of which a yellow stalagmitic matter has exuded, which serves to define the angles precisely; and at the same time vary the colour with a great deal of elegance, and to render it still more agreeable, the whole is lighted from without; so that the farthest extremity is very plainly seen from without, and the air within, being agitated by the flux and reflux of the tides, is perfectly dry and wholesome, free entirely from the damp vapours with which natural caverns in general abound.

" We asked the name of it. Said our guide, the cave of *Fhinn*; what is *Fhinn*? said we. *Fhinn Mac Coul*, whom the translator of *Ossian's* works has called *Fingal*. How fortunate that in this cave we should meet with the remembrance of that chief, whose existence, as well as that of the whole epic poem is almost doubted in England.

" Enough for the beauties of *Staffa*; I shall now proceed to describe it and its productions more philosophically:

" The little island of *Staffa* lies on the west coast of *Mull*, about three leagues north-east from *Jona*, or the *Columb Kill*; its greatest length is about an English mile, and its breadth about half a one. On the west side of the isle is a small bay, where boats generally land; a little to the southward of which the first appearance of pillars are to be observed; they are small, and instead of being placed upright, lie down on their sides, each forming a segment of a circle; from thence you pass a small cave, above which, the pillars now grown a little larger, are inclining in all directions: in one place in particular a small mass of them very much resemble the ribs of a ship†; from hence, having passed the cave, which, if it is not low water, you must do in a boat, you come to the first ranges of pillars, which are still not above half as large as those a little beyond. Over against this place is a small island, called in *Erse*, *Boo-shalla*, or more properly *Bhuacha-ille*, or the herdsman, separated from the main by a channel not many fathoms wide; this whole island is composed of pillars without any

\* " *Staffa* is taken notice of by *Buchanan*, but in the slightest manner; and among the thousands who have navigated these seas, none have paid the least attention to its grand and striking characteristic, till this present year.

" This island is the property of Mr *Lauchlan Mac Quaire* of *Ulva*, and is now to be disposed of.

† " The Giant's Causeway has its bending pillars; but I imagine them to be very different from these. Those I saw were erect, and ran along the face of a high cliff, bent strangely in their middle, as if unable, at their original formation, while in a soft state, to support the mass of incumbent earth that pressed on them.



stratum above them; they are still small, but by much the neatest formed of any about the place.

"The first division of the island, for at high water it is divided into two, makes a kind of a cone, the pillars converging together towards the centre; on the other, they are in general laid down flat, and in the front next to the main, you see how beautifully they are packed together, their ends coming out square with the bank which they form: all these have their transverse sections exact, and their surfaces smooth, which is by no means the case with the large ones, which are cracked in all directions. I much question however, if any one of this whole island of Bhuachaille is two feet in diameter.

"The main island opposed to Boo-sha-la and farther towards the north-west is supported by ranges of pillars pretty erect, and, though not tall, (as they are not uncovered to the base,) of large diameters; and at their feet is an irregular pavement made by the upper sides of such as have been broken off, which extends as far under water as the eye can reach. Here the forms of the pillars are apparent: these are of three, four, five, six, and seven sides, but the numbers of five and six are by much the most prevalent. The largest I measured was of seven; it was four feet five inches in diameter. I shall give the measurement of its sides, and those of some other forms which I met with.

"No. 1. 4 sides, diam. 1 ft. 5 in.

	Ft.	In.
Side 1.	1	5
2.	1	1
3.	1	6
4.	1	1

No. 2. 5 sides, diam. 2 ft. 10 in.

	Ft.	In.
Side 1.	1	10
2.	1	10
3.	1	5
4.	1	7½
5.	1	8

"No. 3. 6 sides, diam. 3 ft. 6 in.

1.	0	10
2.	2	2
3.	2	2
4.	1	11
5.	2	2
6.	2	9

No. 4. 7 sides, diam. 4 ft. 5 in.

1.	2	10
2.	2	4
3.	1	10
4.	2	0
5.	1	1
6.	1	6
7.	1	3

"The surfaces of these large pillars in general are rough and uneven, full of cracks in all directions: the transverse figures in the upright ones never fail to run in their true directions; the surfaces upon which we walked were often flat, having neither concavity nor convexity: the larger number however were concave, though some were very evidently convex; in some places the interstices within the perpendicular figures were filled up with a yellow spar; in one place a vein passed in among the mass of pillars, carrying here and there small threads of spar. Though they were broken and cracked through and through in all directions, yet their perpendicular figures might easily be traced: from whence it is easy to infer, that whatever the accident might have been that caused the dislocation, it happened after the formation of the pillars.



" From hence proceeding along shore, you arrive at Fingal's cave : its dimensions though I have given, I shall here again repeat in the form of a table :

	Ft.	In.
" Length of the cave from the rock without	371	6
from the pitch of the arch	250	0
Breadth of ditto at the mouth	53	7
at the farther end	20	0
Height of the arch at the mouth	117	6
at the end	70	0
Height of an outside pillar	39	6
of one at the N. W. corner	54	0
Depth of water at the mouth	18	0
at the bottom	9	0

The cave runs into the rock in the direction of N. E. by E. by the compass.

" Proceeding farther to the N. W. you meet with the highest ranges of pillars, the magnificent appearance of which is past all description : here they are bare to their very basis, and the stratum below them is also visible ; in a short time it rises many feet above the water, and gives an opportunity of examining its quality. Its surface rough, and has often large lumps of stone sticking in it, as if half immerfed ; itself, when broken, is composed of a thousand heterogeneous parts, which together have very much the appearance of a lava ; and the more so as many of the lumps appear to be of the very same stone of which the pillars are formed : this whole stratum lies in an inclined position, dipping gradually towards the S E. As hereabouts is the situation of the highest pillars, I shall mention my measurements of them, and the different strata in this place, premising that the measurements were made with a line, held in the hand of a person who stood at the top of the cliff, and reaching to the bottom. to the lower end of which was tied a white mark, which was observed by one who staid below for the purpose ; when this mark was set off from the water, the person below noted it down, and made signal to him above, who made then a mark in his rope : whenever this mark passed a notable place, the same signal was made, and the name of the place noted down as before ; the line being all hauled up, and the distances between the marks measured and noted down, gave, when compared with the book kept below, the distances, as for instance in the cave :

" No. 1. in the book below, was called from the water to the foot of the first pillar, in the book above ; No. 1. gave 36 feet 8 inches, the highest of that ascent, which was composed of broken pillars.

" No. 1. Pillar at the west corner of Fingal's cave :

	Ft.	In.
1. From the water to the foot of the pillar	12	10
2. Height of the pillar	37	3
3. Stratum above the pillar	66	9

No. 2. Fingal's cave :

1. From the water to the foot of the pillar	36	8
2. Height of the pillar	39	6
3. From the top of the pillar to the top of the arch	31	4
4. Thickness of the stratum above	34	4

By adding together the three first measurements, we got the height of the arch from the water

117 6  
No.



## No. 3. Corner pillar to the westward of Fingal's cave :

	Ft.	In.
Stratum below the pillar of lava-like matter	11	0
Length of pillar	54	0
Stratum above the pillar	61	6

## No. 4. Another pillar to the westward :

Stratum below the pillar	17	1
Height of the pillar	50	0
Stratum above	51	1

## No. 5. Another pillar farther to the westward :

Stratum below the pillar	19	8
Height of the pillar	55	1
Stratum above	54	7

" The stratum above the pillars, which is here mentioned, is uniformly the same, consisting of numberless small pillars, bending and inclining in all directions, sometimes so irregularly, that the stones can only be said to have an inclination to assume a columnar form ; in others more regular, but never breaking into, or disturbing the stratum of large pillars, whose tops every where keep an uniform and irregular line.

" Proceeding now along shore round the north end of the island, you arrive at Oua na scarve, or the Corvorant's Cave : here the stratum under the pillars is lifted up very high ; the pillars above it are considerably less than those at the N. W. end of the island, but still very considerable. Beyond is a bay, which cuts deep into the island, rendering it in that place not more than a quarter of a mile over. On the sides of this bay, especially beyond a little valley, which almost cuts the island into two, are two stages of pillars, but small ; however, having a stratum between them exactly the same as that above them, formed of innumerable little pillars, shaken out of their places, and leaning in all directions.

" Having passed this bay, the pillars totally cease ; the rock is of a dark brown stone, and no signs of regularity occur till you have passed round the S. E. end of the island (a space almost as large as that occupied by the pillars,) which you meet again on the west side, beginning to form themselves irregularly, as if the stratum had an inclination to that form, and soon arrive at the bending pillars where I began.

" The stone of which the pillars are formed is a coarse kind of basalt, very much resembling the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, though none of them are near so neat as the specimens of the latter, which I have seen at the British Museum ; owing chiefly to the colour, which in ours is a dirty brown, in the Irish a fine black : indeed the whole production seems very much to resemble the Giant's Causeway ; with which I should willingly compare it, had I any account of the former before me \*."

Proceed with a fine breeze ; see, beyond Staffa, Baca-beg, and the Dutchman's-cap, formed like a Phrygian bonnet ; and composed of rude basaltic pillars. Next succeeds Lunga †, varying into grotesque shapes as we recede from it ; the low flats of

\* As this account is copied from Mr Banks's journal, I take the liberty of saying (what by this time that gentleman is well acquainted with,) that Staffa is a genuine mass of basalt, or Giant's Causeway ; but in most respects superior to the Irish in grandeur. I must add that the name is Norwegian ; and most properly bestowed on account of its singular structure : Staffa being derived from Staf, a staff, prop, or, figuratively, a column.

† (1) At the bottom of the print of the rocks of Cannay, is a very singular view of Lunga, and the Dutchman's cap, as they appeared about eight or nine miles distant, the first S. S. by W. the last S. W. by S.



Mada next shew themselves; and, lastly, the isles of Cairn-berg more and beg, with columnar appearances: the first noted for its ancient fortrefs, the outgard to the Sudereys, or fouthern Hebrides.

In the year 1249, John Dungadi, appointed by Acho of Norway, king of the northern Hebrides, was entrusted with the defence of this castle; and, in return for that confidence, declined to surrender it to Alexander III. of Scotland, who meditated the conquest of these islands. It was in those days called Kiarnaburgh, or Biarnaburgh \*. The Macleanes possessed it in 1715, and during the rebellion of that year, was taken and re-taken by each party.

In our course observe at a distance, Tirey, or Tir-I, famous for its great plain, and the breed of little horses. To the north, separated from Tirey by a small sound, is the isle of Col. I must not omit observing, that the first is reported by a very sensible writer, to be well adapted for the culture of tobacco †.

Pass the point Ruth-an-i fleith, in Mull, when Egg high and rounded, Muck small, and the exalted tops of the mountainous Rum, and lofty Sky, appear in view. Leave, on the east, Calgarai bay in Mull, with a few houses, and some signs of cultivation; the first marks of population that had shewn themselves in this vast island.

The entrance of the sound of Mull now opens, bounded to the north by cape Ardnamurchan, or, the height of the boisterous sea; and beyond, inland, soar the vast summits of Benevish, Morvern, and Crouachan.

Towards afternoon the sky grows black, and the wind freshens into a gale, attended with rain, discouraging us from a chace of seals, which we proposed on the rock Heiskyr, a little to the west, where they swarm. To the west of Cannay, have a sight of the rock Humbla, formed of basaltic columns †.

Leave, three leagues to the west, the cairns of Col, a dangerous chain of rocks, extending from its northern extremity.

Sail under the vast mountains of Rum, and the point of Bredon; through a most turbulent sea, caused by the clashing of two adverse tides. See several small whales, called here Pollacks, that, when near land, are often chased on shore by boats: they are usually about ten feet long, and yield four gallons of oil. At seven o'clock in the evening find ourselves at anchor in four fathom water, in the snug harbour of the isle of Cannay. Formed on the north side by Cannay, on the south by the little isle of Sanda; the mouth lies opposite to Rum, and about three miles distant; the western channel into it is impervious by reason of rocks. On that side of the entrance next to Sanda is a rock to be shunned by mariners.

As soon as we had time to cast our eyes about, each shore appeared pleasing to humanity; verdant, and covered with hundreds of cattle: both sides gave a full idea of plenty, for the verdure was mixed with very little rock, and scarcely any heath; but a short conversation with the natives soon dispelled this agreeable error; they were at this very time in such want, that numbers for a long time had neither bread nor meal for their poor babes; fish and milk was their whole subsistence at this time: the first was a precarious relief, for, besides the uncertainty of success, to add to their distress, their stock of fish-hooks was almost exhausted; and to ours, that it was not in our power to supply them. The rubbans, and other trifles I had brought would have been insults to people in distress. I lamented that my money had been so uselessly laid out; for a few dozens of fish-hooks, or a few pecks of meal, would have made them happy.

\* Torseus, 164.

† Account current betwixt England and Scotland, by John Spruel.

† This was discovered by Mr. Murdoch-Mackenzie.



The Turks erect *caravanferas*. Christians of different opinions concur in establishing hospitia among the dreary Alps, for the reception of travellers. I could wish the public bounty, or private charity, would found in fit parts of the isles or mainland, magazines of meal, as preservatives against famine in these distant parts.

The crops had failed here the last year; but the little corn sown at present had a promising aspect; and the potatoes are the best I had seen, but these were not fit for use. The isles I fear annually experience a temporary famine; perhaps from improvidence, perhaps from eagerness to increase their stock of cattle, which they can easily dispose of to satisfy the demands of a landlord, or the oppressions of an agent. The people of Cannay export none, but sell them to the numerous buffes who put into this *Portus Salutis* on different occasions.

The cattle are of a middle size, black, long-legged, and have thin staring manes from the neck along the back, and up part of the tail: they look well, for in several parts of the islands they have good warm recesses to retreat to in winter. About sixty head are exported annually.

Each couple of milch cows yielded at an average seven stones of butter and cheese; two-thirds of the first, and one of the last. The cheese sold at three and sixpence a stone, the butter at eight shillings.

Here are very few sheep, but horses in abundance. The chief use of them in this little district is to form an annual cavalcade at Michaelmas. Every man on the island mounts his horse unfurnished with saddle, and takes behind him either some young girl, or his neighbour's wife, and then rides backwards and forwards from the village to a certain cross, without being able to give any reason for the origin of this custom. After the procession is over, they alight at some public-house, where, strange to say, the females treat the companions of their ride. When they retire to their houses an entertainment is prepared with primæval simplicity: the chief part consists of a great oat-cake, called *Struan Micheil*, or *St. Michael's cake*, composed of two pecks of meal, and formed like the quadrant of a circle; it is daubed over with milk and eggs, and then placed to harden before the fire.

Matrimony is held in such esteem here, that an old maid or old batchelor is scarcely known; such firm belief have they in the doctrine of the ape-leading disgrace in the world below: so to avoid that danger the youth marry at twenty, the lasses at seventeen. The fair sex are used here with more tenderness than common, being employed only in domestic affairs, and never forced into the labours of the field. Here are plenty of poultry and of eggs.

Abundance of cod and ling might be taken, there being a fine sand-bank between this isle and the rock Heisker, and another between Skie and Barra; but the poverty of the inhabitants will not enable them to attempt a fishery. When at Campbeltown I enquired about the apparatus requisite, and found that a vessel of twenty tons was necessary, which would cost two hundred pounds; that the crew should be composed of eight hands, whose monthly expences would be fourteen pounds; that six hundred fathom of long line, five hundred hooks, and two stuoy lines (each eighty fathoms long), which are placed at each end of the long-lines with buoys at top to mark the place when sunk, would altogether cost five guineas; and the vessel must be provided with four sets; so that the whole charge of such an adventure is very considerable, and past the ability of these poor people\*.

The length of the island is about three miles, the breadth near one; its surface hilly. This was the property of the bishop of the isles, but at present that of Mr. Macdonald of Clan-Ronald. His factor, a resident agent, rents most of the island, paying two

\* In Br. Zeol III. No. 73, is an account of a fishery of this nature.



guineas for each penny-land ; and these he sets to the poor people at four guineas and a half each ; and exacts, besides this, three days labour in the quarter from each person. Another head tenant possesses other penny-lands, which he sets in the same manner, to the impoverishing and very starving of the wretched inhabitants.

The penny-lands derive their name from some old valuation. The sum requisite to stock one is thirty pounds: it maintains seven cows and two horses ; and the tenant can raise on it eight bolls of small black oats, the produce of two ; and four of bear from half a boll of seed ; one boll of potatoes yields seven. The two last are manured with sea-tang.

The arable land in every farm is divided into four parts, and lots are cast for them at Christmas: the produce, when reaped and dried, is divided among them in proportion to their rents ; and for want of mills is ground in the quern. All the pasture is common, from May to the beginning of September.

It is said that the factor has in a manner banished sheep, because there is no good market for them ; so that he does his best to deprive the inhabitants of cloathing as well as food. At present they supply themselves with wool from Rum, at the rate of eight-pence the pound.

All the cloathing is manufactured at home: the women not only spin the wool, but weave the cloth: the men make their own shoes, tan the leather with the bark of willow, or the roots of the *tormentilla erecta*, or *tormentil*, and in defect of wax-thread, use split thongs.

About twenty tons of kelp are made in the shores every third year.

Sickness seldom visits this place: if any disorder seizes them the patients do no more than drink whey, and lie still. The small-pox visits them about once in twenty years.

All disputes are settled by the factor, or, if of great moment, by the justices of the peace in Skie.

This island, Rum, Muck, and Egg, form one parish. Cannay is inhabited by two hundred and twenty souls, of which all, except four families, are Roman Catholics ; but in the whole parish there is neither church, manse, nor school: there is indeed in this island a catechist, who has nine pounds a year from the royal bounty. The minister and the popish priest reside in Egg ; but, by reason of the turbulent seas that divide these isles, are very seldom able to attend their flocks. I admire the moderation of their congregations, who attend the preaching of either indifferently as they happen to arrive. As the Scotch are economists in religion, I would recommend to them the practice of one of the little Swiss mixed cantons, who, through mere frugality, kept but one divine, a moderate honest fellow, who, steering clear of controversial points, held forth to the Calvinist flock on one part of the day, and to his Catholic on the other. <sup>religious ceremony</sup> He lived long among them much respected, and died lamented.

The protestant natives of many of the isles observe Yule and Pasch, or Christmas and Easter ; which among rigid presbyterians is esteemed so horrid a superstition, that I have heard of a minister who underwent a censure for having a goose to dinner on Christmas day ; for having been convicted of holding that one day was more holy than another, or to be distinguished by any external marks of festivity.

In popish times here was probably a resident minister ; for here are to be seen the ruins of a chapel, and a small cross.

Much rain and very hard gales the whole night, the weather being, as it is called in these parts, broken.

July 12. Bad weather still continues, which prevented us from seeing so much of this island as we intended, and also of visiting the rock Humbla. Go on shore at the nearest part, and visit a lofty slender rock, that juts into the sea: on one side is a little tower,



tower, at a vast height above us, accessible by a narrow and horrible path; it seems so small as scarce to be able to contain half a dozen people. Tradition says, that it was built by some jealous regulus, to confine a handsome wife in.

To the north-west above this prison is the Compass-hill, in Erse called Sgar-dhearg, or the red projecting rock. On the top the needle in the mariner's compass was observed to vary a whole quarter; the north point standing due west: an irregularity probably owing to the nature of the rock, highly impregnated with iron. Mr. Mills observed in this island basaltic columns.

In the afternoon some coal was brought, found in the rocks Dun-eudain, but in such small veins as to be useless. It lies in beds of only six inches in thickness, and about a foot distant from each other, divided by strata of whin-stone. Fuel is very scarce here, and often the inhabitants are obliged to fetch it from Rum.

July 13. A continuation of bad weather. At half an hour after one at noon, loose from Cannay, and after passing with a favourable gale through a rolling sea, in about two hours anchor in the isle of Rum, in an open bay, about two miles deep, called Loch-Sgrìofard, bounded by high mountains, black and barren: at the bottom of the bay is the little village Kinloch, of about a dozen houses, built in a singular manner, with walls very thick and low, with the roofs of thatch reaching a little beyond the inner edge, so that they serve as benches for the lazy inhabitants, whom we found sitting on them in great numbers, expecting our landing, with that avidity for news common to the whole country.

Entered the house with the best aspect, but found it little superior in goodness to those of Ilay; this indeed had a chimney and windows, which distinguished it from the others, and denoted the superiority of the owner; the rest knew neither windows nor chimnies. A little hole on one side gave an exit to the smoke: the fire is made on the floor beneath; above hangs a rope, with the pot-hook at the end to hold the vessel that contains their hard fare, a little fish, milk, or potatoes. Yet, beneath the roof I entered, I found an address and politeness from the owner and his wife that were astonishing: such pretty apologies for the badness of the treat, the curds and milk that were offered, which were tendered to us with as much readiness and good will, as by any of old Homer's dames, celebrated by him in his *Odyssey* for their hospitality. I doubt much whether their cottages or their fare was much better; but it must be confessed that they might be a little more cleanly than our good hosts.

Rum, or Ronin, as it is called by the dean, is the property of Mr. Maclean of Col; a landlord mentioned by the natives with much affection: the length is about twelve miles, the breadth six; the number of souls at this time three hundred and twenty-five; of families only fifty-nine, almost all protestant. The heads of families, with their wives, were at this time all alive, except five, three widowers and two widows. They had with them a hundred and two sons, and only seventy-six daughters: this disproportion prevails in Cannay, and the other little islands, in order, in the end, to preserve a balance between the two sexes; as the men are, from their way of life, so perpetually exposed to danger in these stormy seas, and to other accidents that might occasion a depopulation, was it not so providentially ordered\*.

The island is one great mountain, divided into several points; the highest called Aisgobhall. About this bay, and towards the east side, the land slopes towards the water side; but on the south-west forms precipices of a stupendous height. The surface of Rum is in a manner covered with heath, and in a state of nature; the heights rocky. There is very little arable land, excepting about the nine little hamlets that

\* In Chester, and other large towns, though the number of males exceeds the number of females born; yet when arrived to the age of puberty the females are much more numerous than males; because the latter, in every period of life, are more liable to fatal diseases.



the natives have grouped in different places, near which the corn is sown in diminutive patches; for the tenants here run-rig as in Cannay. The greatest farmer holds five pounds twelve shillings a year, and pays his rent in money. The whole of the island is two thousand marks\*.

The little corn and potatoes they raise is very good; but so small is the quantity of bear and oats, that there is not a fourth part produced to supply their annual wants: all the subsistence the poor people have besides is curds, milk, and fish. They are a well made and well looking race, but carry famine in their aspect: are often a whole summer without a grain in the island; which they regret not on their own account but for the sake of their poor babes. In the present œconomy of the island, there is no prospect of any improvement. Here is an absurd custom of allotting a certain stock to the land; for example, a farmer is allowed to keep fourteen head of cattle, thirty sheep, and six mares, on a certain tract called a penny-land†. The person who keeps more is obliged to repair out of his superfluity any loss his neighbour may sustain in his herds or flocks.

A number of black cattle is sold, at thirty or forty shillings per head, to graziers who come annually from Skie, and other places. The mutton here is small, but the most delicate in our dominions, if the goodness of our appetites did not pervert our judgment: the purchase of a fat sheep was four shillings and sixpence: the natives kill a few, and also of cows, to salt for winter provisions. A few goats are kept here: abundance of mares, and a necessary number of stallions; for the colts are an article of commerce, but they never part with the fillies.

Every penny-land is restricted to twenty-eight fums of cattle: one milch cow is reckoned a fum, or ten sheep; a horse is reckoned two fums. By this regulation, every person is at liberty to make-up his fums with what species of cattle he pleases; but then is at the same time prevented from injuring his neighbour (in a place where grazing is in common) by rearing too great a stock. This rule is often broken; but by the former regulation, the sufferer may repair his loss from the herds of the avaricious.

No hay is made in this island, nor any sort of provender for winter provision. The domestic animals support themselves as well as they can on spots of grass preserved for that purpose. In every farm is one man, from his office called Fear cuartaich, whose sole business is to preserve the grass and corn: as a reward he is allowed grass for four cows, and the produce of as much arable land as one horse can till and harrow.

Very few poultry are reared here, on account of the scarcity of grain.

No wild quadrupeds are found, excepting stags: these animals once abounded here, but they are now reduced to eighty, by the eagles, who not only kill the fawns, but the old deer, seizing them between the horns, and terrifying them till they fall down some precipice, and become their prey. eagles

The birds we observed were ring-tail eagles, ravens, hooded-crows, white wagtails wheat-ears, titlarks, ring ouzels, grouse, ptarmigans, curlews, green plovers, falcatedars or arctic gulls, and the greater terns: the Dean mentions gannets, but none appeared while we were in the island.

At the foot of Sgor-mor, opposite to Cannay, are found abundance of agates, of that species called by Cronsted, sect. lxi. 6, *Achates chalcedonifans*, improperly, white cornelians: several singular strata, such as grey quartz stone, Cronsted, sect. cclxxiv; another, a mixture of quartz and basaltes, a black stone, spotted with white, like por-

\* A Scotch mark is little more than thirteen-pence-farthing.

† The division into penny-lands, and much of the rural œconomy agree in both islands. See map



phyry, but with the appearance of a lava : fine grit, or free stone, and the cinereous indorated bole of Cronsted, sect. lxxxvii.

July 14. Land again : walk five miles up the sides of the island, chiefly over heath and moory ground : crosses two deep gullies, varied with several pretty cascades, falling from rock to rock : pass by great masses of stone, corroded as if they had lain on the shore. After a long ascent reach Loch-nan-grun, a piece of water amidst the rocks, beneath some of the highest peaks of the mountains. Abundance of terns inhabit this loch. Return excessively wet with constant rain.

Notwithstanding this island has several streams, here is not a single mill ; all the molinary operations are done at home : the corn is gradanned, or burnt out of the ear, instead of being thrashed : this is performed two ways ; first, by cutting off the ears, and drying them in a kiln, then setting fire to them on a floor, and picking out the grains, by this operation rendered as black as coal. The other method is more expeditious, for the whole sheaf is burnt, without the trouble of cutting off the ears : a most ruinous practice, as it destroys both thatch and manure, and on that account has been wisely prohibited in some of the islands. Gradanned corn was the parched corn of Holy Writ. Thus Boaz presents his beloved Ruth with parched corn ; and Jesse sends David with an Ephah of the same to his sons in the camp of Saul. The grinding was also performed by the same sort of machine the quern, in which two women were necessarily employed : thus it is prophesied " two women shall be grinding at the mill, one shall be taken, the other left." I must observe too that the island lasses are as merry at their work of grinding the Gradann, the *ααχρος* of the ancients, as those of Greece were in the days of Aristophanes,

Who warbled as they ground their parched corn \*.

The quern or bra is made in some of the neighbouring counties, in the mainland, and costs about fourteen shillings. This method of grinding is very tedious : for it employs two pair of hands four hours to grind only a single bushel of corn. Instead of a hair sieve to sift the meal the inhabitants here have an ingenious substitute, a sheep's skin stretched round a hoop, and perforated with small holes made with a hot iron. They knead their bannock with water only, and bake or rather toast it, by laying it upright against a stone placed near the fire.

For want of lime they dress their leather with calcined shells : and use the same method of tanning it as in Cannay.

The inhabitants of Rum are people that scarcely know sickness : if they are attacked with a dysentery they make use of a decoction of the roots of the *Tormentilla erecta* in milk. The small-pox has visited them but once in thirty-four years, only two sickened, and both recovered : The measles come often.

It is not wonderful that some superstitions should reign in these sequestered parts. Second sight is firmly believed at this time. My informant said that Lauchlan Mac-Kerran of Cannay had told a gentleman that he could not rest from the noise he heard of the hammering of nails into his coffin : accordingly the gentleman died within fifteen days.

Molly Mac-leane (aged forty) has the power of foreseeing events through a well-scraped blade bone of mutton. Some time ago she took up one and pronounced that five graves were soon to be opened ; one for a grown person : the other four for children ; one of which was to be of her own kin : and so it fell out. These pretenders to second

\* Nubes, act v. scene 11. Gradann is derived from Grad quick, as the process is expeditious.



fight, like the Pythian priestesses, during their inspiration fall into trances, foam at the mouth, grow pale, and feign to abstain from food for a month, so overpowered are they by the visions imparted to them during their paroxysms.

I must not omit a most convenient species of second sight, possessed by a gentleman of a neighbouring isle, who foresees all visitors, so has time to prepare accordingly: but enough of these tales, founded on impudence and nurtured by folly.

Here are only the ruins of a church in this island; so the minister is obliged to preach, the few times he visits his congregation, in the open air. The attention of our popish ancestors in this article, delivers down a great reproach on the negligence of their reformed descendants: the one leaving not even the most distant and savage part of our dominions without a place of worship; the other suffering the natives to want both instructor and temple.

July 15. The weather grows more moderate; at one o'clock at noon sail from Rum, with a favourable and brisk gale, for the isle of Skie. Soon reach the point of Slate, at the south end, a division of that great island, a mixture of grass, a little corn and much heath. Leave on the right the point of Arisalg. Pass beneath Armadale in Skie, a feat beautifully wooded, gracing most unexpectedly this almost treeless tract. A little farther to the west opens the mouth of Loch-in-daal, a safe harbour, and opposite to it on the main-land, that of Loch-Jurn, or the lake of Hell, with black mountains of tremendous height impending above.

The channel between the shire of Inverness and Skie now contracts; and enlarges again to a fine bay opposite Glenelg, between the main-land and Dunan-ruagh, where is good anchorage under Skie. At the north end of this expanse, the two sides suddenly contract, and at Kul-ri form a strait bounded by high lands, not a quarter of a mile broad; the flood, which runs here at the spring tides at the rate of seven knots an hour, carried us through with great rapidity, into another expanse perfectly land locked, and very picturesque. We were now arrived amidst an amphitheatre of mountains; the country of Kintail bounded us on the north and east; and Skie (which from Loch-in-daal became more lofty) confined us with its now wooded cliffs to the south. The ruins of an ancient castle, seated on the pinnacle of a rock, and some little isles formed our western view. These of old belonged to the Mac-kinnons, a very ancient race, who call themselves Clan-Alpin, or the descendants of Alpin, a Scotch monarch in the 9th century. Some of the line have still a property in Skie.

The violent squalls of wind darting from the apertures of the hills teased us for an hour, but after various tacks at last Mr. Thompson anchored safely beneath Mac-kinnon's castle, amidst a fleet of buffes, waiting with anxiety for the appearance of herrings, this year uncommonly late. The hard rains were no small advantage to our scenery. We lay beneath a vast hill called Glaisbhein, clothed with birch and oaks, inhabited by roes: cataracts poured down in various places amidst the woods, reminding me of the beautiful cascades between Scheideck and Meyringen, in the canton of Underwald. This part is in the district of Strath, another portion of Skie.

July 16. Land at a point called the Kyle, or passage, where about fourscore horses were collected to be transported *a la nage* to the opposite shore, about a mile distant, in the same manner as, Polybius \* informs us, Hannibal passed his cavalry over the rapid Rhone. They were taken over by fours, by little boats, a pair on each side held with halters by two men, after being forced off a rock into the sea. We undertook the conveyance of a pair. One, a pretty grey horse, swam admirably: the other was dragged

\* Lib. iii. c. 8.



along like a log; but as soon as it arrived within scent of his companions before, landed, revived, disengaged itself, and took to the shore with great alacrity. Some very gentleman-like men attended these animals, and with great politeness offered their services.

Among the crowd was a lad *erectis auribus*; his ears had never been swaddled down, and they stood out as nature ordained; and I dare say his sense of hearing was more accurate by this liberty.

The horned cattle of Skie are swam over, at the narrow passage of Kul-ri, at low water; six, eight, or twelve are passed over at a time, tied with ropes made of twisted withies fastened from the under jaw of the one to the tail of the preceding, and so to the next; the first is fastened to a boat, and thus are conveyed to the opposite shore. This is the great pass into the island, but is destitute even of a horse-ferry.

July 17. At five in the morning quit our situation, and passing through a narrow and short sound, arrive in another fine expanse, beautifully land-locked by the mainland (part of Ross-shire) the islands of Rona and Croulin, Rosa, distinguished by the high hillock, called Duncanna; Scalpa, and the low verdant isle of Pabay, in old times the seat of assassins\*. Skie shews a verdant slope for part of its shore: beyond soar the conic naked hills of Straith, and still farther the ragged heights of Blaven.

See, behind us, the ruins of the castle, and the entrance of the bay we had left, the openings into the great lochs of Kisserne and Carron, and, as a back-ground, a boundless chain of rugged mountains. The day was perfectly clear, and the sea smooth as a mirror, disturbed but by the blowing of two whales, who entertained us for a considerable space by the *jet d'eau* from their orifices.

Mr. Mac-kinnon, junior, one of the gentlemen we saw with the horses, overtakes us in a boat, and pressed us to accept the entertainment of his father's house of Coire-chattachan, in the neighbouring part of Skie. After landing near the isle of Scalpa, and walking about two miles along a flat, arrive at the quarters so kindly provided; directing Mr. Thompson to carry the vessel to the north part of Skie.

The country is divided by low banks of earth, and, like the other islands, has more pasturage than corn. In my walk to Kilchrist, the church of the parish of Strath, saw on the road-side strata of lime-stone and stone-marle, the former grey, the last white, and in many parts dissolved into an impalpable powder, and ready to the hands of the farmer. It is esteemed a fine manure, but better for corn than grass.

Near the church are vast strata of fine white marble, and some veined with grey, which I recognized to have been the bed, from whence the altar at Jona had been formed. Observe also great quantities of white granite, spotted with black. Messrs. Lightfoot and Stuart ascend the high lime-stone mountain of Beinn-shuardal, and find it in a manner covered with that rare plant the *Dryas octopela*.

On my return am entertained with a rehearsal, I may call it, of the Luagh, or walking of cloth, a substitute for the fulling-mill: twelve or fourteen women, divided into two equal numbers, sit down on each side of a long board, ribbed lengthways, placing the cloth on it: first they begin to work it backwards and forwards with their hands, singing at the same time, as at the quern: when they have tired their hands, every female uses her feet for the same purpose, and six or seven pair of naked feet are in the most violent agitation, working one against the other: as by this time they grow very earnest in their labours, the fury of the song rises; at length it arrives to such a pitch, that without breach of charity you would imagine a troop of female demoniacs to have been assembled.

\* In the time of the Dean all these little isles were full of woods, at present quite naked.

They



They sing in the same manner when they are cutting down the corn, when thirty or forty join in chorus, keeping time to the sound of a bagpipe, as the Grecian lasses were wont to do to that of a lyre during vintage in the days of Homer\*. The subject of the songs at the Luaghadh, the quern, and on this occasion, are sometimes love, sometimes panegyric, and often a rehearsal of the deeds of the ancient heroes, but commonly all the tunes slow and melancholy.

Singing at the quern is now almost out of date since the introduction of water-mills. The laird can oblige his tenants, as in England, to make use of this more expeditious kind of grinding; and empowers his miller to search out and break any querns he can find, as machines that defraud him of the toll. Many centuries past, the legislature attempted to discourage these awkward mills, so prejudicial to the landlords, who had been at the expence of others. In 1284, in the time of Alexander III. it was provided, that "na man sail presume to grind quheit maishloch, or rye, with hands mylne, except he be compelled by storm, or be in lack of mills quhilk sould grind the samen. And in this case gif a man grindes at hand mylnes, he sal gif the threttin measure as multer, and gif anie man contraveins this our prohibition, he fall tene his hand mylnes perpetual-lie."

July 18. Walk up Beinn-a-cailich, or, the hill of the old hag; one of those picturesque mountains that made such a figure from the sea. After ascending a small part, find its sides covered with vast loose stones, like the paps of Jura, the shelter of ptarmigans: the top flat and naked, with an artificial cairn, of a most enormous size, reported to have been the place of sepulture of a gigantic woman in the days of Fingal. The prospect to the west was that of desolation itself; a savage series of rude mountains, discoloured, black and red, as if by the rage of fire. Nearest, joined to this hill by a ridge is Beia an ghrianan, or the mountain of the Sun; perhaps venerated in ancient times. Mal-more, or the round mountain, appears on the north. The serrated tops of Blaven affect with astonishment; and beyond them, the clustered height of Quillin, or the mountain of Cuchullin, like its ancient hero †, "stood like a hill that catches the clouds of heaven." The deep recesses between these Alps, in times of old, possessed "the sons of the narrow vales, the hunters of deer;" and to this time are inhabited by a fine race of stags.

The view to the north-east and south-west is not less amusing: a sea sprinkled over with various isles, and the long extent of coast soaring into all the forms of Alpine wildness. I must not omit that the point of Camisketel, on the south of Skie, was shewed to me at a distance, famous for the cave which gave shelter for two nights to the young adventurer, and his faithful guide, the ancient Mac-kinnon.

Leave Coire-chattachan, after experiencing every civility from the family; and from the Rev. Mr. Nicholson, the minister. Wind along the bottoms of the steep hills. Pass by the end of Loch-slappan to the south. See a stone dike or fence called Paraicnam fiadh, or the inclosure of a deer, which seems once to have been continued up a neighbouring hill. In one angle is a hollow, in the days of Ossian, a pitfall covered with boughs for the destruction of the animals chased into it. Places of this name are very common, and very necessary, when the food of mankind was the beasts of the field.

Turn towards the northern coast; pass by the end of Loch-sligachan, and soon after by the side of the small fresh water Loch na-caiplich, filled with that scarce plant

\* Iliad, xviii. line 570.

† His residence is said to have been at Duascaich, in this island. The literal meaning of Quillin, or Cullin, is a narrow dark hollow.



Eriocaulon decangulare, first discovered by Mr. James Robertson. Breakfast at Sconfer, one of the post-offices, an inn opposite to Rasa; an island nine miles long and three broad, divided from Skie by a sound a mile broad. On the shore, the house of Mr. Macleod, the owner of Rasa, makes a pretty figure. The Dean speaks of this island, "as having maney deires, pairt of profitable landes inhabit, and manurit, with twa castles, to wit, the castle of Kilmorocht, and the castle of Brolokit, with twa fair orchards at the saids twa castles with ane parish kirke, called Kilmolowocke. In his time, he says, it pertaining to Mac-ghyllichallan of Raarfay be the sword; and to the bishope of the isles be heritage." This usurper was a vassal of Macleod of Lewis, who probably consigned it to his chieftain, from whom the present proprietor derives his family.

Continue our journey pointing to the south-west. Meet great droves of fine cattle, on their way to change of pasture. See a small quantity of very poor flax, raised from the seed of their country, a very unprofitable management: but the greatest part of the land was covered with heath. Leave to the left the mountains of Cuchullin, Cullin, or Quillin, which reach to the sea. Come to the end of Loch-Bracadale, which pierces the island on this side. Skie is so divided by branches of the sea, that there is not a place five miles distant from a port; such numbers of good harbours are there in a place destitute of trade, and without a single town. Near the end of this loch the ground is more cultivated; but all the corn land is dug with the cas-chrom or crooked spade, instead of being ploughed: eight men are necessary to dig as much in a day as a single plough would turn up: the harrows are commonly tied to the horses tails; but in very wet land, the men and women break the fods by dragging over them a block of wood, with teeth and a long handle, called Raachgan.

Descend through a narrow pass, and arrive instantly in a tract flat as any in Holland, opening to the west a fine distant view of north and south Uist, and other parts of the Long island: bounded on the other three sides by high precipices, enlivened with cataracts formed by the heavy rains. In a wood in a snug corner lies Talyiskir, inhabited by Mr. Macleod, lieutenant-colonel in the Dutch service, who with the utmost hospitality sheltered us from the inclemency of the day. This house belongs to the chief of the name; and in old times was always the portion of a second son: he enjoyed it for life, with the view of giving him the means of educating his children; who after that were left to the care of fortune; which custom filled foreign service with a gallant set of officers. Daughters of chieftains were generally portioned with cattle; and often with a set of stout men, who in feudal times were valuable acquisitions to the husband; who estimated his wealth by the power of his people, for he instantly adopted and incorporated them with his own clan.

It will not be impertinent to mention here the origin of the Scotch regiments in the Dutch service. They were formed out of some independent companies, sent over either in the reign of Elizabeth or James VI. At present the common soldiers are but nominally national, for since the scarcity of men, occasioned by the late war, Holland is no longer permitted to draw her recruits out of North Britain. But the officers are all Scotch, who are obliged to take oaths to our government, and to qualify in presence of our ambassador at the Hague.

June 20. See here a Cly-more; or great two-handed sword, probably of the same kind with the *ingentes gladii* of the Caledonians, mentioned by Tacitus: an unwieldy weapon, two inches broad, doubly edged; the length of the blade three feet seven inches; of the handle, fourteen inches; of a plain transverse guard one foot; the weight six pounds and a half. These long swords were the original weapons of our country, as appears by a figure of a foldier, found among the ruins of London, after the great fire,

A. D.



A.D. 1666, and preserved at Oxford \*: his sword is of a vast length, his hair flowing, his legs bare, his lower garment short, and fastened by a girdle round his waist; the sagum is flung carelessly over his breast and one arm, ready to be flung off, as custom was, in time of action. The great broad sword, and much the same kind of dress, were preserved in the Highlands to the last age, at the battle of Killicrankie: the upper garment was thrown off by the Highlanders, in order to enable them to use this two-handed instrument with greater effect. But the enormous length of weapon has been found useless against the firmness of determined troops, from the battle of the † Mons Grampius, to the recent victory of Culloden. The short swords of the forces of Agricola, and the bayonets of the British regulars, were equally superior.

Colonel Macleod favours me with a weapon, common to the Romans, Scandinavians, and Britons. It is a brazen sword, whose blade is twenty-two inches long; the handle (including a round hollow pommel) five and a half; the middle of the blade swells out on both sides, and the edges very sharp; the end pointed; we are told ‡ that the scabbards are of brass, but this was destitute of one. The weapon was found in Skie. The same kind is met with in many parts of Scotland and of Wales, which the Danes have visited; and they have been frequently discovered in tumuli, and other sepulchres, in Denmark and Holfæce, deposited there with the urns in honour of the deceased §. Others, similar, have been found in Sweden ||.

Walk down the east side of the vale, and see the well of Cuchullin. Take boat near the lofty insulated rock, Stach in nuchidar, or that of the fuller, pyramidal and inclining: am rowed beneath a range of magnificent cliffs, at whose base were lodged plenty of white crystallized zeolite, and vast rocks of stone, of the appearance of lava, filled with rounded kernels.

Our boat's crew were islanders, who gave a specimen of marine music, called in the Erse, Jorrams: these songs, when well composed, are intended to regulate the strokes of the oars, and recall to mind the customs of classical days.

Mediæ stat margine puppis  
Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus,  
Et remis dictet sonitem, pariterque relatis,  
Ad numerum plaudat resonantia cæcula tonsis.

SILIUS, lib. iv.

But in modern times they are generally sung in couplets, the whole crew joining in chorus at certain intervals: the notes are commonly long, the airs solemn and slow, rarely chearful, it being impossible for the oars to keep a quick time: the words generally have a religious turn, consonant to that of the people.

July 21. Visit a high hill, called Briis-mhawl, about a mile south of Talyiskir, having in the front a fine series of genuine basaltic columns, resembling the Giant's causeway: the pillars were above twenty feet high, consisting of four, five and six angles, but mostly of five: the columns less frequently jointed than those of the Irish; the joints being at great and unequal distances, but the majority are entire: even those that are jointed are less concave and convex on their opposite surface than the columns of the former. The stratum that rested on this colonnade was very irregular and shattery, yet seemed to make some effort at form. The ruins of the columns at the base made a

\* Montfaucon, Antiq. iv. 16. tab. x.

† Taciti vit. Agric. c. 36.

‡ Sibbald Append. Hist. Fife, p. 18.

§ Wormii Mon. Dan. p. 48. tab. p. 50. Worm. Mus. 354. Jacob. Mus. Reg. Havniæ. pars 11. sect. iii.

|| Dahlberg, Succ. Ant. tab. 314.



grand appearance: these were the ruins of the creation; those of Rome, the work of human art, seem to them but as the ruins of yesterday.

At a small distance from these, on the slope of a hill, is a tract of some roods entirely formed of the tops of several series of columns, even and close set, forming a reticulated surface of amazing beauty and curiosity: This is the most northern basaltic I am acquainted with: the last of four in the British dominions, all running from south to north, nearly in a meridian: the Giant's Causeway appears first; Staffa succeeds; the rock of Humbla, about twenty leagues further; and, finally, the column of Brissnaw: the depth of ocean, in all probability, conceals the lost links of this chain.

Take leave of Talskir. See very near to the house the vestiges of some small buildings, and by them a heap of stones, with a basaltic column set erect in the middle. Cross a range of barren lands for four miles; reach Loch-Bracadale. Exchange our horses for a boat. Pass over this beautiful land-locked harbour abounding with safe creeks. Cod-fish swarm here in the herring season pursuing the shoals: a man with a single hand-line caught in three hours as many as were sold for three guineas, at the rate of two-pence a piece. Land, after a trajet of four miles, and find ready a new set of horses.

This seems to me the fittest place in the island for the forming of a town. The harbour is deep and unspeakably secure. It is the Milford haven of these parts; it opens at its mouth to the best part of the sea. Skie has not in it a single town or even village. But what is a greater wonder, there is not a town from Campbelton in the Firth of Clyde to Thurso at the end of Caithness, a tract of above two hundred miles.

Proceed: ride by, at Struam, a beautiful Danish fort on the top of a rock, formed with most excellent masonry. The figure as usual circular. The diameter from outside to outside sixty feet; of the inside forty-two. Within are the vestiges of five apartments, one in the centre, four around; the walls are eighteen feet high. The entrance six feet high, covered with great stones.

About a furlong north-west of this, is another large rock precipitous on all sides but one. On that is the ruin of a very thick wall, and the traces of a dike quite round, even on the inaccessible parts. Between which and the wall is a large area. This seems to have been built without regularity, yet probably belonged to the same nation. Each seems designed to cover an assemblage of people who lived beneath their protection in a hostile country, for under both are remains of numbers of small buildings with regular entrances. The last inclosure is supposed to have been designed for the security of the cattle, of which these free-booters had robbed the natives; and this species is distinguished by the name of Boaghun.

These fortresses are called universally in the Erse, Duns. I find that they are very rare in the country from whence they took their origin; no people will give themselves the trouble of fortifying against the security of friends. Mr. Frederic Suhm of Copenhagen, whom I had the pleasure of addressing on this subject, could point out but a single instance of a similar tower, and that on the Suallbery, a mountain half a Norwegian league distant from Drontheim. But we may expect further elucidations from a skilful antiquary now on the tour of the country.

About two miles farther, see near the road-side two large conoid cairns; pass near the end of Doch-ca-roy, a branch of the noble Loch-Bracadale, and soon after reach the castle of

Dun-vegan, the seat of Mr. Macleod, a gentleman descended from one of the Norwegian vice-roys, governors of the isles while they bore a foreign yoke. But the anti-



tiquity of his descent is an accident that would convey little honour to him, had he not a much more substantial claim; for, to all the milkiness of human nature usually concomitant with his early age, is added, the sense and firmness of more advanced life. He feels for the distresses of his people, and insensible of his own, with uncommon disinterestedness, has relieved his tenants from their oppressive rents; has received instead of the trash of gold, the treasure of warm affections, and unfeigned prayer. He will soon experience the good effects of his generosity; gratitude, the result of the sensibility still existing among those accustomed to a feudal government, will shew itself in more than empty words; and in time they will not fail exerting every nerve to give his virtue the due reward. Feudal governments, like that of unmixed monarchy, has its conveniences and its blessings. The last rarely occur from the imperfection of human nature: One Being only can lay claim to that; therefore it is the business of every honest man to resist the very appearance of undivided power in a prince, or the shadow of independency in a subject. The Highlanders may bless the hand that loosened their bonds; for tyranny more often than protection was the attendance on their vassalage. Yet still from long habitude, and from the gleams of kindness that darted every now and then amidst the storms of severity, was kindled a sort of filial reverence to their chieftain: this still is in a great degree retained, and may, by cherishing, return with more than wonted vigour. The noxious part of the feudal reign is abolished; the delegated rod of power is now no more. But let not the good part be lost with the bad: the tender relation that patriarchal government experiences, should still be retained; and the mutual inclination to beneficence preserved. The chieftain should not lose, with the power of doing harm, the disposition of doing good. Such are the sentiments of Mr. Macleod, which ripen into actions, that, if persisted in, will bring lasting comfort into his own bosom, and the most desired of blessings amongst a numerous clan.

The castle of Dun-vegan is seated on a high rock, over a loch of the same name, a branch of Loch-Falart. Part is modernized, but the greatest portion is ancient: the oldest is a square tower, which with a wall round the edge of the rock, was the original strength of the place. Adjacent is a village and the post-office; for from hence a packet-boat, supported by subscription, sails every fortnight for the Long Island.

Here is preserved the Braolauch shi, or fairy-flag of the family, bestowed on it by Titania the Ben-shi, or wife to Oberon king of the fairies. She blessed it at the same time with powers of the first importance, which were to be exerted on only three occasions: but, on the last, after the end was obtained, an invisible Being is to arrive and carry off standard and standard-bearer, never more to be seen. A family of Clan y Faltter had this dangerous office, and held by it free lands in Bracadale.

The flag has been produced thrice. The first time in an unequal engagement against the Clan-Roland, to whose fight the Macleods were multiplied ten-fold. The second preserved the heir of the family, being then produced to save the longing of the lady; and the third time, to save my own; but it was so tattered, that Titania did not seem to think it worth sending for.

This was a superstition derived from the Norwegian ancestry of the house; the fable was caught from the country, and might be of use to animate the clan. The Danes had their magical standard, Reafan, or, the raven, embroidered in an instant by the three daughters of Lodbroke, and sisters of Hinguar, Hubba, or Ivar\*. Sigurd had an enchanted flag given him by his mother, with circumstances somewhat similar

\* After. vit. Alfred. 10.



to the Dun-vegan colours : whosoever bore it in the day of battle was to be killed ; accordingly in one of his battles three standard-bearers were successively slain ; but on the death of the last he obtained the victory.\*

Here is preserved a great ox-horn, tipped with silver ; the arm was twisted round its spires, the mouth brought over the elbow, and then drank off. The northern nations held this species of cup in high esteem, and used the capacious horns of the great Aurochs†. They graced the hospitable halls of kings‡, and out of them the ancient heroes quenched their thirst : Haquin §, weary with slaughter, calls aloud for the mighty draught :

*Heu labor immensus, fessos quam vellicat artus !  
Quis mihi jam præbet cornua plena mero ?*

In this castle is also preserved a round shield, made of iron, that even in its decayed state weighs near twenty pounds ; itself a load in these degenerate days ; yet they were in use no longer ago than in the beginning of the last century. Each chieftain had his armour-bearer, who preceded his master in time of war, and, by my author's || account, in time of peace ; for they went armed even to church, in the manner the North-Americans do at present in the frontier settlement, and for the same reason, the dread of savages.

In times long before those, the ancient Scotch used round targets, made of oak, covered with the hides of bulls ; and long shields, narrow below and broad above, formed of pieces of oak or willow, secured with iron : I guess them to be of the same kind with the Norwegian shields figured by Wormius ¶, and probably derived from the same country. They had also a guard for their shoulders, called Scapul ; and for offensive weapons had the bow, sword, two-handed sword, and Lochaber ax, a weapon likewise of Norwegian origin. But the image-tombs of ancient warriors are the best lectures on this subject.

Mr. Macqueen informs me, that near this place is an Anait, or druidical place of worship ; of which there are four in Skie, much of the same situation and construction. This lies in the heart of an extensive moor, between the confluence of two waters. To the east stands one hill, to the west another : which gradually slope down toward the plain, and from which a clear prospect might be had of all that passed below. From one of these waters to the other is a strong stone wall, forming an equilateral triangle ; the rocks face it towards the water, and every crevice is filled with stones regularly laid ; so that it seems to have been on that spot inaccessible in former days. Near the centre of this triangle, is a small square edifice of quarried stones, and on each side of the entrance which leads to it from the wall, are the remains of two houses, both within and without. In those lodged the priests and their families ; the servants most probably on the outside. A strong turf rampart protected also the wall from water to water, across a rising ground, which hath been cut through by a road leading from the Tempul na Anait (as the edifice is called) a great way into the moor. There is no tradition of the use of this place. My learned friend supposes it to have been designed for the worship of the Earth, Bendis or Diana, which, according to Hesychius, was supposed to be the same. Plutarch gives the same goddess the title of Anait, the name of this place of worship ; and Pliny speaks of a country in

\* Toræus, 27.

† Urorum cornibus, Barbari septentrionales potant, urnasque binas capitis unius cornua implent. Plinii lib. ii. c. 37.

‡ Saxo Grammat. 94.

§ Wormii Mon. Dan. 389.

|| Timothy Pont's M. S. Advo. Library.

¶ Worm.



Armenia, called Anaitica, from Anaitis, a goddess in great repute there, where a noble temple had been built, which was plundered of its immense riches by the soldiers of Antony in his Parthian expedition. Pausanias also speaks of the temple of Diana the Anait. These temples were erected when the purity of the Celtic religion had been debased by the extravagance of fancy, and idols introduced. Here we may suppose that this deity was worshipped in the utmost simplicity.

July 22. Proceed on our journey; pass over a black and pathless tract of moor and bog, for about fifteen miles. Dine on a soft spot of heath, with that appetite which exercise and the free air never fail to create. Arrive on the banks of Loch-Grifernis, a branch of Loch-snifart: take boat; observe that the ropes for the fishing-nets are made of the purple melic grass, the pund-glass of the Highlanders, remarkable for lasting long without rotting. After a passage of a mile, land at Kingsburgh; immortalized by its mistress, the celebrated Flora Mac-Donald, the fair protectress of a fugitive adventurer; who, after some days concealing himself from pursuit, in the disguise of a lady's maid, here flung off the female habit. I had the pleasure of her acquaintance at the first Sir Watkin William Wynne's in the year 1746; but at this time I unfortunately found that she was absent on a visit.

Mr. Macdonald did me the favour of presenting me with three very curious pieces of antiquity: an urn, a Glain-naidr, or serpent-bead, and a Denarius, found not remote from his house. The first is an urn of elegant workmanship, found in a stone chest, formed of six flags as before described: this urn was filled with ashes; was placed not prone, as that mentioned in the former volume, but with the mouth up, and covered with a light thin stone. This was discovered beneath an immense cairn.

The Glain-naidr, or Druidical bead, as it is vulgarly called, is an unique in its kind, being of a triangular shape; but, as usual, made of glass, marked with figures of serpents coiled up. The common people in Wales and in Scotland retain the same superstitions relating to it as the ancients, and call it by the name of Serpent-stone. The Gauls, taught by their priests, believed the strangest tales of their serpents, described from the prose of Livy, in a most spirited manner, by the ingenious Mr. Mason, who thus makes his Druid demand of a sapient brother:

But tell me yet  
From the grot of charms and spells,  
Where our matron sister dwells;  
Brennus, has thy holy hand  
Safely brought the Druid wand,  
And the potent adder-stone,  
Gender'd 'fore the autumnal moon?  
When in undulating twine  
The foaming snakes prolific join;  
When they hiss, and when they bear  
Their wond'rous egg aloof in air;  
Thence, before to earth it fall,  
The Druid in his holy pall,  
Receives the prize,  
And instant flies,  
Follow'd by the envenom'd brood,  
Till he cross the silver flood.

The ancients and moderns agree in their belief of its powers; that good fortune attends the possessor wherever he goes. The stupid Claudius, that *Ludibrium auis*



*Augusti*, put to death a Gaulish \* knight, for no other reason than that he carried *ovum anguinum*, a serpent-stone about him. The vulgar of the present age attribute to it other virtues; such as its curing the bite of the adder, and giving ease to women in childbirth, if tied about the knee: so difficult is it to root out follies that have the sanction of antiquity.

The last favour that I was indebted to Mr. Mac-donald for, is a denarius of the Emperor Trajan, found on a moor near the shore of Loch-Grifernis; a probable, but not a certain evidence that the Romans had landed in this island. We have no lights from history to enable us to say what was done during the reign of that emperor: in the succeeding, Adrian reduced the bounds of the empire to the place still called his wall, and lost all communication with the islands; but in the following reign they were extended to their ancient bounds, and the isles might be visited from the Glota estuary, the station of the fleet, and the money in question lost at that time in Skie. But its being found there may be accounted for by another supposition; that of its having been the booty of an island soldier, taken from the Romans in some of the numberless skirmishes in one of the following reigns, and brought here as a mark of victory.

I observe that the great scallop-shell is made use of in the dairies of this country for the skimming of milk. In old times it had a more honourable place, being admitted into the halls of heroes, and was the cup of their festivity. As Doctor Mac-pherson expresses it, "The whole tribe filled the hall of the chieftain; trunks of trees covered with moss were laid in form of tables from one end to the other; whole beeves or deer were roasted and laid before them on rough boards, or hurdles of rods woven together: the pipers played while they sat at table, and silence was observed by all. After the feast was over, they had ludicrous entertainments; a practice still continued in part of the Highlands: the females retired, and the old and young warriors sat in order, down from the chieftain, according to their proximity in blood to him; the harp was then touched, the song was raised, and the *sligà-crechìn*, or the drinking-shell, went round."

Am lodged this night in the same bed that formerly received the unfortunate Charles Stuart. Here he lay one night, after having been for some time in a female habit under the protection of Flora Macdonald. Near this place he resumed the dress of his own sex by the assistance of the master of the house, Mr. Alexander Macdonald, who suffered a long imprisonment on that account; but neither the fear of punishment, nor the promises of reward, could induce him to infringe the rights of hospitality, by betraying an unhappy man who had flung himself under his protection. He presented me with a pair of gloves worn by Charles Stuart while he appeared in the character of the tender sex: they are kept as a memorial of a daring adventure, most unequally supported.

July 23. Leave Kingsburgh, travel on a good horse road, pass by a cairn, with a great stone at the top, called the high-stone of Ugg. I must remark, that the Danes left behind them in many places the names of their deities, their heroes, and their bards: thus in the rock Humbla is perpetuated the name of Humblus †, one of their ancient kings; the isle of Gunna ‡ assumed the title of one of the Valkyriæ, the fatal sisters; Ulva takes its name from the bear-begotten hero Ulvo §; and the stone of Ugg seems to have been erected in memory of the poet Uggerus ||.

Beneath is the fertile bottom of Ugg, laughing with corn: ascend a hill, and on the other side descend into the parish of Kilmore, the granary of Skie. Leave, on the left,

\* Plinii, lib. xxix. c. 3. Equitem Romanum e Vocontis, a people of Dauphiny.

† Sax. Gram. 5.

‡ Torfæus, 36.

§ Sax. Gram. 193.

|| Ibid. 88.

Muggastot,



Muggastot, the principal house of Sir Alexander Mac-donald, lineally descended from the lords of the isles: all the estates at present possessed by that gentleman were bestowed by John, the last Regulus, and Earl of Ross, on his brother Hugh, and confirmed by a charter dated at Aros, in the year 1449, and afterwards by James IV. at Sterling, in 1495.

Beneath the house was the lake of St. Columba, now drained; once noted for a monastery of great antiquity, placed in an island. The ruins evince its age, being built with great stones, without mortar, in the manner customary in the times of druidism. The cells and several rooms are still very distinguishable. The chapel is of a later date, and built with mortar, as are all the other chapels in Skie, and in the little islands along its shores: these chapels were served by the monks: the place they landed on, in order to discharge these religious duties, was called *Pein-orah*, or the land of prayer; for after solemnly recommending themselves, and the objects of their journey, to the Most High, they separated, and took their respective routes.

Pursue our journey. A minister, who gave us the pleasure of his company, observed to us, that a couple were in pursuit of him in order to have their nuptials celebrated: unwilling to be the cause of deferring their happiness, I begged he would not on my account delay the ceremony: we took possession of a cottage; the minister laid before them the duties of the marriage state, asked whether they took each other willingly? joined their hands, and concluded with a prayer. I observed that the bridegroom put all the powers of magic to defiance, for he was married with both shoes tied with their latchet.

Not many years have elapsed since it was customary in some parts of the north of Scotland for the lairds to interfere in the marriages of their vassals, and direct the pairing of their people. These strange tyrannies, these oppressions of inclination, seem to have occasioned the law of Alexander I. to prevent such a foundation for domestic misery; it is indeed the case of the widow only that he took into consideration. "Na widow (says the statute) sould be compelled to marie gif sche please to live without ane husband, but sche sould give securitie that sche fall not marie without consent of hir lord, gif sche holds of ane other than the king."

Take a repast at the house of Sir Alexander Mac-donald's piper, who, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his office, holds his lands free. His dwelling, like many others in this country, consists of several apartments: the first for his cattle during winter; the second is his hall; the third for the reception of strangers; and the fourth for the lodging of his family: all the rooms within one another.

The owner was quite master of his instrument, and treated us with several tunes. In feudal times the Mac-donalds had in this island a college of pipers, and the Macleods had the like; these had regular appointments in land, and received pupils from all the neighbouring chieftains. The Mac-karters were chief pipers to the first; the Mac-krumens to the last.

The bagpipe has been a favourite instrument with the Scots, and has two varieties: *bagpipe* the one with short pipes, played on with the fingers; the other with long pipes, and sounded with the mouth: this is the loudest and most ear-piercing of all music, is the genuine highland pipe, and suited well the warlike genius of the people, roused their courage to battle, alarmed them when secure, and collected them when scattered; so-laced them in their long and painful marches, and in times of peace kept up the memory of the gallantry of their ancestors, by tunes composed after signal victories; and too often kept up the spirit of revenge, by airs expressive of defeats or massacres from rival clans. One of the tunes, wild and tempestuous, is said to have been played at the bloody



bloody battle of Harlaw, when Donald, Lord of the isles, in 1410, opposed the powers of James I. under the conduct of Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar.

Neither of these instruments were the invention of the Danes, or, as is commonly supposed, of any of the northern nations; for their ancient writers prove them to have been animated with the clangor tubarum. Notwithstanding they have had their sock-pipe long amongst them, as their old songs \* prove, yet we cannot allow them the honour of inventing this melodious instrument; but must assert that they borrowed it from the invaded Caledonians. We must still go farther, and deprive even that ancient race of the credit; and derive its origin from the mild climate of Italy, perhaps from Greece.

There is now in Rome a most beautiful bas-relievo, a Grecian sculpture of the highest antiquity, of a bagpiper playing on his instrument, exactly like a modern highlander. The Greeks had their *Askanulys*, or instrument composed of a pipe and blown-up skin: the Romans in all probability borrowed it from them, and introduced it among their swains, who still use it under the names of *piva* and *cornu musa* †.

That master of music, Nero, used one ‡; and had not the empire been so suddenly deprived of that great artist, he would (as he graciously declared his intention) have treated the people with a concert; and, among other curious instruments, would have introduced the utricularius, or bagpipe. Nero perished, but the figure of the instrument is preserved on one of his coins, but highly improved by that great master. It has the bag and two of the vulgar pipes, but was blown with a bellows, like an organ, and had on one side a row of nine unequal pipes, resembling the syrinx of the god Pan §. The bagpipe, in the unimproved state, is also represented in an ancient sculpture, and appears to have had two long pipes or drones ||, and a single short pipe for the fingers. Tradition says, that the kind played on by the mouth was introduced by the Danes. As their's was wind music, we will admit that they might have made improvement, but more we cannot allow: they were skilled in the use of the trumpet; the highlanders in the pihb, or bagpipe.

Non tuba in usa illis, conjecta at tibia in utrem  
Dat belli signum, et martem vocat horrida in arma ¶.

Proceed two miles farther; pass under a high hill, with a precipitous front, styled Sgor-more, or the great projection; and immediately after reach Dun-tuilm castle, or the castle of the round grassy eminence, placed at the verge of a high precipice over the sea; the ground adjacent formed of fine verdant turf.

Find our vessel at anchor under the little rocky Elan-tuilm, lofty, and of a picturesque form.

Take leave of several gentlemen, who, according to the worthy custom of these islands, convoyed us from place to place, and never left us till they had delivered us over to the next hospitable roof, or seen us safely embarked. Among others who did me this honour was Doctor John Maclean, whose family have been hereditary physicians for some centuries to that of Mac-donald. They have been educated at the expense of the chieftain; and receive to this day an appointment in land, holding the farm of Shullita at the gates of the ancient residence of the Mac-donalds, the castle of Dun-tuilm, which the Doctor enjoys together with a pension from the late Sir James Mac-donald.

\* From Dr. Solander.

† From Dr. Burney.

‡ Suetonius, lib. vi. c. 54.

§ Montfaucon, Antiq. Suppl. iii. 188. tab. 73. f. 2, || Ibid. f. 1.

¶ Melvini Topog. Scotiz.



Dun-tuilm castle is a ruin, but was inhabited as late as 1715. It was the original seat of the Mac-donalds in Skie: near it a hill, called Cnock an eirick, or the hill of pleas: such eminences are frequent near the houses of all the great men, for on these, by the assistance of their friends, they determined all differences between their people: the place was held sacred, and to the respect paid to the decisions delivered from the summit, may in some measure be attributed the strict obedience of a fierce and military race to their chieftain.

Near this place was pointed to me the spot where an incestuous pair (a brother and sister) had been buried alive, by order of the chieftain.

In the rocks are abundance of small compressed ammonitæ, and on the shores saw fragments of white quartz, the hectic stone so often mentioned by Martin.

Skie is the largest of the Hebrides, being above sixty measured miles long; the breadth unequal, by reason of the numbers of lochs that penetrate far on both sides. It is supposed by some to have been the Eastern *Æbudæ* of the ancients; by others to have been the *Dumna*. The modern name is of Norwegian origin, derived from *Ski*, a mist, and from the clouds (that almost continually hang on the tops of its lofty hills) was styled *Ealand skianach*, or the cloudy island\*. No epithet could better suit the place; for, except in the summer season, there is scarcely a week of fair weather: the summers themselves are also generally wet, and seldom warm.

The westerly wind blows here more regularly than any other, and arriving charged with vapour from the vast Atlantic, never fails to dash the clouds it wafts on the lofty summits of the hills of Cuchullin, and their contents deluge the island in a manner unknown in other places. What is properly called the rainy season commences in August: the rains begin with moderate winds, which grow stronger and stronger till the autumnal equinox, when they rage with incredible fury.

The husbandman then sighs over the ruins of his vernal labours: sees his crops feel the injury of climate; some laid prostrate; the more ripe corn shed by the violence of the elements. The poor foresee famine, and consequential disease: the humane taskmen agonize over distresses that inability, not want of inclination, deprives them of the power of remedying. The nearer calls of family and children naturally first excite their attention: to maintain and educate are all their hopes, for that of accumulating wealth is beyond their expectation; so that the poor are left to Providence's care; they prowl like other animals along the shores to pick up limpets and other shell-fish, the casual repasts of hundreds during part of the year in these unhappy islands. Hundreds thus annually drag through the season a wretched life; and numbers unknown, in all parts of the western islands (nothing local is intended), fall beneath the pressure, some of hunger, more of the purid fever, the epidemic of the coasts, originating from unwholesome food, the dire effects of necessity. Moral and innocent victims! who exult in the change, first finding that place "where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest."

The farmer labours to remedy this distress to the best of his power, but the wetness of the land late in spring prevents him from putting into the ground the early seed of future crops, bear, and small oats: the last are fitted for the climate; they bear the fury of the winds better than other grain, and require less manure, a deficiency in this island. Poverty prevents him from making experiments in rural œconomy: the ill success of a few made by the more opulent determines him to follow the old tract, as attended with more certainty, unwilling, like the dog in the fable, to grasp at the shadow and lose the substance, even as poor as it is.



The produce of the crops very rarely are in any degree proportioned to the wants of the inhabitants: golden seasons have happened when they have had superfluity; but the years of famine are as ten to one. The helps of the common years are potatoes: it is difficult to say whether the discovery of America by the Spaniards has contributed to preserve more lives by the introduction of this vegetable, or to have caused more to perish by the insatiable lust after the precious metals of the new world.

The difficulties the farmer undergoes in this bad climate are unknown in the south; there he sows his seed, and sees it flourish beneath a benign sun, and secured from every invasion. Here a wet sky brings a reluctant crop\*: the ground, inclosed only with turf mounds, accessible to every animal: a continual watch employs numbers of his people: some again are occupied in repairing the damages sustained by their houses from storms the preceding year; others are labouring at the turberries, to provide fuel to keep off the rigour of the severe season; or in fencing the natural (the only) grasses of the country to preserve their cattle from starving, which are the true and proper staple of these islands.

The quantity of corn raised in tolerable seasons in this island is esteemed to be about nine thousand bolls. The number of mouths to consume them in the presbytery of Skie †, near thirteen thousand: migrations and depression of spirit, the last a common cause of depopulation, having since the year 1750 reduced the number from fifteen thousand to between twelve and thirteen: one thousand having crossed the Atlantic, others sunk beneath poverty, or in despair, ceased to obey the first great command, "increase and multiply."

In that year the whole rent of Skie was three thousand five hundred pounds. By an unnatural force some of the rents are now doubled and trebled. People long out of all habit of industry, and used to the convivial tables of their chieftain, were unable instantly to support so new a burden: in time not very long preceding that, they felt the return of some of their rents; they were enabled to keep hospitality; to receive their chieftain with a well-covered board, and to feed a multitude of poor. Many of the greater tacksmen were of the same blood with their chieftains; they were attached to them by the ties of consanguinity as well as affection: they felt from them the first act of oppression, as Cæsar did the wound from his beloved Brutus.

The high advance in the price of cattle is a plea for the high advance of rents; but the situation of the tacksman here is particular: he is a gentleman, and boasts the same blood with his laird: (of five hundred fighting men that followed Macleod in 1745 in his majesty's army, four hundred were of his kindred) has been cherished by him for a series of years often with paternal affection: has been used to such luxuries as the place affords, and cannot instantly sink from a good board to the hard fare of a common farmer. When the chieftains riot in all the luxuries of South Britain, he thinks himself entitled to share a due degree of the good things of this life, and not to be for ever confined to the diet of brochan, or the computation of whiskey. During the feudal reign their love for their chieftains induced them to bear many things, at present intolerable. They were their pride and their glory: they strained every nerve in support of them, in the same manner as the French, through vanity, refuse nothing to aggrandize their Grand Monarque.

\* The moment the corn is cut down, a certain number of sheaves are gathered in a heap, and thatched on the top: the first dry moment that happens, the thatch is taken off, and the sheaves now dry are carried in; and this is repeated till the whole crop is secured.

† Which comprehends Rum, Cannay, Muck, and Egg, besides the seven parishes in this great island.



Repentment drove many to seek a retreat beyond the Atlantic : they sold their stock, and in numbers made their first essay. They found, or thought they found, while their passions were warm, an happy change of situation : they wrote in terms favouring of romance, an account of their situation : their friends caught the contagion ; and numbers followed ; and others were preparing to follow their example. The tacksmen from a motive of independency : the poor from attachment ; and from excess of misery. Policy and humanity, as I am informed, have of late checked this spirit so detrimental to the public. The wisdom of legislature may perhaps fall on some methods to conciliate the affections of a valuable part of the community : it is unbecoming my little knowledge of the country to presume to point out the methods. It is to be hoped that the head will, while time permits, recollect the use of the most distant members.

The proper products of this and all the Hebrides, are men and cattle : the use of first need not be insisted on, for England cannot have forgot its sad deficiency of recruits towards the end of the late long and destructive war : and what it owed in the course of it to North-Britain. In respect to cattle, this in particular bears the pre-eminence of having the largest breed of all the Highlands. The greater tenants keep their cattle during winter in what are called winter-parks, the driest and best ground they have : here they are kept till April, except the winter proves very hard, when they are foddered with straw : in April the farmer turns them to the moor-grafs (cotton-grafs) which springs first, and at night drives them into the dry grounds again.

The poorer tenants, who have no winter-parks, are under the necessity of keeping the cattle under the same roof with themselves during night ; and often are obliged to keep them alive with the meal designed for their families. The cows are often forced, through want of other food, to have recourse to the shores, and feed on the sea-plants at low water : by instinct they will, at ebb of tide, hasten from the moors, notwithstanding they are not within sight of the sea.

One of the greater farms in Skie is thus stocked :

Fifty cows, and their followers, viz. 20 young heifers, fit for bull ; 30 ditto, three years old ; 35 ditto two years old ; 40 yearlings, or flurks. Of these the owner can sell only 20 cows at 45s. each at an average ; can make butter and cheese for his family, but none for sale, for their best cow will not yield above three English quarts of milk, at a meal. Such a farm was formerly rented for 16l. a year, at present is raised to 50l. The greatest rent in the island is 80l., but the medium from 30l. to 40l.

In Skie when a tacksmen has a greater farm than he can manage, he often sets off part to a Bowman or Aireach, who takes care of the stock of cattle on a certain tract ; and binds himself to give to the tacksmen every year four stone of cheese, and two of butter, from each couple of milch cows. If there is any arable ground, he is provided with horses and a plough ; and seed sufficient to sow it ; and receives part of the crop ; and some additional grafs ground for two or three milch cows, for his trouble.

There is certainly much ill management in the direction of the farms : a tacksmen of fifty pounds a year often keeps twenty servants ; the laziest of creatures, for not one will do the least thing that does not belong to his department. Most of them are married, as in Ilay. Their common food is Brochan, a thick meal pudding, with milk, butter or treacle ; or a thinner sort, called Easoch, taken with their bannocks. This number of servants seemed to answer the retainers in great families before that pernicious custom was abolished by Henry VII. ; in feudal times they were kept here for the same bad end. The cause is now no more, but the habit cannot suddenly be shaken off ;



charity forbids one to wish it, till some employ is thought of for them ; otherwise, like the poor cottagers before-mentioned, starving must be their portion.

Cattle is at present the only trade of the island : about four thousand are annually fold, from forty shillings to three pounds a head. The loss sustained in Skie by the severity of the last winter, and the general failure of the crops the preceding season amounted to five thousand ; perhaps in some measure owing to the farms being over-stocked.

About two hundred and fifty horses are purchased from hence every year.

Here are no sheep but what are kept for home consumption, or for the wool for the cloathing of the inhabitants. Hogs are not introduced here yet, for want of proper food for those animals.

Goats might turn to good advantage if introduced into the wooded parts of the island. These animals might be procured from the neighbourhood of Lochness ; for being naturalized to the climate, would succeed better than any imported from the southern parts of Europe, or from Barbary. As an inducement, I must inform the natives of the Hebrides that in the Alpine part of Wales a well-haired goatskin sells for seven and six-pence or half-a-guinea.

About three hundred tons of kelp are made here annually, but it is thought not to answer, as it robs the land of so much manure.

There are not above two or three slated houses in the island ; the general thatch is fern, root and stalk, which will last above twenty years.

The roots of the *orobus tuberosus*, the *cor-meille* or *carmel* of the Highlanders, are in high esteem in this and the other islands : they sometimes chew them, at others make a fermented liquor with them. They imagine that they promote expectoration, and that they are very efficacious in curing any disorders of the breast or lungs : they also use it as a remedy against hunger, chewing it as some of our poorest people do tobacco \*, to put off that uneasy sensation.

*Ligusticum Scoticum*, Scotch parsley, or the *shunis* of this island, is also much valued ; in medicine, the root is reckoned a good carminative, and an infusion of the leaves is thought a good purge for calves. It is besides used as a food, either as a salad, raw, or boiled as greens.

Very few superstitions exist here at present : pretenders to second-sight are quite out of repute, except among the most ignorant, and at present very shy of making boasts of their faculties.

Poor Brownie, or Robin Good-fellow, is also put to flight. This serviceable sprite was wont to clean the houses, helped to churn, thrashed the corn, and would belabour all who pretended to make a jest of him. He was represented as stout and blooming, had fine long flowing hair, and went about with a wand in his hand. He was the very counter-part of Milton's Lubbar-fiend, who

Tells how the drudging goblin sweat  
To earn his cream-bowl duly set ;  
When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,  
His shadowy sleave hath thrash'd the corn  
That ten day-lab'ers could not end ;  
Then lays him down the lubbar fiend,  
And stretch'd along the chimney's length,  
Basks at the fire his hairy strength.

The *Gruagach* is a deity in form representing the last ; and who was worshipped in old times by libations of milk ; and milkmaids still retain the custom by pouring some

\* Vide Mr. Spence's life of Mr. Robert Hill, taylor, p. 102.



on certain stones that bear his name. Gruagach signifies the fair-haired, and is supposed by Mr. Macqueen\* to have been an emblem of Apollo, or the Sun; and to correspond with the epithet *χρυσότριχος*. A stone was dug up near Musselburgh, dedicated Apollini Granno Grianach the Sunny, an epithet probably borrowed from the Caledonians. The same deity might also receive the title of Galaxius from the libation of milk still retained in those parts.

A wild species of magic was practised in the district of Trotterness, that was attended with a horrible solemnity. A family who pretended to oracular knowledge practised these ceremonies. In this country is a vast cataract, whose waters falling from a high rock, jet so far as to form a dry hollow beneath, between them and the precipice. One of these impostors was sowed up in the hide of an ox, and to add terror to the ceremony, was placed in this concavity, the trembling inquirer was brought to the place, where the shade and the roaring of the waters, encreased the dread of the occasion. The question is put, and the person in the hide delivers his answer, and so ends this species of divination styled Taghairm.

But all these idle tales are totally exploded, and good-sense and polished manners prevail, instead of that barbarity which in 1598 induced James VI. to send here a new colony to civilize the natives; who were so little disposed to receive their instructors, that his Majesty was in the end obliged to desist from his design†. At present the island forms part of the shire of Inverness. The sheriff of that county appoints a substitute who resides here and takes cognizance of small disputes about property, and petty crimes; but, on account of the distance, avoids harassing the inhabitants, by requiring their attendance on the Lords of Sessions and Justiciary Courts at Inverness, the jurymen being selected from among the gentry and inhabitants of the mainland.

July 24. After a most tempestuous night, loose from our harbour at two o'clock at noon. Go through a narrow channel at the north end, a rock lying in the middle. Having to the west a view of Fisher's rock; and to the north a strange chain of rocky isles, very singular in their appearance; and varying in their forms in the process of our course. The highest is called Bordh-mor-mhic-leod, or Macleod's great table‡. Another is called Flada. On the first Mr. Thompson took in our absence the little Petrel, which with numbers of others were lurking beneath the loose stones, and betrayed themselves by loud twittering. These are the least of palmipeds; the dread of mariners, who draw a certain presage of a storm from their appearance; for they always collect in numbers at the approach of a tempest beneath the stern; running along the waves in the wake of the ship, with a swiftness incredible. This bird is the Camilla of the ocean: like her,

She swept the seas, and as she skimm'd along,  
Her flying feet unbath'd on billows hung.

The seamen call them Mother Cary's chickens: some devotees styled them Petrels, from the attempt of the apostle St. Peter to tread the water. They are seen in all parts of the ocean; and were not overlooked by the ancients, who named them Cypelli, and take notice of this remarkable particular.

\* See Mr. Macqueen's curious account in the Appendix to the third volume.

† Jonstoni Rerum Britan. Hist. Lib. viii. p. 249.

‡ Two views of these wild rocks (2) as they appeared from Dun-Tuilm; the other (3) as they appeared from the east, are engraved at the bottom of a view in Loch-jurn given by Mr. Pennant.



Mr. Thompson also shot one of those enormous seals, or the great seal *fyn. quad.* No. 266; but to my great regret it sunk as soon as killed.

Have a full view of the isle of Lewis, the Lodhus of the Norwegians: and off it a groupe of little isles called Siant, or Schant, and somewhat to the north of those is the fine harbour, and town of Stornaway. It was my intention to have steered for that port, but was dissuaded from it by the accounts I had from the gentlemen of Skie, that a putrid fever raged there with great violence.

Direct our course for Loch-Broom, in the county of Ross. An easy breeze carries us off the cape Ruth an ri, in the maps Row-rie. About eight o'clock in the morning of July 25, — find ourselves near a considerable number of small isles, with a most dreary appearance, miscalled the Summer islands. Within is a great bay six miles broad and eight deep, bounded by vast and barren mountains, patched with snow. The wind chops about and blows very fresh, so that after many teasing tacks, about nine o'clock in the evening drop anchor under isle Martin, in the bottom of the bay, which is here called Loch-Kinnard. To the south is a hill, which we landed on, and ascended, and saw on the other side great loch Broom, or Braon, narrow, of a vast depth, and running many miles up the country. At its head receives a river frequented by salmon in April.

This parish is one of the largest on the mainland of Scotland, being thirty-six miles long and twenty broad. It has in it seven places of worship, three catechists\*, and about two thousand examinable persons: but is destitute of a parochial school. None of the people except the gentry understand English. The country is inhabited by the Mackenzies, even quite from Kintail, whose chieftain is the Earl of Seaforth.

It is a land of mountains, a mixture of rock and heath, with a few flats between them producing bear and black oats, but never sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants.

Cattle are the great support of the country, and are sold to graziers who come for them even as far as from Craven in Yorkshire, at the rate of thirty shillings to three pounds a head. A great deal of butter and cheese is sold to the buffes. Land is set here by the Davoch or half Davoch; the last consists of ninety-six Scotch acres of arable land, such as it is, with a competent quantity of mountain and grazing ground. This maintains sixty cows and their followers; and is rented for fifty-two pounds a year. To manage this the farmer keeps eight men and eight women servants; and an overseer, who are all paid partly in money and partly in kind. The common servants have thirty shillings per annum, house, garden, six bolls of meal and shoes. The dairy maids thirteen shillings and four-pence and shoes: the common drudges six and eight-pence and shoes.

The tender cattle are housed during winter. The common manure of the country is dung, or sea-wrack.

July 27. Still on board. The weather very bad.

July 28. Land at the bottom of the bay, in Ross-shire. Procure horses. Observe some houses built for the veteran soldiers and sailors; but as usual all deserted. Proceed up Strath Kennard, which with Coygach that bounds the north side of the bay is a forfeited estate, and unalienably annexed to the crown. The commissioners give all possible encouragement to the tenants; and have power to grant longer leases than the

\* A catechist is one who goes from house to house to instruct the people in the principles of religion, and in the catechisms, approved by the general assembly; and appointed by its committee, and are supported out of his Majesty's bounty.



lairds are inclined to do, which keeps the people under the government contented, and banishes from their minds all thoughts of migration.

Kindness and hospitality possess the people of these parts. We scarce passed a farm but the good woman, long before our approach, sallied out and stood on the roadside, holding out to us a bowl of milk or whey.

Ascend a very high mountain, and pass through a birch-wood, impending over a pretty little loch; various other woods of the same kind were scattered over the bottoms, but the trees were small. Roots of pines filled all the moors, but I saw none of those trees standing. Pass under some great precipices of limestone, mixed with marble; from hence a most tremendous view of mountains of stupendous height, and generally of conoid forms. I never saw a country that seemed to have been so torn and convulsed; the shock, whenever it happened, shook off all that vegetates; among these aspiring heaps of barrenness, the sugar-loaf hill of Suil-bhein made a conspicuous figure; at their feet, the blackness of the moors by no means assisted to cheer our ideas. Enter Assynt, in Sutherland: ride by Loch-Camloch; enjoy some diversity of the scene, for it was prettily decorated with little wooded islands. Reach Led-beg, where we obtained quarters, and rough hospitality.

This country is environed with mountains, and all the strata near their base, and in the bottoms, are composed of white marble, fine as the Parian: houses are built with it, and walls raised; burnt, it is the manure of the country, but oftener nature dissolves, and presents it ready prepared to the lazy farmer.

This tract seems to be the residence of sloth, the people almost torpid with idleness, and most wretched; their hovels most miserable, made of poles wattled and covered with thin sods. There is not corn raised sufficient to supply half the wants of the inhabitants; climate conspires with indolence to make matters worse, yet there is much improveable land here in a state of nature, but till famine pinches they will not bestir themselves; they are content with little at present, and are thoughtless of futurity; perhaps on the motive of Turkish vassals, who are oppressed in proportion to their improvements. Dispirited and driven to despair by bad management, crowds were now passing, emaciated with hunger, to the eastern coast, on the report of a ship being there laden with meal. Numbers of the miseries of this country were now migrating; they wandered in a state of desperation, too poor to pay, they madly sell themselves for their passage, preferring a temporary bondage in a strange land, to starving for life in their native soil.

Every country has had its prophets: Greece its Cassandra, Rome its Sibyls, England its Nixon, Wales its Robin Ddu, and the Highlands their Kenneah Oaur. Kenneah long since predicted the migrations in these terms: "Whenever a Maclean with long hands, a Frazer with a black spot on his face, a Macgregor with the same on his knee, and a club-footed Macleod of Raza, should have existed; whenever there should have been successively three Macdonalds of the name of John, and three Mackinnons of the same Christian name; oppressors would appear in the country, and the people change their own land for a strange one." The predictions, say the good wives, have been fulfilled, and not a single breach in the oracular effusions of Kenneah Oaur.

In a country where ignorance and poverty prevail, it is less wonderful that a tragical affair should happen, similar to that at Tring, near our polished capital. About three years ago lived in this neighbourhood, a woman of more than common strength of understanding: she was often consulted on the ordinary occurrences of life, and obtained a sort of respect which excited the envy of another female in the same district. The last gave out that her neighbour was a witch; that she herself had a good genius, and



and could counteract the evils dreaded from the other : at length, she so worked on the weak minds of the simple vulgar, that they determined on destroying her rival, and effected their purpose by instigating a parcel of children to strangle her. The murder was inquired into, but the inciters had so artfully concealed themselves, that they escaped their reward, and no punishment was inflicted, except what was suited to the tender years of the deluded children.

Aflynt parish contains between three and four thousand souls ; and sends out five hundred head of cattle annually ; and about two or three lasts of salmon are taken every year in the water of Innard, on the coast.

I saw here a male and female red-throated diver ; which convinces me of my mistake in supposing another to have been of this species \*.

July 28. It was our design, on leaving the ship, to have penetrated by land as far as the extremity of the island ; but we were informed that the way was impassable for horses, and that even an island foot messenger must avoid part of the hills by crossing an arm of the sea. Return the same road through a variety of bog and hazardous rock, that nothing but our shoeless little steeds could have carried us over. At length we arrive safely on board the ship,

A wond'rous token  
Of heaven's kind care, with necks unbroken.

Found in our harbour some buffes, just anchored, in expectation of finding the shoals of herrings usually here at this season, but at present were disappointed : a few were taken, sufficient to convince us of their superiority in goodness over those of the south ; they were not larger, but as they had not wasted themselves by being in roe, their backs, and the part next to the tail, were double the thickness of the others, and the meat rich beyond expression.

Mr. Anderson † gives to the Scotch a knowledge of great antiquity in the herring fishery : he says that the Netherlanders resorted to these coasts as early as A. D. 836, to purchase salted fish of the natives ; but imposing on the strangers, they learned the art, and took up the trade, in after-times of such immense emolument to the Dutch.

Sir Walter Raleigh's observations on that head, extracted from the same author, are extremely worthy the attention of the curious, and excite reflections on the vast strength resulting from the wisdom of well applied industry.

In 1603, remarks that great man, the Dutch sold to different nations, as many herrings as amounted to 1,759,000l. sterling.

In the year 1615, they at once sent out 2000 buffes, and employed in them 37,000 fishermen.

In the year 1618 they sent out 3000 ships, with 50,000 men, to take the herrings, and 9000 more ships to transport and sell the fish, which by sea and land employed 150,000 men, besides those first mentioned. All this wealth was gotten on our coasts ; while our attention was taken up in a distant whale fishery.

The Scottish monarchs for a long time seemed to direct all their attention to the preservation of the salmon fishery ; probably because their subjects were such novices in sea affairs. At length James III. endeavoured to stimulate his great men to these patriotic undertakings ; for by an act of his third parliament, he compelled " certain lords spiri tual and temporal, and burrows, to make ships, bushes, and boats with nets and other pertinents for fishing. That the same should be made in each burgh ; in

\* Br. Zool. ii. No. 24c.

† Dict. Commerce, i. 41.



number according to the substance of each burgh, and the least of them to be of twenty tons: and that all idle men be compelled by the sheriffs in the country to go on board the same."

But his successors, by a very false policy, rendered this wise institution of little effect; for they in a manner prevented their subjects from becoming a maritime people, by directing that no white fish should be sent out of the realm, but that strangers may come and buy them \*; that free ports be first served; the cargoes sold to freemen, who are to come and transport the same †. The Dutch at this very time having an open trade.

It is well known that there have been many attempts made to secure this treasure to ourselves, but without success; in the late reign a very strong effort was made, and bounties allowed for the encouragement of British adventurers; the first was of thirty shillings per ton for every bus of seventy tons and upwards. This bounty was afterwards raised to fifty shillings per ton, to be paid to such adventurers who were entitled to it by claiming it at the places of rendezvous. The busses are from twenty to ninety tons burden, but the best size is eighty. A vessel of eighty tons ought to take ten lasts, or a hundred and twenty barrels of herrings, to clear expences, the price of the fish to be admitted to be a guinea a barrel: a ship of this size ought to have eighteen men and three boats; one of twenty tons should have six men; and every five tons above require an additional hand.

To every ton are two hundred and eighty yards of nets; so a vessel of eighty tons carries twenty thousand square yards; each net is twelve yards long, and ten deep, and every boat takes out from twenty to thirty nets, and puts them together so as to form a long train: they are sunk at each end of the train by a stone, which weighs it down to the full extent; the top is supported by buoys, made of sheep's skin, with a hollow stick at the mouth, fastened tight; through this the skin is blown up, and then stopt with a peg, to prevent the escape of the air. Sometimes these buoys are placed at the top of the nets; at other times the nets are suffered to sink deeper, by the lengthening the cords fastened to them, every cord being for that purpose ten or twelve fathoms long. But the best fisheries are generally in more shallow water.

The nets are made at Greenock, in Knapdale, Bute, and Arran; but the best are procured from Ireland, and, I think, from some part of Caernarvonshire.

The fishing is always performed in the night, unless by accident. The busses remain at anchor, and send out their boats a little before sun-set, which continue out, in winter and summer, till day-light; often taking up and emptying their nets, which they do ten or twelve times in a night in case of good success. During winter it is a most dangerous and fatiguing employ, by reason of the greatness and frequency of the gales in these seas, and in such gales are the most successful captures; but, by the providence of Heaven, the fishers are seldom lost, and, what is wonderful, few are visited with illness. They go out well prepared, with a warm great coat, boots, and skin aprons, and a good provision of beef and spirits. The same good fortune attends the busses, who, in the tempestuous season and in the darkest nights, are continually shifting in these narrow seas from harbour to harbour.

Sometimes eighty barrels of herrings are taken in a night by the boats of a single vessel. It once happened in Loch-Slappan, in Skie, that a bus of eighty tons might have taken two hundred barrels in one night, with ten thousand square yards of net; but the master was obliged to desist, for want of a sufficient number of hands to preserve the capture.

\* James V. Parliam. VII.

† James IV. and James VI.



The herrings are preserved by salting, after the entrails are taken out ; an operation performed by the country people, who get three-pence per barrel for their trouble, and sometimes, even in the winter, can get fifteen pence a day. This employs both women and children, but the salting is only entrusted to the crew of the busses. The fish are laid on their backs in the barrels, and layers of salt between them. The entrails are not lost, for they are boiled into an oil : eight thousand fish will yield ten gallons, valued at one shilling the gallon.

A vessel of eighty tons takes out a hundred and forty-four barrels of salt : a drawback of two shillings and eight-pence is allowed for each barrel used for the foreign or Irish exportation of the fish ; but there is a duty of one shilling per barrel for the home consumption, and the same for those sent to Ireland.

The barrels are made of oak-staves chiefly from Virginia ; the hoops from several parts of our own island, and are made either of oak, birch, hazel, or willow ; the last from Holland, liable to a duty.

The barrels cost about three shillings each ; they hold from five to eight hundred fish, according to the size of the fish, are made to contain thirty-two gallons. The barrels are inspected by proper officers ; a cooper examines if they are statuteable and good, if faulty, he destroys them, and obliges the maker to stand to the loss.

The herrings in general are exported to the West Indies, to feed the negroes, or to Ireland, for the Irish are not allowed to fish in these seas. By having a drawback of five-pence a barrel, and by re-packing the fish in new barrels of twenty-eight gallons, they are enabled to export them to our colonies at a cheaper rate than the Scots can do.

The trade declines apace ; the bounty, which was well paid at first, kept up the spirit of the fishery, but for the last six years the detention of the arrears has been very injurious to several adventurers, who have sold out at thirty per cent loss, besides that of their interest.

The migrations of the herrings has been very fully treated of in the third volume of the British Zoology : it is superfluous to load this work with a repetition, I shall therefore only mention the observations that occur to me in this voyage, as pertinent to the present place.

Loch-Broom has been celebrated for three or four centuries as the resort of herrings. They generally appear here in July ; those that turn into this bay are part of the brigade that detaches itself from the western column of that great army that annually deserts the vast depths of the arctic circle, and come, heaven-directed, to the seats of population, offered as a cheap food to millions, whom wasteful luxury, or iron-hearted avarice hath deprived, by enhancing the price of the wanted supports of the poor.

The migration of these fish from their northern retreat is regular : their visits to the western isles and coasts, certain ; but their attachment to one particular loch, extremely precarious. All have their turns : that which swarmed with fish one year, is totally deserted the following, yet the next loch to it is crowded with the shoals. These changes of place give often full employ to the busses, who are continually shifting their harbour in quest of news respecting these important wanderers.

They commonly appear here in July, the latter end of August they go into deep water, and continue there for some time, without any apparent cause ; in November they return to the shallows, when a new fishery commences, which continues till January, at that time the herrings become full of roe, and are useless as articles of commerce. Some doubt whether these herrings that appear in November are not part of a new migration ; for they are as fat, and make the same appearance as those that composed the first.

The



The signs of the arrival of the herrings are flocks of gulls, who catch up the fish while they skim on the surface; and of gannets, who plunge and bring them up from considerable depths. Both these birds are closely attended to by the fishers.

Cod-fish, haddocks, and dog-fish follow the herrings in vast multitudes: these voracious fish keep on the outfides of the columns, and may be a concurrent reason of driving the shoals into bays and creeks. In summer they come into the bays generally with the warmest weather, and with easy gales. During winter the hard gales from north-west are supposed to assist in forcing them into shelter. East winds are very unfavourable to the fishery.

In a fine day, when the fish appear near the surface, they exhibit an amazing brilliancy of colours: all the various coruscations that dart from the diamond, sapphire, and emerald, enrich their tract; but during night, if they break, i. e. play on the surface, the sea appears on fire, luminous as the brightest phosphorus.

During a gale, that part of the ocean which is occupied by the great shoals, appear as if covered with the oil that is emitted from them.

They seem to be greatly affected by lightning: during that phenomenon they sink towards the bottom, and move regularly in parallel shoals one above the other.

The enemies that assail these fish in the winter season are varied, not diminished: of the birds, the gannets disappear; the gulls still continue their persecutions; whales, pollacks\*, and porpoisses are added to their number of foes: these follow in droves; the whales deliberately, opening their vast mouths, taking them by hundreds. These monsters keep on the outside, for the body of the phalanx of herrings is so thick as to be impenetrable by these unwieldy animals.

The herring-fishers never observe the remains of any kind of food in the stomachs of that fish, as long as they are in good condition: as soon as they become foul or poor, they will greedily rise to the fly, and be taken like the whiting-pollack.

They do not deposit their spawn in sand, or mud, or weeds, like other fish, but leave it in the water, suspended in a gelatinous matter, of such a gravity as prevents it from floating to the surface, or sinking to the bottom. The fishermen discover this by finding the slimy matter adhering to the hay ropes sometimes in use to hold the stone that sinks the nets, the middle part being slimed over, the top and bottom clear.

Before I leave this bay it must be observed, that there are here, as in most of the lochs, a few, a very few of the natives who possess a boat and nets, and fish in order to sell the capture fresh to the buffes: the utmost these poor people can attain to are the boat and nets; they are too indigent to become masters of barrels, or of salt, to the great loss of the public as well as themselves. Were magazines of salt established in these distant parts; was encouragement given to these distant Britons, so that they might be enabled by degrees to furnish themselves with the requisites for fishing, they would soon form themselves into seamen, by the course of life they must apply themselves to; the buffes would be certain of finding a ready market of fish ready cured; the natives taught industry, which would be quickened by the profits made by the commodity, which they might afford cheaper, as taken at their very doors, without the wear and tear of distant voyages, as in the present case. Half of the hands employed now in fishing and curing generally come out as raw seamen as the inhabitants of these parts: they do not return with much greater experience in the working of a ship, being employed entirely in the boats, or in salting of the herrings, and seem on board as awkward as marines in comparison of able seamen. A bounty on these home captures would stimulate the people

\* A small whale, whose species I cannot determine.



to industry; would drive from their minds the thoughts of migrations; and would never lessen the number of seamen, as it would be an incitement for more adventurers to fit out vessels, because they would have a double chance of freight, from their own captures, and from those of the residents, who might form a stock from shoals of fish, which often escape while the former are wind-bound, or wandering from loch to loch.

July 29. Weigh anchor, and sail with a favourable breeze towards the mouth of the bay, with a design of returning south; but towards evening the wind changes, cold weather and hard adverse gales succeed, which oblige us to tack and anchor in the mouth of Little Loch-Broom, an arm of the sea, about seven miles long, and not half a mile broad, bounded by high mountains, covered in many parts with birch woods. The hill Talloch-Effie may vie with the highest I have seen.

For two hours amuse ourselves with taking with hand lines abundance of cod, some dog-fish, and a curious ray.

The night was most tempestuous: our situation was disagreeable, as Mr. Thompson thought our vessel would drive, and that he should be obliged to cut his cables and put to sea; which, under the circumstances of a black night, a furious storm, and rocky narrows, did not contribute to the repose of fresh-water seamen.

July 30. The wind grows moderate: in weighing anchor discover on the cable several very uncommon asteriæ. No sooner was our anchor on board, but a furious squall arises, and blows in blasts like a hurricane, driving us before it at a vast rate, till we arrived within a mile of the bottom of the loch. Drop anchor, but without effect; are obliged to weigh again, while the furious gale engages an attention to the sails, and flings us into a double perplexity in this narrow strait, where for an hour our tacks were almost perpetual, and the vessel frequently in no small danger. The blasts from the mountains were tremendous, not only raising a vast sea, but catching up the waves in eddies, and raising them up in the air to a surprising height. At length we were relieved from our distress by a successful anchorage, under a high and finely wooded hill, in eight fathom water, but within a small distance of eighty.

Procure horses, by favour of Kenneth Mac-kenzie, Esq. of Dundonnell. Ride about a mile on the side of the hill, above the loch; arrive in a small but fertile plain, winding among the vast mountains, and adorned with a pretty river and woods of alder. Here we were rejoiced with the sight of enclosures long strangers to us: the hay was good, the bear and oats excellent; but the manner of manuring, called in these parts tathing, was very singular: many of the fields were covered with the boughs of alders, lately cut: these are left during the whole winter to rot; in March the ground is cleared of the undecayed parts, and then ploughed. Fern is also used for the same end. Reach

Dundonnell. Determined to go by land to visit Loch-maree, a great lake to the south; and direct Mr. Thompson to sail and wait for us at Gair-loch.

We found ourselves seated in a spot equalized by few in picturesque and magnificent scenery. The banks of the river that rushes by the house are fringed with trees, and the course often interrupted by cascades. At a small distance the ground begins to rise: as we mount, the eyes are entertained with new objects; the river rolling beneath the dark shade of alders, an extent of plain composed of fields bounded by groves; and as the walk advances, appears a deep and tremendous hollow, shagged with trees, and winding far amidst the hills. We are alarmed with the roar of invisible cataracts, long before their place is discovered; and find them precipitating themselves down narrow chasms of stupendous depth, so narrow at top, that highlanders in the eagerness of the chase will fearlessly spring over these barathra. They meander for miles amidst the mountains, and are the age-worn work of water, branch off into every glen, hid with trees



of various species. Torrents roll over their bottoms often darting down precipices of a thousand forms, losing themselves beneath the undermined rocks, and appearing again white with the violence of the fall. By laying aside the boughs, and creeping to the verge, got sight of these otherwise latent cataracts; but the prospect sufficiently tired my head. Besides these darksome waters, multitudes of others precipitate themselves in full view down the steep sides of the adjacent hills, and create for several hundreds of feet a series of most magnificent falls.

Above rises a magnificent hill, which as far as the sight can reach is clothed with birch and pines, the shelter of stags, roes, and black game.

To the west is a view where the awful, or rather the horrible, predominates. A chain of rocky mountains, some conoid, but united by links of a height equal to most in North Britain, with sides dark, deep, and precipitous, with summits broken, sharp, ferrated, and spiring into all terrific forms; with snowy glaciers lodged in the deep shaded apertures. These crags are called Scur-fein, or hills of wine: they rather merit the title of Scur-shain, or rocks of wind; for here Æolus may be said to make his residence, and ever employed in fabricating blasts, squalls, and hurricanes, which he scatters with no sparing hand over the subjacent vales and lochs.

July 31. Most agreeably detained with the good family of Dundonnel by a violent fall of rain, which rendered the waters impassable. Observe after dinner that cloudberries\*, that grow on the adjacent mountains, were served as a desert.

August 1. After taking a deoch-an-doruis, or a door-cup, proceed south, ascend a steep hill far above a bank wooded with various trees, among others the wych-elm grew native. To the west were the vast mountains, naked, rugged and dreary, their bases sloping, furrowed with long clefts, emptying their precipitated waters into the river beneath. Descend into a vale with birch-trees thinly scattered over it; and the extremity crossed by a high rock wooded and divided in the middle by a vast and foaming cataract, the waters of Loch-nan-niun, or the lake of birds. On the west side is an amazing mountain steeply sloping, composed of a whitish marble, so extensive, smooth, glossy and even, as to appear like an enormous sheet of ice; and is, I doubt not, as slippery. Our guide called the hill Lecach. The opposite side of the vale was precipitous; varied with trees and cascades, that fell among the branches. The whole of this scene was truly alpine.

Ascend again. Arrive amidst strata of red and white marble, the way horrible, broken, steep, and slippery; but our cautious steeds tried every step before they would venture to proceed. Black morassly heaths succeed, named Glian-dochartai. Dine on the side of a rill at the bottom, on plentiful fare provided by our kind host, whose son, Mr. Mackenzie, and another gentleman of the name, kindly undertook the charge of us to the next stage. Ride through a narrow strath called Kin-loch-ewe, where we first saw the signs of houses and a little cultivation since morning. This terminates in a meadowy plain, closed at the end with Loch-maree: the night proved wet and tempestuous; we therefore determined to defer the voyage till the next day, and to take shelter in a whiskey house, the inn of the place. Mr. Mackenzie complimented Mr. Lightfoot and me with the bedstead, well covered with a warm litter of heath: we lay in our cloaths, wrapped ourselves in plaids, and enjoyed a good repose. We slept like the Lusitanians of old †, *super thoros herbaceos*. Our friends did not lose their sleep; but great was our surprise to see them form their bed of wet hay, or rather grass collected from the fields; they slung a plaid over it, undressed, and lay most comfortably, without

\* Rubus Chamæmorus.

† Strabo, lib. iii. 253.



injury, in what in a little time must have become an errant hot-bed ; so blest with hardy constitutions are even the gentlemen of this country !

August 2. At seven in the morning take a fix-oared boat, at the east end of Loch-maree : keep on the north shore beneath steep rocks, mostly filled with pines waving over our heads. Observe on the shore a young man of good appearance, hailing the boat in the Erse language. I demanded what he wanted ; was informed a place in the boat. As it was entirely filled, I was obliged to refuse his request. He follows us for two miles through every difficulty, and by his voice and gestures threatened revenge. At length a rower thought fit to acquaint us that he was the owner of the boat, and only wanted admission in lieu of one of them. The boat was ordered to shore, and the master taken in with proper apologies and attempts to sooth him for his hard treatment. Instead of insulting us with abuse, as a Charon of South Britain would have done, he instantly composed himself, and told us through an interpreter, that he felt great pride in finding that his conduct had gained any degree of approbation.

Continue our course. The lake, which at the beginning was only half a mile broad, now, nearly half its length, widens into a great bay, bending towards the south, about four miles in breadth, filled with little isles, too much clustered and indistinct.

Land on that called Inch-maree, the favoured isle of the saint, the patron of all the coast from Applecrofs to Loch-broom. The shores are neat and gravelly ; the whole surface covered thickly with a beautiful grove of oak, ash, willow, wicken, birch, fir, hazel, and enormous hollies. In the midst is a circular dike of stones, with a regular narrow entrance ; the inner part has been used for ages as a burial-place, and is still in use. I suspect the dike to have been originally druidical, and that the ancient superstition of Paganism had been taken up by the saint, as the readiest method of making a conquest over the minds of the inhabitants. A stump of a tree is shewn as the altar, probably the memorial of one of stone ; but the curiosity of the place is the well of the saint, of power unspeakable in cases of lunacy. The patient is brought into the sacred island, is made to kneel before the altar, where his attendants leave an offering in money : he is then brought to the well, and sips some of the holy water : a second offering is made ; that done, he is thrice dipped in the lake ; and the same operation is repeated every day for some weeks ; and it often happens, by natural causes, the patient receives some relief, of which the saint receives the credit. I must add, that the visitants draw from the state of the well an omen of the disposition of St. Maree : if his well is full, they suppose he will be propitious ; if not, they proceed in their operations with fears and doubts ; but let the event be what it will, he is held in high esteem : the common oath of the country is by his name : if a traveller passes by any of his resting-places, they never neglect to leave an offering ; but the saint is so moderate as not to put him to any expence : a stone, a stick, a bit of rag contents him.

This is the most beautiful of the isles ; the others have only a few trees sprinkled over their surface.

About a mile farther the lake again contracts. Pass beneath a high rock, formed of short precipices, with shelves between, filled with multitudes of self-sown pines, making a most beautiful appearance.

The south side of the water is bounded with mountains adorned with birch woods, mixed with a few pines : a military road runs along its length. The mountains are not very high, but open in many parts to give a view of others, whose naked and broken tops shooting into sharp crags, strangely diversify the scene, and form a noble termination,

Towards



Towards the bottom of the lake is a headland, finely wooded to the very summit. Here the water suddenly narrows to the breadth of a hundred yards, and continues so for near a mile; the banks cloathed with trees, and often bending into little semilunar bays to the very extremity; from whence its waters, after the course of a mile, a continual *rapide*, discharge into a deep and darksome hole called Pool-Ewe, which opens into the large bay of Loch-Ewe.

The lake we had left is eighteen miles long: the waters are said to be specifically lighter than most others, and very rarely frozen: the depth is various, in some places sixty fathoms; but the bottom is very uneven: if ten feet of water were drained away, the whole would appear a chain of little lakes.

The fish are salmon, char, and trout; of the last is a species weighing thirty pounds.

Land; are received by the Rev. Mr. Dounie, minister of Gairloch, whom we attend to church, and hear a very edifying plain comment on a portion of scripture. He takes us home with him, and by his hospitality makes us experience the difference between the lodgings of the two nights.

August 3. Take a view of the environs: visit the mouth of the river, where the salmon-fishery supplies the tenant with three or four lasts of fish annually. On the bank are the remains of a very ancient iron furnace. Mr. Dounie has seen the back of a grate, marked S. G. Hay, or Sir George Hay, who was head of a company here in the time of the Queen Regent, and is supposed to have chosen this remote place for the sake of quiet in those turbulent times.

Potatoes are raised here on the very peat-moors, without any other drains than the trenches between the beds. The potatoes are kiln-dried for preservation.

It is to be hoped that a town will form itself here, as it is the station of a government packet, that sails regularly from hence to Stornaway, in Lewis, a place now growing considerable, by the encouragement of Lord Seaforth, the proprietor. This is a spot of much concourse; for here terminates the military road, which crosses from the east to the west sea, commencing at Inverness, and passing by Fair-burn and Strath-braan to this place. Yet I believe the best inn on the last thirty miles is that of Mr. Roderick Macdonald, our landlord the last night but one.

Ride above six miles south, and reach Gair-loch, consisting of a few scattered houses, on a fine bay of the same name. Breakfast at Flowerdale, a good house, beautifully seated beneath hills finely wooded. This is the seat of Sir Hector Mackenzie, whose ancestor received a writ of fire and sword against the ancient rebellious owners: he succeeded in this commission, and received their lands for his pains.

The parish of Gair-loch is very extensive, and the number of inhabitants evidently increase, owing to the simple method of life, and the conveniency they have of drawing a support from the fishery. If a young man is possessed of a herring-net, a hand-line, and three or four cows, he immediately thinks himself able to support a family, and marries. The present number of souls are about two thousand eight hundred.

Herrings offer themselves in shoals from June to January: cod-fish abound on the great sand-bank, one corner of which reaches to this bay, and is supposed to extend as far as Cape-Wrath, and south as low as Rona, off Skie; with various branches, all swarming with cod and ling. The fishery is carried on with log-lines, begins in February, and ends in April. The annual capture is uncertain, from five to twenty-seven thousand. The natives labour under some oppressions, which might be easily removed to the great advancement of this commerce. At present the fish are sold to some merchants from Campbeltown, who contract for them with the laird, at two-pence



pence-halfpenny a piece, after being cured and dried in the sun. The merchants take only those that measure eighteen inches from the gills to the setting on of the tail, and oblige the people to let them have two for one of all that are beneath that length. The fish are sent to Bilboa: ling has also been carried there, but was rejected by the Spaniards. This trade is far from being pushed to its full extent; is monopolized, and the poor fishers cruelly forced to sell their fish for three-halfpence a piece to those who sell it to the merchants.

The want of a town is very sensibly felt in all those parts: there is no one commodity, no one article of life, or implement of fishery, but what is gotten with difficulty, and at a great price, brought from a distance by those who are to make advantage of the necessities of the people. It is much to be lamented that after the example of the Earl of Seaforth, they do not collect a number of inhabitants by feuing their lands, or granting leases for a length of years for building; but still so much of the spirit of the chieftain remains, that they dread giving an independency to their people; a false policy! as it would enrich both parties, and make the landlord more respectable, as master of a set of decent tenants, than of thousands of bare-footed half-starved vassals. At present adventurers from distant parts take the employ from the natives: a town would create a market; a market would soon occasion a concourse of shipping, who would then arrive with a certainty of a cargo ready taken for them; and the mutual wants of stranger and native would be supplied at an easy rate.

These and various other hints, flung out to this respectable part of our island, in different parts of these travels, have been adopted, and acts of parliament framed to carry them into execution. I have only to wish every success to their efforts; and shall think labours undergone in pointing out to my northern fellow-subjects their local advantages fully repaid, by the reflection of having by my mite contributed to their happiness and improvement. Let them not fight with the heavens, and they will succeed. Let them cherish men, cattle, and fisheries, and the benefits will be felt from the extreme north to the most southern promontory of our happy island.

By example of a gentleman or two, some few improvements in farming appear. Lime is burnt; sea-tang used as manure; and shell sand imported by such who can afford the freight. But the best trade at present is cattle: about five hundred are annually sold out of this parish, from the price of one pound seven to two pounds five a piece. About eighty horses, at three pounds each, and a hundred and fifty sheep at three pounds per score. The cattle are blooded at spring and fall: the blood is preserved to be eaten cold.

We found our vessel safely arrived at anchor with many others, under the shelter of a little isle, on the south side of the bay. Weigh and get under sail with a good breeze. Pass by the mouth of Loch-Torridon: a few leagues farther by Apple-crofs bay, small, with populous and well cultivated shores. The back ground most uncommonly mountainous.

Apple-crofs house is inhabited by a most hospitable gentleman as fame reports: we lamented therefore our inability to pay our respects.

On the right leave the isles of Rona and Rasa and Scalpay: before us is Croulin, and beyond soar the vast hills of Skie. Sail close under Croulin, inhabited by two families, producing a little corn and a few cattle. Almost opposite to its southern end is the common entrance into the two great lochs, Kisserne and Carron.

Pass the sound between Skie and Kintail; anchor about nine o'clock, and once more sleep beneath Mac-kinnon's castle.

August



August 4. In sailing down the bay, had to the north-east a full view of Kintail in Ross-shire, the original seat of the Mac-kenzies, or rather Mac-Kenneths \*, a patronymic from their great ancestor Kenneth, son of Colin Fitzgerald, of the house of Desmond in Ireland. To him Alexander III. made a grant of these lands for his good services at the battle of Largs. His posterity, a warlike race, filled all the lands; for the heroes of North-Britain, like Polypes, multiply the more exceedingly by cuts and wounds.

Leave to the east the entrance into Loch-Lung and Loch-Duach; two miles from the south side of the last are the dangerous passes of Glen-sheil and Strachell; where, on June the 10th, 1719, a petty rebellion, projected by Cardinal Alberoni, and to have been supported by the Spaniards, was suppressed. A tempest dispersed the hostile squadron, and only about three hundred forces arrived. The Highlanders made a poor stand at Strachell; but were quickly put to flight, when they had an opportunity of destroying the King's forces by rolling down stones from the heights. I must not omit that among the clans that appeared in arms, was a large body lent by a neighbouring chieftain, merely for the battle of that one day; and win or lose was to return home that night.

Pass through the Kil-ru, buffeted severely on the way by violent squalls. Land on the east side in the parish of Glen-elg, in the county of Inverness. The vessel anchors three miles distant on the opposite side of the bay, under Skie.

Walk up to the church; and observe near it a singular tree, whose boughs had bent to the ground, and taking root formed a strange harbour. Pass by the barracks of Bernera, built in 1722, handsome and capacious, designed to hold two hundred men: at present occupied by a corporal and six soldiers. The country laments this neglect. They are now quite sensible of the good effects of the military, by introducing peace and security: they fear least the evil days should return, and the ancient thefts be renewed, as soon as the banditti find this protection of the people removed.

Walk up the valley of Glen-Elg, or the vale of Deer: visit Mr. Macleod, the minister, and receive all the welcome that the *Res angusta Domus* would permit. He shewed us, at a small distance from his house, the remains of a mine of black lead, neglected on account of the poverty of what the adventurers found near the surface; but it is probable, that at a proper depth it may be found to equal that of Cumberland. A poor kind of bog iron ore is also found here.

Above the manse, on the top of a hill, is a British fortress, diked round with stone, and in the middle is the vestige of a circular inclosure, perhaps of a building, the shelter of the officers. Within sight is another of these retreats, which are called in the Erse, Bàdhun, or the place of refuge.

\* These were the chief gentlemen, in 1603, in the sheriffdom of Inverness, which at that time included the shire of that name, Ross, Strathnaver, Caithness, Sutherland, and the Northern Hebrides.

Macloyd, of Lewes,	L. of Fowles,
Macloyd, of Harries,	Sherrife of Cromartie,
Donald Gormesoun,	Dumbeith,
Macneil, of Barray,	Forse,
Mulcalloun, of Rosay,	Otanseale,
John Mudzart, captain of	Mackye,
the Clanrannalts,	Neil Hutchesoun, in Assent;
The Laird of Glengarry	Mackentoshche, captain of the
The L. of Kneydart,	Clanchaniroun,
Mac-kenzie,	L. of Glenewes,
L. of Garloche,	Raynold Mac-raynold, of
L. of Balmagowne,	Keppache.



This valley is the property of Mr. Macleod, of Dunvegan, acquired by a marriage of an ancestor with a daughter of Lord Brisset. The parish is of vast extent, and comprehends Knodiart and North Morar. Glenelg has near seven hundred inhabitants, all protestants; the other two districts are almost entirely of the popish persuasion. The reader who has the curiosity to know the number of Roman Catholics in these parts of North Britain, may satisfy his curiosity in the Appendix, from an abstract taken from the Report made by the gentlemen appointed by the General Assembly, in 1760, to visit these remote Highlands, and the Hebrides, for the purpose of enquiring into the state of religion in those parts.

This part of Glen-Elg is divided into two vallies; Glen-more, where the barracks are, from which is a military road of fifty-one miles extent, reaching to Fort-Augustus: the other is Glen-beg. The parish sends out a considerable number of cattle: these vallies would be fertile in corn, was it not for the plague of rain, which prevents tillage to such a degree, that the poor inhabitants feel the same distresses as their neighbours.

Walk back by the barracks to Glen-beg, to visit the celebrated edifices attributed to the Danes: the first is placed about two miles from the mouth of the valley. The more entire side appears of a most elegant taper form: the present height is thirty feet six inches; but in 1722, some Goth purloined from the top, seven feet and a half, under pretence of applying the materials to certain public buildings. By the appearance of some ruins that now lie at the base, and which have fallen off since that time, I believe three feet more may be added to the height, which will make the whole about forty-one.

The whole is built with dry walls, but the courses most beautifully disposed. On one side is a breach of at least one quarter of the circumference. The diameter within is thirty-three feet and a half, taken at a distance of ten feet from the bottom: the wall in that part is seven feet four inches thick, but is formed thinner and thinner till it reaches the top, whose breadth I forgot to cause to be measured. This inside wall is quite perpendicular, so that the inner diameter must have been equal from top to bottom: but the exterior wall slopes, encreasing in thickness till it reaches the ground.

In the thickness of the wall were two galleries; one at the lower part, about six feet two inches high, and two feet five at the bottom, narrowing to the top; flagged, and also covered over with great flat stones. This gallery ran quite round, and that horizontally, but was divided into apartments: in one place with six flags, placed equidistant from each other; and were accessible above by means of a hole from another gallery: into the lower were two entrances (before the ruin of the other side there had been two others) above each of these entrances were a row of holes, running up to the top, divided by flags, appearing like shelves: near the top was a circle of projecting stones, which probably were intended to hold the beams that formed the roof: above is another hole like the former. None of these openings pass through, for there is not the appearance of window nor opening on the outside wall. All these holes are square; are too small to admit the human body, so were probably designed to lodge arms, and different other matters, secure from wet or harm.

Over the first gallery was another, divided from it only by flags. This also went round, but was free from any separation: the height was five feet six; only twenty inches wide at bottom. This was also covered with flags at top.

At a distance above, in the broken sides of the wall, was another hole; but it seemed too small for a gallery. The ascent was not safe, so could not venture up. The height was taken by a little boy, who scrambled to the top.



The entrance was a square hole, on the west side : before it were the remains of some building, with a narrow opening that led to the door. Almost contiguous to this entrance or portico, was a small circle formed of rude stones, which was called the foundation of the Druids' houses. It probably was formed for some religious purpose. I was told there were many others of this kind scattered over the valley.

At less than a quarter of a mile distant from this stands the second tower, on a little flat on the side of the hill. The form is similar, but the number of galleries differs : here are three, the lowest goes entirely round ; but at the east end is an aperture now of a small depth, but once of such extent, that the goats which sheltered in it were often lost : on that account the entrance was filled with stones. This is six feet high, four feet two inches broad, and flagged above and below.

A second gallery was of the same height, but the breadth of the floor only three feet five.

The third gallery was of such difficult access that I did not attempt to get up : it was so narrow and low, that it was with difficulty that the child who climbed to it could creep through.

The present height of this tower is only twenty-four feet five inches ; the diameter thirty ; the thickness of the lower part of the wall twelve feet four.

I could not perceive any traces of the winding stairs mentioned by Mr. Gordon : but as these buildings have suffered greatly since that gentleman saw them I have no doubt of his accuracy.

These were in all probability places of defence ; but it is difficult to say any thing on the subject of their origin, or by what nation they were erected. They are called here *Caisteal Teilbah*, or the castles of *Teilba*, built by a mother for her four sons, as tradition, delivered in this translation of four Erse lines, informs :

My four sons a fair clan,  
I left in the strath of one glen :  
My Malcomb, my lovely Chonil,  
My Telve, my Troddam.

There had been two others, now totally demolished, and each named after her children. Mr. Gordon mentions others of this kind ; one at Glen-dunin, two at Easter Fearn in Ross-shire, and two or three in Lord Reay's country : one of which is called the Dune of Dornadilla, from an imaginary prince, who reigned two hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra. This appears to be so well described by an anonymous writer in the Edinburgh magazine, that it will possibly be acceptable to the reader to find it copied in the note \*.

The

\* " In the most northern part of Scotland, called Lord Reay's country, not far from Tongue, and near the head of the river which runs into the North Sea at Loch-Eribol, is the remains of a stone tower, which I apprehend to be a Druidic work, and to be the greatest piece of antiquity in this island. It is surprising that it is so little known even to the natives of that country : I don't remember to have ever seen it mentioned in any book whatever, nor do I recollect whether Mr. Pennant has received any information concerning it. This tower is called by the neighbouring inhabitants, the Dune of Dornadilla. It is of a circular form, and now nearly resembling the frustum of a cone : whether, when perfect, it terminated in a point, I cannot pretend to guess ; but it seems to have been formerly higher, by the rubbish which lies round it. It is built of stone, without cement, and I take it to be between 20 and 30 feet high still. The entrance is by a very low and narrow door, to pass through which one is obliged to stoop much : but, perhaps, the ground may have been raised since the first erection.

" When one is got in, and placed in the centre, it is open over head. All round the sides of the walls are ranged stone shelves, one above another, like the shelves in a circular beaufait, reaching from near the bottom to the top. The stones which compose these shelves are supported chiefly by the stones which



The rain, which poured a deluge during the whole of this walk, attended with a most violent gale, prevented us from going abroad: but we found a most comfortable lodging under the hospitable roof of the good minister.

August 5. The whole morning continued wet and boisterous. In the evening cross over to Skie: see, near the shore, cut on the live rock, an inscription in rude characters. It must have been of great antiquity, as it was discovered by the accidental digging of peat at the depth of four feet.

August 6. Weigh anchor at eight o'clock in the morning, and turn out with wind and tide adverse. After a struggle of three or four miles, put into Loch-Jurn, or the lake of hell, on the Inverness coast, and anchor about two o'clock near a little isle to the south side, four miles within the mouth. Land on the north side, three miles distant from our ship, and visit Mr. Macleod of Arnisdale: I shall never forget the hospitality of the house: before I could utter a denial, three glasses of rum cordialized with jelly of bilberries, were poured into me by the irresistible hand of good Madam Macleod. Messrs. Lightfoot and Stuart sallied out in high spirits to botanize: I descended to my boat to make the voyage of the lake.

Steer S. E. After a small space the water widens into a large bay, bending to the south, which bears the name of Barrisdale: turn suddenly to the east, and pass through a very narrow strait, with several little isles on the outside; the water of a great depth, and the tide violent. For four miles before us the loch was strait, but of an oval form; then suddenly contracts a second time. Beyond that was another reach, and an instantaneous and agreeable view of a great fleet of buffes, and all the busy apparatus of the herring fishery; with multitude of little occasional hovels and tents on the shore, for the accommodation of the crews, and of the country people, who resort here at this season to take and sell herrings to the strangers. An unexpected sight at the distance of thirteen miles from the sea, amidst the wildest scene in nature.

A little farther the loch suddenly turns due South, and has a very narrow inlet to a third reach: this strait is so shallow as to be fordable at the ebb of spring-tides; yet has within, the depth of ten and seventeen fathom: the length is about a mile; the breadth a quarter. About seven years ago it was so filled with herrings, that had crowded in, that the boats could not force their way, and thousands lay dead on the ebb.

The scenery that surrounds the whole of this lake has an Alpine wildness and magnificence; the hills of an enormous height, and for the most part clothed with extensive

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form the walls, and which project all round just in that place where the shelves are, and in no others: each of the shelves is separated into several divisions as in a book-case. There is some remains of an awkward stair-case. What use the shelves could be applied to I cannot conceive. It could not be of any military use from its situation at the bottom of a sloping hill, which wholly commands it. The most learned among the inhabitants, such as the gentry and clergy, who all speak the Irish language, could give no information or tradition concerning its use, or the origin and meaning of its name. But some years since I happened, at an auction of books in London, to look into a French book, containing Gaulish antiquities, and there I saw a print of the remains of a Druidic temple in France, which greatly resembles the tower I am speaking of, having like shelves in it. And, reading a late pamphlet on the antiquity of the Irish language, I think I can partly trace the origin of the name Dornadilla. At page 24, the author says, that Dorn means a round stone, so that *abdoorn* would mean the round stone of the priests: *na* is *of*, and *Di* is *God*: at page 45, he says, in the last line, *ulla* means a place of devotion; so that *Dorn-na Di-ulla* will signify the round stone place of the worship of God; or perhaps it might allude to some round stone preserved within as a sacred emblem of divinity. As I am not acquainted with the Irish language, if any of your correspondents can give any better account, either of the nature of such Druidic temples, or of this name in particular, it will, perhaps, be acceptable to others, as well as your humble servant."



forests of oak and birch, often to the very summits. In many places, are extensive tracts of open space, verdant, and only varied with a few trees scattered over them: amidst the thickest woods aspire vast grey rocks, a noble contrast! nor are the lofty headlands a less embellishment; for through the trees that wave on their summit, is an awful sight of sky, and spiring summits of vast mountains.

On the south side, or the country of Knodyart, are vast numbers of pines, scattered among the other trees, and multitude of young ones springing up. A conflagration had many years ago destroyed a fine forest; a loss which, in a little time, it is to be hoped, will be repaired. Besides this, I can add some other pine forests to my former list\*: that near Loch-maree; Abernethy, and Roth-murchu; both belonging to gentlemen of the name of Grant; Glen-more, the Duke of Gordon's; and Glen-taner, the property of Lord Aboyne. Our old botanists are silent about these British productions, till the time of Mr. Evelyn and Mr. Ray. This species of pine seems not to have been cultivated in England, till the former, as he says, received some seeds from that unhappy person, the late Marquis of Argyle: but Speed, in his chronicle, mentions the vast size of those on the banks of Loch-Argicke, and their fitness for masts, as appeared by the report from commissioners sent there for that purpose, in the time of James† VI. Taylor, the water-poet, speaks in high terms of those in Brae-mar, "That there are as many as will serve to the end of the world, for all the shippes, carracks, hoyes, galleys, boates, drumlers, barks and water craftes, that are now in the world, or can be these forty years†."

It is not wonderful, that the imagination, amidst these darksome and horrible scenes, should figure to itself ideal beings, once the terror of the superstitious inhabitants: in less-enlightened times a dreadful spectre haunted these hills, sometimes in form of a great dog, a man, or a thin gigantic hag called Glas-lich. The exorcist was called in to drive away these evil Genii: he formed circle within circle, used a multitude of charms, forced the Dæmon from ring to ring, till he got it into the last entrenchment, when if it proved very obstinate by adding new spells, he never failed of conquering the evil spirit, who like that which haunted the daughter of Raguel, was

With a vengeance sent  
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

In our return from the extremity of this sequestered spot, are most agreeably amused with meeting at least a hundred boats, rowing to the place we were leaving, to lay their nets; while the persons on shore were busied in lighting fires, and preparing a repast for their companions, against their return from their toilsome work.

So unexpected a prospect of the busy haunt of men and ships in this wild and romantic tract, afforded this agreeable reflection: that there is no part of our dominions so remote, so inhospitable, and so unprofitable, as to deny employ and livelihood to thousands; and that there are no parts so polished, so improved, and so fertile, but which must stoop to receive advantage from the dreary spots they so effectually despise; and must be obliged to acknowledge the mutual dependency of part on part, howsoever remotely placed, and howsoever different in modes or manner of living. Charles Brandon's address to his royal spouse may well be applied to both extremes of our isle:

Cloth of gold, do not despise,  
Altho' thou art match'd with cloth of frize.  
Cloth of frize, be not too bold,  
Altho' thou art match'd with cloth of gold.

\* 1st, 2d, 3d edit. pp. 183, 194, 212.

† Speed's Chronicle, p. 9.

† Pennileffe Pilgrimage, 136.



Return to Armisdale, and pass a most chearful evening. Mr. Lightfoot returned happy in having found the azalea procumbens; Mr. Stuart loaden with fine specimens of amianthus and black talc.

Return on board at midnight: the night most excessively dark, but every stroke of our oars, every progressive motion of our boat, flung a most resplendent glory around, and left so long and luminous a train in our wake, as more than compensated the want of stars in the firmament. This appearance was occasioned by myriads of noctilucous Nereids, that inhabit the ocean, and on every agitation become at certain times apparent, and often remain sticking to the oars, and, like glow-worms, give a fine light. Mr. Thompson informed us, that they were most brilliant before rain and tempests. He was not deceived in his predictions.

There is not an instance of any country having made so sudden a change in its morals as this I have just visited, and the vast tract intervening between these coasts and Loch-ness. Security and civilization possess every part; yet thirty years have not elapsed since the whole was a den of thieves, of the most extraordinary kind. They conducted their plundering excursions with the utmost policy, and reduced the whole art of theft into a regular system. From habit it lost all the appearance of criminality; they considered it as labouring in their vocation, and, when a party was formed for an expedition against their neighbour's property, they and their friends prayed as earnestly to heaven for success, as if they were engaged in the most laudable design.

The constant petition at grace of the old Highland chieftains, was delivered with great fervour, in these terms: "Lord! turn thou the world upside down, that Christians may make bread out of it." The plain English of this pious request was, that the world might become, for their benefit, a scene of rapine and confusion.

They paid a sacred regard to their oath; but as superstition must, among a set of banditti, infallibly supersede piety, each, like the distinct casts of Indians, had his particular object of veneration; one would swear upon his dirk, and dread the penalty of perjury, yet make no scruple of forswearing himself upon the Bible; a second would pay the same respect to the name of his chieftain; a third again would be most religiously bound by the sacred book, and a fourth regard none of the three, and be credited only if he swore by his crucifix. It was always necessary to discover the inclination of the person, before you put him to the test: if the object of his veneration was mistaken, the oath was of no signification.

The greatest robbers were used to preserve hospitality to those that came to their houses, and, like the wild Arabs, observed the strictest honour towards their guests, or those that put implicit confidence in them. The Kennedies, two common thieves, took the young Pretender under protection, and kept him with faith inviolate, notwithstanding they knew an immense reward was offered for his head. They often robbed for his support, and, to supply him with linen, they once surprized the baggage horses of one of our general officers. They often went in disguise to Inverness to buy provisions for him. At length, a very considerable time after, one of these poor fellows, who had virtue to resist the temptation of thirty thousand pounds, was hanged for stealing a cow, value thirty shillings.

The greatest crime among these felons, was that of infidelity among themselves: a criminal underwent a summary trial, and, if convicted, never missed of a capital punishment. The chieftain had his officers, and different departments of government; he had his judge, to whom he entrusted the decision of all civil disputes; but, in criminal causes, the chief, assisted perhaps by some favourites, always undertook the process.



The principal men of his family, or his officers, formed his council; where every thing was debated respecting their expeditions. Eloquence was held in great esteem among them, for by that they could sometimes work on their chieftain to change his opinion; for, notwithstanding he kept the form of a council, he always reserved the decisive vote in himself.

When one man had a claim on another, but wanted power to make it good, it was held lawful for him to steal from his debtor as many cattle as would satisfy his demand, provided he sent notice (as soon as he got out of reach of pursuit,) that he had them, and would return them, provided satisfaction was made on a certain day agreed on.

When a creach, or great expedition, had been made against distant herds, the owners, as soon as discovery was made, rose in arms, and, with all their friends, made instant pursuit, tracing the cattle by their track for perhaps scores of miles. Their nicety in distinguishing that of their cattle from those that were only casually wandering, or driven, was amazingly sagacious. As soon as they arrived on an estate where the track was lost, they immediately attacked the proprietor, and would oblige him to recover the track from his land forwards, or to make good the loss they had sustained. This custom had the force of law, which gave to the Highlanders this surprizing skill in the art of tracking.

It has been observed before, that to steal, rob, and plunder with dexterity, was esteemed as the highest act of heroism. The feuds between the great families was one great cause. There was not a chieftain but that kept, in some remote valley in the depth of woods and rocks, whole tribes of thieves in readiness to let loose against his neighbours; when, from some public or private reason, he did not judge it expedient to resent openly any real or imaginary affront. From this motive the greater chieftain-robbers always supported the lesser, and encouraged no sort of improvement on the estates but what promoted rapine.

The greatest of the heroes in the last century, was Sir Ewin Cameron, whose life is given in the other volume. He long resisted the power of Cromwell, but at length was forced to submit. He lived in the neighbourhood of the garrison fixed by the usurper at Inverlochy. His vassals persisted in their thefts, till Cromwell sent orders to the commanding-officer, that on the next robbery he should seize on the chieftain, and execute him in twenty-four hours, in case the thief was not delivered to justice. An act of rapine soon happened; Sir Ewin received the message, who, instead of giving himself the trouble of looking out for the offender, laid hold of the first fellow he met with, sent him bound to Inverlochy, where he was instantly hanged. Cromwell, by this severity, put a stop to the excesses, till the time of the restoration, when they were renewed with double violence till the year 1745.

Rob-Roy Macgregor was another distinguished hero in the latter end of the last, and the beginning of the present century. He contributed greatly towards forming his profession into a science, and establishing the police above mentioned. The Duke of Montrose unfortunately was his neighbour; Rob-boy frequently saved his Grace the trouble of collecting his rents; used to extort them from the tenants, and at the same time gave them formal discharges. But it was neither in the power of the Duke or of any of the gentlemen he plundered to bring him to justice, so strongly protected was he by several great men to whom he was useful. Roy had his good qualities, he spent his revenue generously; and, strange to say, was a true friend to the widow and orphan.

Every period of time gives new improvement to the arts. A son of Sir Ewin Cameron refined on those of Rob-Roy, and, instead of dissipating his gains, accumulated wealth.



wealth. He, like Jonathan Wild the Great, never stole with his own hands, but conducted his commerce with an address, and to an extent unknown before. He employed several companies, and set the more adroit knaves at their head, and never suffered merit to go unrewarded. He never openly received their plunder, but employed agents to purchase from them their cattle. He acquired considerable property, which he was forced to leave behind, after the battle of Culloden gave the fatal blow to all their greatness.

The last of any eminence was the celebrated Barrisdale, who carried these arts to the highest pitch of perfection: besides exerting all the common practices, he improved that article of commerce called the black meal to a degree beyond what was ever known to his predecessors. This was a forced levy, so called from its being commonly paid in meal, which was raised far and wide on the estate of every nobleman and gentleman, in order that their cattle might be secured from the lesser thieves, over whom he secretly presided, and protected. He raised an income of five hundred a year by these taxes; and behaved with genuine honour in restoring, on proper consideration, the stolen cattle of his friends. In this he bore some resemblance to our Jonathan, but differed, in observing a strict fidelity towards his own gang; yet he was indefatigable in bringing to justice any rogues that interfered with his own. He was a man of polished behaviour, fine address, and fine person. He considered himself in a very high light, as a benefactor to the public, and preserver of general tranquillity, for on the silver plates, the ornaments of his Baldrick, he thus addressed his broad-sword:

*Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacis componere mores;  
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*

Aug. 7. After a most tempestuous and rainy night, sail at eight o'clock in the morning, designing to reach the sound of Mull, but the wind proving contrary, we ran over to Isle Oranay in the isle of Skie, a safe harbour; where we continued confined by adverse winds till the next day.

Aug. 8. At half an hour after one at noon, sail. As soon as we got out, we found a vast swell from the fury of the last night's storm; the waves mountainous, but, thanks to a gentle breeze, we made our way finely through them.

Pass on the east, Loch-nevish, or the lake of Heaven, a fine and picturesque inlet.

Pol-morrer where small craft may lie. About half a mile inland from this bay is the great fresh-water lake called Loch-morrer; next is the country of Arisaig, and its celebrated point; for within this, a little to the south, in Loch-nan-ua, or the bay of caves, landed the young Pretender, on July 25, 1745; and from hence concluded his Phaetonic expedition, September 20th of the following year. The two frigates that lay there in May of the same summer, with arms and ammunition, had an engagement off this point with two of ours, and maintained their station. They landed part of their stores, but finding the cause desperate, returned to France with several of the fugitives from the battle of Culloden.

Sail by Loch-Hallyort, and the country of Moydart, the most southerly part of the shire of Inverness. Leave to the west the point of Slate in Skie; the vast hills of Blaven and Cuchullin open to view, then succeeds the mountainous Rum; keep close under the isle of Egg, distinguished by the lofty spire of Scur-egg. Pass immediately under the point of Ard-na-murchan, the most northern part of Argyleshire. Turn into the sound of Mull, a fine opening five miles broad: to the east of the point is Loch-funart, penetrating deeply into the country of Morven. At the head is Strontian;



tian, noted for a lead-mine. About nine o'clock at night anchor in Tobir Moire bay, in the isle of Mull.

This bay is a most beautiful circular bason, formed by Mull on one side, and the isle of Calve on the other. All the banks are verdant and embellished at this time with three cascades. It takes its name from a chapel and well, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Here in 1588 the Florida, one of Philip's invincible Armada was blown up after the dispersion of the fleet; some say by accident, others by the desperate resolution of a Scotchman. Several attempts were made to recover the sunk treasure. One in 1688, by William Sacheverel, Esq. who fitted up diving bells, and tried them with success at the depth of ten fathom, and report says, he got up much treasure. A piece of the wreck was given me by an old inhabitant of the place; to be preserved in memory of this signal providence, so beautifully acknowledged by Queen Elizabeth in the motto of the medal struck on the occasion:

*Affavit Deus, et dissipantur.*

In this bay also the unfortunate Earl of Argyle may be said to have wrecked both life and fortune, in the year 1686: for in this place he made the first landing with a few friends, in his fatal invasion in concert with the Duke of Monmouth. The most inhuman medal I ever saw (next to that in memory of the massacre of Paris, by Charles IX.) is one in my possession, struck by James II. on occasion of the sad catastrophe of these two noblemen. Their heads are placed on two altars, at whose base are their bleeding corpses; the motto,

*Ambitio malefuada ruit.*

A little north is Bloody-bay, so called from a sea-fight between a Macdonald of the isles and his son. The former was supported by Hector Obhar Maclean, the same who died gloriously at the battle of Floddon, covering his monarch, James IV., from the arrows of the English archers.

On the opposite shore of Morven is Dun-an-gal, a ruined castle of the Macleans. In this the rebels of 1719 put a small garrison, which soon surrendered to one of our men of war that attacked it.

Aug. 9. Leave Tober Moire at eight o'clock in the morning, and about half past ten, anchor opposite to Aros castle, seated on a rock above the sea, and once a seat of Macdonald of the isles. At the foot of the rock is the ruin of an oval pier, where he secured his boats.

Breakfast with Mr. Campbell of Aros, and collect a few particulars of this rough island: that it is twenty-four Scotch miles long, and about the same in breadth; that it is divided into three great parishes, viz. Torcay, Rofs, and Kilmore, or Kil-ninian, containing in all near four thousand catechisable persons; that it is in general rocky and barren, and does not yield corn enough for its inhabitants; that it sends out annually about eighteen hundred head of cattle, sold from thirty to fifty shillings a-piece; that there are but few sheep; that the graziers have suffered greatly this year by the loss of cattle, but that none of the people have as yet migrated. That the usual manure is shell sand, which the farmers procure from Tir-ey. That there is coal in the island near'y inaccessible by the badness of the roads! and that this most important article, which alone would bring wealth and comfort to the isle is unaccountably neglected!

The island was originally part of the dominions of the Lords of the Isles, but in after-times became the possession of the antient and valiant family of the Macleans, who still retain half. The other moiety is the litigated property of the Duke of Argyle,



gyle, whose ancestor possessed himself of it in 1674, on account of a debt; and after the courts of law had made an adjudication in his favour, he was obliged to support their decree by force of arms.

Sail again down the found, which in general is about four miles broad; the coast on both sides slopes and is patched with corn-land. The northern coast is Morven, the celebrated country of Fingal.

Leave on the side Loch-aylin, a safe harbour, with a most contracted entrance. A little farther is Castle-ardtornish, a ruin on a low headland jutting into the found, where in 1641, John Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, lived in regal state\*. His treaty with Edward IV. is dated, *ex castello nostro Ard-thornis Octbris. 19, A. D. 1441* †.

On the Mull side is Mac-allester's bay, and below that, where the found opens to the east is Castle duart, once the seat of the Macleanes, lords of the island, but now garrisoned by a lieutenant and a detachment from Fort-William. Morven, near Ardtornish, begins to grow lofty and wooded; and the Mull beyond this castle appears very mountainous.

Traverse the broad water of Loch-linnhê, which leads up to Lochaber. Have a fine view of the vast mountains, and the picturesque hills of Glen-co. Pass to the southern end of Lismore, and steer north between that isle and Middle Lorn. Sail by the isle of Kerrera, noted for the death of Alexander II. in 1249, while he lay there with a mighty fleet meditating the conquest of the Hebrides, then possessed by the Norwegians.

Opposite to this island, in Lorn, is the bay of Oban, where are the custom-house and post-office.

On a great rock within land, precipitous on three sides, is the castle of Dunolly, once the residence of the chieftains of Lorn.

Continue our course; and, passing with difficulty through a very narrow found, formed by the Ilan Beach and the main land, arrive in a fine bay. Anchor under the antient castle of Dun-staffage, or Stephen's Mount; and instantly receive, and accept, a most polite invitation from the owner, Mr. Campbel.

This castle is fabled to have been founded by Ewin, a Pictish monarch, cotemporary with Julius Cæsar, naming it after himself Evonium. In fact, the founder is unknown, but it is certainly of great antiquity, and the first seat of the Pictish and Scottish princes. In this place was long preserved the famous stone, the Palladium of North Britain; brought, says Legend, out of Spain, where it was first used as a seat of justice by Gethalus, coeval with Moses. It continued here as the coronation-chair till the reign of Kenneth the Second, who removed it to Scone, in order to secure his reign; for, according to the inscription,

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum  
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Mr. Campbel shewed to me a very pretty little ivory image, found in a ruinous part of the castle, that was certainly cut in memory of this chair, and appears to have been an inauguration sculpture. A crowned monarch is represented sitting in it, with a book in one hand, containing the laws of the land, which he was swearing to observe. They never took the oath by kissing the Bible, but by holding up the right hand ‡.

\* Guthrie, iv. 68.

† Rymer's Fœd. ix. 487.

‡ Anonymous Correspondent, dating Gray's Inn, Nov. 28th, 1780.



The castle is square; the inside only eighty-seven feet, partly ruinous, partly habitable. At three of the corners are round towers, one of them projects very little. The entrance is towards the sea at present by a stair-case, in old times probably by a draw-bridge, which fell from a little gateway. The masonry appears very ancient, the tops battlemented. This pile is seated on a rock, whose sides have been pared to render it precipitous, and to make it conform to the shape of the castle.

In 1307 this castle was possessed by Alexander Macdougall, Lord of Argyle, a friend to the English; but was that year reduced by Robert Bruce, when Macdougall sued for peace with that prince, and was received into favour\*.

I find, about the year 1455, this to have been a residence of the Lord of the Isles; for here James last Earl of Douglas, after his defeat in Annandale†, fled to Donald the Regulus of the time, and prevailed on him to take arms, and carry on a plundering war against his monarch James the Second.

At a small distance from the castle is a ruined chapel, once an elegant building, and at one end an inclosure, a family cemetery, built in 1740. Opposite to these is a high precipice, ending abrupt, and turning suddenly toward the south-east. A person concealed in the recess of the rock, a little beyond the angle, surprises friends stationed at some distance beneath the precipice, with a very remarkable echo of any word, or even sentence he pronounces, which reaches the last distinct and unbroken. The repetition is single, but remarkably clear.

Aug. 10. After breakfast ride along the edge of a beautiful bay, with the borders fertile in spots. The bear almost ripe. Cross a ferry at Connel, or Connelhuil, or the raging flood, from a furious cataract of salt-water at the ebb of spring tides. This place is the discharge of the waters of Loch-etive into the sea, where it suddenly contracts to a small breadth; and immediately above, certain rocks jut out, which more immediately direct the vast pent up waters to this little strait, where they gush out with amazing violence, and form a fall of near ten feet.

Loch-etive runs far up the country, and receives the waters of Loch-aw at Bunaw. Here is at times a considerable salmon fishery, but at present very poor. See at a distance, on the northern bank, the site of Ard-chattan, a priory of monks of Vallis Caulium, founded, A. D. 1250, by Duncan Mac-coul, ancestor of the Macdougalls of Lorn. Here Robert Bruce is said to have held a parliament, but more probably a council; for he remained long master of this country before he got entire possession of Scotland.

A mile from Connel, near the shore, is Dun-Mac-Sniochain, the ancient Beregonium, Borogomum. The foundation of this city, as it is called, is attributed by apocryphal history to Fergus II. and was called the chief in Scotland for many ages: it was at best such a city as Cæsar found in our island at the time of his invasion; an oppidum, or fortified town, placed in a thick wood, surrounded with a rampart and foss, a place of retreat from invaders‡. Along the top of the beach is a raised mound, the defence against a sudden landing. This, from the idea of here having been a city, is styled, Straid-a-mhargai, or market-street; within this are two rude erect columns, about six feet high, and nine and a half in girth, behind these a peat-moss, on one side a range of low hills, at whose nearest extremity is an entrenchment called Dun-valirè. On the western side of the morass is an oblong insulated hill, on whose summit, the country-people say there had been seven towers, I could only perceive three or four excavations of no certain form, and a dike around them.

\* Barbour.

† Lives of the Douglasses, 203.

‡ De Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 21.



In most parts of the hill are dug up great quantities of different sorts of pumices, or scoria of different kinds: of them one is the *pumex cinerarius*; the other the *P. molaris* of Linnæus; the last very much resembling some that Mr. Banks favoured me with from the island of Iceland. The hill is doubtless the work of a volcano, of which this is not the only vestige in North Britain.

Ride on a fine road to Ard-muchnage, the seat of the late Sir Duncan Campbell; a very handsome house, and well finished. Sir Duncan, at the age of forty, began to plant, and lived to see the extensive plantations in his garden, and on the picturesque hills round his lands, arrive to perfection. The country about rises into a lofty but narrow eminence, now finely wooded, extending in a curvature, forming one side of an enchanting bay, the other impending over the sea.

On my return observe, near the hill of the seven towers, a druidical circle, formed of round stones placed close together. The area is twenty-six feet in diameter; and about ten feet distant from the outside is an erect pillar seven feet high. At such stones as these, my learned friend, the late Dr. William Borlase\*, remarks, might have stood the officers of the high priest, to command silence among the people, or some inferior person versed in the ceremonies, to observe that none were omitted, by warning the officiating priest, in case any escaped his memory.

Return, and lie on board.

August 11. Weigh anchor at six o'clock in the morning. Sail by the back of Loch-nel hill, forming a most beautiful crescent, partly cultivated, partly covered with wood to the summit. Land near the north end of the isle of Lismore, which is about nine miles long, one and a half broad, and contains about fifteen hundred inhabitants†. It derives its name from Liosmor; or the great garden; but tradition says it was originally a great deer forest; and as a proof, multitudes of stag horns of uncommon sizes are perpetually dug up in the mosses. At present there is scarce any wood; but the lesser vegetables grow with uncommon vigour. The chief produce of the land is bear and oats: the first is raised in great quantity, but abused by being distilled into whisky. The crops of oats are generally applied to the payment of rent; so that the inhabitants are obliged for their subsistence annually to import much meal.

The ground has in most parts the appearance of great fertility, but is extremely ill-managed, and much impoverished by excess of tillage, and neglect of manure. Pit and rock marle are found here. The whole isle lies on a lime-stone rock, which in many places peeps above ground, forming long series of low sharp ridges. No use can be made of this as a manure for want of fuel to burn it. The peat here is very bad, being mixed with earth; it must first be trampled with the feet into a consistence; is then formed into small flat cakes, and must afterwards be exposed on the ground to dry.

About a hundred head of cattle are annually exported, which are at present remarkably small: they seem to have degenerated, for I saw at Ard-muchnage the skull of an ox dug up in this island, that was of much larger dimensions than any now living in Great Britain.

Horses are in this island very short-lived: they are used when about two or three years old; and are observed soon to lose all their teeth. Both they and the cows are housed during winter, and fed on straw.

Otters are found here; but neither foxes, hares, nor rats. Mice are plentiful, and very destructive.

There are three small lakes: two abound with fine trout; the third only with eels. Variety of the duck kind frequent these waters during winter.

\* Antiq. Cornwall.

† Or between 900 and 1000 examinable persons.



Walk up to a Danish fort : at present the height is seventeen feet ; within the wall is a gallery, and round the area a feat, as in that described in Ilay.

Visit the church, now a mean modern building. In the church-yard are two or three old tombs, with clymores engraven on them : here is also a remarkable tomb, consisting of nothing more than a thick log of oak. This substitute for a grave-stone must have been in this country of great antiquity, there being no word in the Erse language to express the last, it not being styled *leicbd lithidb*, a grave stone, but *darag lithidb*, or a grave log. On a live rock are cut the radii of a dial, but the index is lost. On another rock is a small excavated basin, perhaps one of the rock basins of Dr. Borlase, in times of druidism used for religious purposes.

This island had been the site of the bishop of Argyle : the see was disjoined from that of Dunkeld about the year 1200, at the request of John the Englishman bishop of that diocese. There are no reliques of the cathedral or the bishop's house, whose residence was supposed to have been latterly in the castle of Achanduin, on the west side of the isle, opposite to Duart in Mull.

The inhabitants in general are poor, are much troubled with sore eyes, and in the spring are afflicted with a costiveness that often proves fatal. At that season all their provisions are generally consumed, and they are forced to live on sheeps' milk boiled, to which the distemper is attributed.

The isle of Lismore forms but a small part of the parish : the extent is not to be comprehended by an Englishman. From the point of Lismore to the extremity of Kinlochbeg is forty-two computed miles, besides nine in Kingerloch. It comprehends this isle, Appin Duror, Glenco, Glencreran, and Kingerloch, and contains three thousand examinable persons, under the care of one minister and two missionaries.

Get on board, and have in mid-channel a most delightful view : the woods of Loch-nell ; the house of Airds ; beyond is the castle of Ellenstalker, seated in a little isle ; the country of Appin ; the vast mountains of Lochaber ; Dunolly, Lismore, and various other isles of grotesque appearance \*. To the south appear the Slate islands, Scarba, Jura, and Ilay ; and to the west, Oransey and Colonsay.

Sail between Inch and the Maire isles, leaving the noted Slate island of Eusdale to the east, and close to it Suil and Luig, chiefly the property of the Earl of Breadalbane : within these are the harbours of Eusdale, of Cuain, between Luig and Suil ; Bardrise, off Luig ; and below is that of Black-muil bay.

Opposite to Luig, on the west, is a groupe of rough little isles, of which Plada and Belna-hua are productive of slate. In the broad basin between these and Luig is a most rippling tide ; even in this calm forces us along with vast celerity and violence : the whole surface disordered with eddies and whirlpools, rising first with furious boilings, driving and vanishing with the current. Anchor under the east side, beneath the vast mountain of Scarba, an island of great height, about five miles long, chiefly covered with heath ; but on this side are some woods, and marks of cultivation. Mr. Maclean lives on this side, and favours us with a visit, and offers his service to shew us the celebrated gulph of Corry-vreck in ; which we did not wait till morning to see, as our expectations were raised to the highest pitch, and we thought of nothing less than that it would prove a second Malstrom. We accordingly took a most fatiguing walk up the mountain, through heath of an uncommon height, swarming with grouse. We arrived in an ill hour, for the tide did not suit, and we saw little more than a very strong current.

\* Among them that of Durisfaire.



August 12. This morning we take boat, and after rowing two miles, land and walk along the rocks till we reach a fit place for surveying this phenomenon. The channel between this isle and Jura is about a mile broad, exposed to the weight of the Atlantic, which pours in its waters here with great force, their course being directed and confined by the sound between Colonsay and Mull. The tide had at this time made two hours flood, and ran with a furious current, great boilings, attended with much foam \*, and in many places formed considerable whirlpools. On the side of Jura the current dashes, as is reasonable to suppose, against some sunk rocks. It forms there a most dreadful back-tide, which in tempests catches up the vessels that the whirlpools fling into it; so that almost certain destruction attends those that are so unfortunate as to be forced in at those seasons. It was our ill-luck to see it in a very pacific state, and passable without the least hazard.

The chief whirlpool lies on the Scarba side, near the west end. Here, as that skilful pilot Mr. Murdock Mackenzie assured me, it is of various depths, viz. 36, 47, 83 and 91 fathoms, and at some places unfathomable: the transitions sudden, from the lesser to the greater depths: the bottom all sharp rocks with vast chasms between; and a fathomless one where the greatest vortex lies, from which, to the eastern end of Scarba, close to shore, the depth are 13, 9, 12.

There is another whirlpool off a little isle on the west end of Jura, which contributes to the horrors of the place. In great storms the tides run at the rate of fifteen miles an hour; the height of the boilings are said to be dreadful, and the whole rage of the waters unspeakable. It is not therefore wonderful that there should have been here a chapel of the Virgin, whose assistance was often invoked, for my historian † says, that she worked numbers of miracles, doubtlessly in favour of distressed mariners.

Scarba contains forty inhabitants. Mr. Mac-leane, the proprietor, resides here. When he favoured us with his company, he came with two of his sons and their tutor; for in North Britain there is no gentleman of ever so small an estate, but strictly attends to the education of his children, as the sure foundation of their future fortune. A person properly qualified and easily procured at a cheap rate attends in the family, where the father sees that justice is done to them, at far less expence than if he sent them to distant schools.

Leave Scarba; pass between Nether-Lorn and the isles of Luining and Suil to the east, and of Toracy and Shuna to the west, all inhabited, and the first almost covered with excellent corn. In Toracy is an ancient tower once belonging to the great Mac-donald, who made it his half-way hunting seat in his progress from Cantyre to his northern isles; for which reason it was called Dog castle; and here he made it a most laudable rule to reside till he had spent the whole of his revenue collected in the neighbourhood. According to the report ‡, these isles and part of the neighbouring mainland form a parish, whose church is in Suil.

Take boat; turn at the point of Suil, am carried by a rapid tide through the gut of Cuan; visit Eusdale, the noted slate island, whose length is about half a mile, and composed entirely of slate, intersected, and in some parts covered, with whin-stone, to the thickness of sixteen feet: the stratum of slate is thirty-six, dipping quick south-east to north-west. In order to be raised, it is at first blasted with powder; the greater pieces are then divided, carried off in wheel-barrows, and lastly split into the merchantable

\* From its varied colours it is called Coire-bhreacain, or the spotted or plaided cauldron.

† Fordun, lib. 11. c. 10.

‡ Made by the gentleman sent, in 1760, by order of the General Assembly, to inspect the state of religion in the islands, &c. MS.



sizes, from eighteen by fourteen inches, to nine by six, and put on board at the price of twenty shillings per thousand. About two millions and a half are sold annually to England, Norway, Canada, and the West Indies. In the slates are multitudes of cubic *pyritæ*. In one place, about sixteen feet above high-water-mark, just over the slates, is a thick bed of small fragments, worn smooth, as if by the action of the waves, and mixed with them are multitudes of the common sea shells; a proof of the vast retreat of the ocean in these parts.

There are many other good slate quarries in this neighbourhood, as on the isles of Suil, Luing, Balna-hua, and Kerrera, and some few opposite to them on the coast of Nether-Lorn.

The boat takes us the length of the western side of Suil. At the north point, turn into Clachan Firth, the narrowest strait I ever was in, dividing that island from Lorn, in parts so contracted as would admit the flinging an arch from shore to shore. The depth is very various: in some parts fifty fathoms; in others so shallow as to be fordable at the ebb of spring-tides. On the banks of the island and mainland, the strata of stone rise in form of walls, of a great height, and not above two feet and a half thick, extending far, so as easily to be mistaken for the bounds of an inclosure.

Arrived in the beautiful bay of Ard-maddie, or the height of the wolves. A house small, but elegant, stands in front, and the sides of the bay high, entirely clothed with wood. Here I find the kindest welcome from my worthy acquaintance, Captain Archibald Campbell, tenant here to the Earl of Breadalbane, who, with the utmost friendship, during the voyage charged himself with the care of my groom and my horses. Here I also took leave of Mr. Archibald Thompson, whose attention to the objects of my enquiries, obliging conduct throughout, and skill in his profession, demand my warmest acknowledgments. Thus ended this voyage of amusement, successful and satisfactory in every part, unless where embittered with reflections on the sufferings of my fellow-creatures. Gratitude forbids my silence respecting the kind reception I universally met with; or the active zeal of every one to facilitate my pursuits; or the liberal communication of every species of information, useful or entertaining.

I retired to my chamber, filled with reflections on the various events of my voyage; and every scene by turns presented itself before my imagination. As soon as my eyes were closed, I discovered that "the slumber of the body was but the waking of the soul\*." All I had seen appeared to have been dull and clouded to my apprehension, serving to evince "that our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleep†." I imagined myself again gently wafted down the sound of Mull, bounded on each side by the former dominions of mighty chieftains, or of heroes immortalized in the verse of Ossian. My busy fancy was worked into a species of enthusiasm, and for a time it

Bodied forth

The forms of things unknown;

Turned them to shape, and gave to airy nothing

A local habitation and a name.

A figure, dressed in the garb of an ancient warrior, floated in the air before me: his target and his clymore seemed of no common size, and spoke the former strength of the hero. A graceful vigour was apparent in his countenance, notwithstanding time had robbed him of part of his locks, and given to the remainder a venerable hoariness. As soon as he had fixed my attention, he thus seemed to address himself to me:

\* Brown's Religio Medici.

† Ibid.



“ Stranger, thy purpose is not unknown to me ; I have attended thee (invisible) in all thy voyage ; have sympathised with thee in the rising tear at the misery of my once-loved country ; and sighs, such as a spirit can emit, have been faithful echoes to those of thy corporeal frame.

“ Know, that in the days of my existence on earth I possessed an ample portion of the tract thou seest to the north. I was the dread of the neighbouring chieftains ; the delight of my people, their protector, their friend, their father : no injury they ever received passed unrevenged ; for no one excelled me in conferring benefits on my clan, or in repaying insults on their enemies. A thousand of my kindred followed me in arms, wheresoever I commanded. Their obedience was to me implicit, for my word was to them a law ; my name the most sacred of oaths. I was (for nothing now can be concealed) fierce, arrogant, despotic, irritable : my passions were strong, my anger tremendous ; yet I had the arts of conciliating the affections of my people, and was the darling of a numerous brave. They knew the love I bore them : they saw, on a thousand occasions, the strongest proofs of my affection. In the day of battle I have covered the weak with my shield, and laid at my feet their hostile antagonists. The too grateful vassal, in return, in the next conflict, has sprung before me, and received in his own bosom the shaft that has been levelled at mine. In retreats from over-powering numbers, I was ever last in the field. I alone have kept the enemy at bay, and purchased safety for my people with a hundred wounds.

“ In the short intervals of peace my hall was filled with my friends and kindred : my hospitality was equal to my deeds of arms ; and hecatombs of beeves and deer covered my rude but welcome tables. My nearest relations sat next to me, and then succeeded the bravest of my clan ; and below them, the emulous youth leaned forward to hear the gallant recital of our past actions. Our bards rehearsed the valiant deeds of our great ancestors, and inflamed our valour by the sublimity of their verse, accompanied with the inspiring sound of the ear-piercing peebirechts.

“ The crowds of people that attended at an humble distance partook of my bounty : their families were my care ; for I beheld in their boys a future support of the greatness of my house, an hereditary race of warriors.

“ My numerous kindred lived on lands the gift of my distant progenitors, who took care to plant their children near the main stock : the cions took firm root, and proved in after-times a grateful shelter to the parent tree, against the fury of the severest storms. These I considered, not as mercenary tenants, but as the friends of good and of adverse fortune. Their tenures were easy, their *duchas* \* inviolate : I found my interest interwoven with theirs. In support of our mutual welfare, they were enabled to keep a becoming hospitality. They cherished their neighbouring dependents ; and could receive my visits in turn with a well-covered board.

“ Strong fidelity and warm friendship reigned among us ; disturbed perhaps by the momentary gusts of my passions : the sun that warmed them might experience a short obscurity ; but the cloud soon passed away, and the beams of love returned with improved advantage. I lived beloved and revered : I attained the fulness of years and of glory ; and finished my course, attended to my grave with the full *coranich* of my lamenting people.

“ My progeny for a time supported the great and wild magnificence of the feudal reign. Their distance from court unfortunately prevented them from knowing that

\* From *dulhaich*, native country. They held their farms at a small rent, from father to son, by a kind of prescribed right, which the Highlanders called *duchas*. This tenure, in the feudal times, was esteemed sacred and inviolable.



they had a superior; and their ideas of loyalty were regulated only by the respect or attention paid to their fancied independency. Their vassals were happy or miserable, according to the disposition of the little monarch of the time. Two centuries, from my days, had elapsed before their greatness knew its final period. The shackles of the feudal government were at length struck off, and possibly happiness was announced to the meanest vassal. The target, the dirk, and the clymore, too long abused, were wrested from our hands, and we were bid to learn the arts of peace, to spread the net, to shoot the shuttle, or to cultivate the ground.

“The mighty chieftains, the brave and disinterested heroes of old times, by a most violent and surprising transformation, at once sunk into rapacious landlords; determined to compensate the loss of power with the increase of revenue; to exchange the warm affections of their people for sordid trash. Their visits, to those of their forefathers, are like the surveys of a cruel land-jobber; attended by a set of quick-sighted vultures, skilled in pointing out the most exquisite methods of oppression, or to instruct them in the art of exhausting their purses of sums to be wasted in distant lands. Like the task-masters of Egypt, they require them to make brick without straw. They leave them in their primæval poverty, uninstructed in any art for their future support; deprived of the wonted resources of the hospitality of their lord, or the plentiful boards of his numerous friends. They experience an instantaneous desertion; are flung at once into a new state of life, and demand the fostering hand as much as the most infant colony. When I hover over our vales, I see the same nakedness exist, the same misery in habitation, the same idle disposition. Would I could have seen the same spirit and vigour as in days of yore! But the powers of their souls are sunk with oppression, and those of their bodies lost with want. They look up in despair at our deserted castles; and, worn out with famine and disease, drop into an unnoticed grave.

“The ties of affection amongst relations are now no more; no distinction is at present made betwixt proximity of blood and the most distant stranger. Interest alone creates the preference of man to man. The thousands that with joy expected the return of their chieftain, now retire with sullen grief into their cottages; or, in little groups, express their rage in curses both loud and deep. No vassal now springs to receive the weapon levelled at the breast of the lord, but rather wishes to plant his own in the bosom of the oppressor.

“The ancient native, full of the idea of the manly look of the warriors and friends of his youth, is lost in admiration at the degenerate progeny: feature and habit are changed; the one effeminated, the other become ridiculous by adopting the idle fashions of foreign climes: lost to the love of their country! lost to all the sweet affections of patriarchal life! What then, may I say, are the fruits of your travels? What arts have you brought home, that will serve to bring subsistence to your people? To recompence them for your drafted revenues? What to clothe the naked? To feed the hungry? To furnish them with more comfortable protection from the inclemency of the weather? They require no great matters; a small portion of raiment, a little meal. With sad comparison they learn, that chieftains still exist, who make their people their care; and with envy they hear of the improving state of the vassals of an Argyle, an Athol, a Breadalbane, and a Bute.

“Return to your country: inform them with your presence; restore them to the laudable part of the ancient manners; eradicate the bad. Bring them instructors, and they would learn. Teach them arts adapted to their climate; they would brave the fury of our seas in fishing. Send them materials for the coarser manufactures; they would with patience sit down to the loom; they would weave the sails to waft your navies



navies to victory; and part of them rejoice to share the glory in the most distant combats. Select a portion of them for the toils of the ocean: make your levies, enroll them; discipline them under able veterans, and send annually to our ports the smaller vessels of your tremendous navy. Trust them with swords, and a small retaining pay. If you have doubts, establish a *place d'armes*, in vacant times, the deposit of their weapons, under proper garrison. They would submit to any restrictions; and think no restraints, founded on the safety of the whole, an infringement of liberty, or an invasion of property. Legislature has given them their manumission; and they no longer consider themselves as part of the live stock of their chieftain. Draft them to distant climes, and they will sacrifice their lives in the just cause of government with as much zeal as their fore-fathers did under the lawless direction of my valiant ancestors. Limit only the time of their warfare; sweeten it only with the hopes of a return to their native country, and they will become willing substitutes for their Southern brethren. Occupied in the soft arts of peace, those should extend your manufactures; and these would defend your commerce. Persuade their governors to experience their zeal; and let courtly favour rise and fall with their actions. Have not thousands in the late war proved their sincerity? Have not thousands expiated with their blood the folly of rebellion, and the crimes of their parents?

"If you will totally neglect them; if you will not reside among them; if you will not, by your example, instruct them in the science of rural œconomy, nor cause them to be taught the useful arts: if you cannot obtain leave for them to devote themselves to the service of their country, by deeds of arms; do not at least drive them to despair, by oppression: do not force them into a distant land, and necessitate them to seek tranquillity by a measure which was once deemed the punishment of the most atrocious criminals. Do not be guilty of treason against your country, by depriving it of multitudes of useful members, whose defence it may too soon want, against our natural enemies. Do not create a new species of disaffection; and let it not receive a more exalted venom, in a continent replete with the most dangerous kind. Extremes of change are always the worst. How dreadful will be the once-existent folly of Jacobitism, transformed into the accursed spirit of political libertinism!

"Leave them (if you will do no more) but the bare power of existence in their native country, and they will not envy you your new luxuries. Waste your hours in the lap of dissipation; resign yourself up to the fascinations of Acrasia; and sport in the bower of bliss. Cover your tables with delicacies, at the expence of your famished clans. Think not of the wretches, at those seasons, least your appetite for the *bors d'œuvres* be palled, and you feel a momentary remorse for death occasioned by ye, ye thoughtless deserters of your people! With all my failings, I exult in innocence of such crimes; and felicitate myself on my aerial state, capable of withdrawing from the sight of miseries I cannot alleviate, and of oppressions I cannot prevent."

#### ITINERARY.

	Miles.		Miles.
DOWNING, to		Ulverstone,	6
Lancaster *,	95	Whitrig iron-mines, and back to	
Hefs-Bank,	4	Ulverstone,	8
Cartmel sands,	11	Hawkhead,	16
Cartmel,	3	Graithwaite,	5

\* Vide Itinerary of Tour, 1769.

Boulnefs,



# PENNANT'S SECOND TOUR IN SCOTLAND.

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	Miles.		Miles.
Boulnefs,	4	Allanby,	5
Ambleside,	7	Wigton,	11
Kefwick 16, Ormathwaite 2,	18	Carlisle,	10
Cockermouth (by Bridekirk)	15	Warwick, Corbie, and back to	
Whitehaven,	13	Carlisle,	12
Workington,	8	Netherby,	12
Mary-port,	7	Langholme, and back to Netherby,	

## SCOTLAND.

	Miles.		Miles.
Annan,	14	Douglas,	12
Ruthwel, and back to Annan,	12	Lanerk,	8
Spring-keld,	7	Hamilton,	14
Burnfwork-hill,	4	Glasgow,	12
Hoddam 3, Murraythwaite 1,	4	Greenock, and back to Glasgow,	44
Comlongan,	4	Cruickston-castle,	4
Caerlaveroc,	6	Paisley 2, Renfrew 2, Glasgow 5,	9
Dumfries,	8	Drummond,	17
Lincluden, and back to Dumfries,	3	Loch-Lomond,	4
Drumlanrig,		Buchannan,	3
Morton-cattle 4, Durisdeer 2,		Glasgow,	20
Drumlanrig 3,	9	Greenock, by land,	21
Lead-hills,	13		

## VOYAGE.

	Miles.		Miles.
Mount Stuart, in the isle of Bute,	16	Port Freebairn, in the isle of Ilay,	7
Cil-chattan hill,	5	Brorarag,	3
Kingarth manse 2, Rothesay 5,	7	Killarow,	9
St. Ninian's-Point,	3½	Sunderland,	9
Inch-Marnóc,	1½	Sanneg cove, and back to Sunder-	
Loch-Tarbat,	12	land,	10
Loch-Ranza,	14	Fort Free-bairn,	18
Brodic-castle,	12	Oranfay,	15
Fin-mac-cuil's cave, and back to		Killoran, in Colonfay,	9
Brodic,	22	Port Olamfay,	1
Kirk-michel, Dunfion, and again		Jona,	18
to Brodic,	10	Cannay,	63
Lamlash ifle,	6	Loch-Sgriofart, in Rum,	12
Craig of Ailfa,	24	Point of Slate, in Skie,	18
Campbeltown,	22	Mac-kinnon's castle,	24
Kilkerran caves, and back,	6	Sconfer,	10
Bar,	12	Talyfskir,	18
Gigha ifle,	0	Loch-Bracadale,	4
Small ifles of Jura,	15	Crofs the loch,	4
Ardfin,	4	Dunvegan,	6
Paps of Jura,	10	Kingfburgh,	12



	Miles.		Miles.
Dun-Tuilm,	15	Ard-na-murchan point,	40
Loch-Broom,	51	Tobir-moire bay, in Mull,	9
Little Loch Broom,	15	Aros,	8
Dundonnell,	3	Castle-Duart,	12
Loch-maree, the East end,	18	Dunstaffage,	10
Loch-maree, the West end,	18	Beregonium,	4
Pol-ewe, 1, Gairloch, 6,	7	Ard-muchnage,	2
Mac-innon's castle,	42	Dunstaffage,	6
Glen-elg,	9	Lismore,	4
Glen-beg, and back to Glen-elg,	6	Scarba,	18
Loch-Jurn, extremity of,	24	Ardmaddie,	12
Arnisdale,	10	Circuit round Suil, &c.	15
Isle Oransay,	12		

### A TOUR IN SCOTLAND, &c.—PART II.

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS second part brings my journeys of 1769 and 1772 to a conclusion. I beg leave to return thanks to the several gentlemen who gave themselves the trouble of supplying me with materials, and with variety of remarks and strictures that have served to correct the many mistakes I may have committed. I hold myself peculiarly indebted to

——— Frazer, Esq. of Inverness;  
 The Rev. Mr. Mac-intyre, of Glenurchie;  
 The Rev. Dr. Ferguson, of Mouline;  
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 The Rev. Mr. Duff, of Tibbirmoor;  
 The Rev. Mr. Scott, of Meigle;  
 John Haliburton, Esq. of Dundee;  
 The Rev. Mr. Bell, of Aberbrothick;  
 Patrick Scott, Esq. of Rossie;  
 Mr. Alexander Christie, late Provost of Montrose;  
 Robert Barclay, Esq. of Urie;  
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 George Skene, Esq. of Careston;  
 Mr. James Gillies, of Brechin;  
 George Chalmers, Esq. of Dumferline;

and superlatively to

Mr. George Allan, of Darlington.

I must



I must apologize to the public for so hastily passing over two places of which ampler accounts might have been expected. I have lived so long in Chester that a more minute history of it ought to have been given; but after all, it would have seemed trivial, on the appearance of the labours of the Rev. Dr. Foot Gower, which the Public has very long expected. I shall rejoice on a future occasion to have opportunity of drawing from so rich a magazine, a variety of materials for a farther elucidation of the respectable capital of so respectable a county.

I wish I could assign as good a reason for my worse than neglect of the venerable Lincoln. When I passed through it in 1769, I must have been planet-struck, not to have observed the amazing beauties of the external as well as internal architecture of the cathedral. I could not stifle my remorse. Last year I hastened thither; and with all signs of contrition, made the *amende honorable* before the great door. I trust that my penitence was accepted by the whole chapter. A recantation of the little respect I payed to its external elegance will be a subject of a future volume, a Tour through the eastern parts of the Mercian kingdom.

Downing, March, 1, 1776.

THOMAS PENNANT.

For numbers of corrections in the present edition I am obliged to friendly strictures I received from Sir David Dalrymple, Baronet, of Hails.

T. P.

Downing, Dec. 26, 1790.

## PART II.

AUGUST 15. Pass this day at Ard maddie. The house commands a beautiful view of the bay, and the isle of Suil, where the parish church and the manse of the minister of the parish are placed, accessible at all times, by reason of the narrowness of the channel of Clachan. This tract is hilly, finely wooded near the house, and on the adjacent part of the shore; contains about eleven hundred examinable persons, and abounds with cattle. A quarry of white marble, veined with dull red, is found on the west side of the bay.

This parish lies in Nether-Lorn, a district of the vast county of Argyle. These divisions (for there are three Lorns) were, in the time of Robert Bruce, possessed by the Mac-dougals, opponents of that prince; passed from them to the Stuarts; but in the fifteenth century were transferred\* into the family of the Campbells, by the marriages of three co-heiresses, daughters of the last Stuart, Lord of Lorn. Sir Colin of Glenurchie, surnamed the black, took to his share Isabel the eldest; disposed of the second to his half brother Archibald; and reserved for his nephew (Colin, first Earl of Argyle, then under his guardianship) the youngest Marrate Na Nhagh, or Margaret the Rhymer.

This county was part of the ancient Ergadia, or Jarghael, or land of the western Caledonians, which extended as far as Gairloch, in the shire of Ross. It formed part of the dominions of the old Scots, whose kingdom reached from the Firth of Clyde, along the whole coast, even as far as Dungsby head in Caithness†.

August 14. Leave Arn-maddie. Ride along a fine road, for some time by the side of an arm of the sea, called, from the plenty of shells, Loch-fuchan. Go by a

\* MS. Hist. of the Campbells.

† Doctor Macpherson, 334.



heap of stones, called Cairn-Alpine, because from hence the bodies of the Alpiades, or successors of that monarch, were embarked for interment in the sacred ground of Jona. After quitting this loch arrive in a barren tract of black heathy land, enlivened now and then with some pretty lakes. Reach the banks of Loch-Aw, where that fine water is contracted to the breadth of about three quarters of a mile. Am wafted over in a horse boat; land on a spot styled Port-fonnachan, and after about ten miles riding, pass between hills, finely planted with several sorts of trees, such as Weymouth pines, &c. and reach the town and castle of Inveraray\*, seated on a small but beautiful plain, of the side of Loch-Fine. This had long been the seat of the Campbells. It was inhabited about the latter end of the fourteenth century by Colin, furnished Jongallach, or the Wonderful, on account of his marvellous exploits; and, I may add, his odd whims: among which, and not the least, may be reckoned the burning of his house at Inveraray on receiving a visit from the O'Neiles of Ireland, that he might have pretence to entertain his illustrious guests in his magnificent field equipage. The great tower, which was standing till very lately, was built by the black Sir Colin, for his nephew, the first Earl of Argyle, at that time a minor†. I do not discover any date to ascertain the time of its foundation, any further than that it was prior to the year 1480, the time of Sir Colin's death. The power of the family, and the difficult approach to the place, preserved it from the insult of enemies, excepting in two instances: in December, 1644, amidst the snows of this severe climate, the enterprising Montrose poured down his troops on Inveraray, through ways its chieftain thought impervious. The Marquis of Argyle made his escape in a little fishing boat, and left his people to the merciless weapons of the invaders, who for a twelvemonth carried fire and sword through the whole Campbell race, retaliating, as is pleaded‡, the similar barbarities of its leader.

After the unfortunate expedition of his son, in 1685, this place and people experienced a fresh calamity: another clan, deputed by the government to carry destruction throughout the name, was let slip, armed with the dreadful writ of fire and sword, to act at discretion among an unhappy people; seventeen gentlemen of the name were instantly executed. On the spot is erected a column, with an inscription, commemorating, with a moderation that does honour to the writer, the justice of the cause in which his relation fell.

In 1715, Archibald, Duke of Argyle, then Earl of Ilay, collected a few troops in this place, in order to prevent the rebels from becoming masters of so important a pass, through which they might have led their forces to Glasgow, and from thence into the north of England. General Gordon approached within a small distance, reconnoitred it, and actually cut fascines to make the attack; but was deterred from it by the determined appearance of the garrison.

The figure of the magnificent bridge over the Aray is engraved by Mr. Pennant. That fine structure, built at the expence of government, and destroyed by the violent autumnal flood of this year.

The portraits in the castle are few; of them two only merit notice. The first is a head of the Marquis of Argyle, his hair short, his dress black, with a plain white turnover. A distinguished person during the reign of Charles I. and the consequent usurpation. A man, as his own father styled him, of craft and subtilty. In his heart no friend to the royal cause, temporizing according to the complexion of the times; yielding an

\* In Gallic, Inner aoro.

† In the quarto edition of the Tour, 1769, is a print, supposed to be that of the old castle, copied from one inscribed with its name; but the Gordons claim it as a view of Castle-Gordon, the seat of their chieftains.

‡ Montrose's Wars, p. 43.



heartly but secret concurrence with the disaffected powers, and extending a feigned and timid aid to the shackled royalty of Charles II. when he entrusted himself to his northern subjects, in 1650. At all times providing pleas of merit with both parties, apparently sincere with the usurpers only. With them he took an active part \* during their plenitude of power, yet at first claimed only protection, freedom, and payment of his debts due from the English parliament †. His interest seems to have been constantly in view. While Charles was in his hands he received from that penetrating prince a promissory note for great honours and great emoluments ‡. He is charged with encouraging his people in various acts of murder and cruelty §; but the provocations he had received by the horrible ravages of Montrose, may perhaps extenuate retaliation on such of his neighbours, who, for any thing that appears, partook of the excesses. He is charged also with possessing himself of the estates of those who were put to death by his authority; a charge not repelled in his fine defence on his trial. His generosity in declining to take an open part in the prosecution of his arch enemy Montrose, would have done him great honour, had he not meanly placed himself in a window, to see the fallen hero pass in a cart to receive judgment ||. On the restoration, he fell a victim to his manes. It was intended that he should undergo the same ignominious death, which was afterwards changed to that of beheading. "I could, (says he,) die like a Roman, but I choose rather to die like a Christian." He fell with heroism; in his last moments with truth exculpating himself from having any concern in the murder of his Royal Master; calming his conscience with the opinion, that his criminal compliances were but the epidemic disease and fault of the times. His guilt of treason was indisputable; but the act of grace in 1641, and the other in 1651, ought to have been his securities from a capital punishment.

Here is also a head of his son, the Earl of Argyle, a steady, virtuous, but unfortunate character. Firm to his trust through all the misfortunes of his Royal Master, Charles I. Was appointed colonel of his guards in 1650, but scorned to receive his commission from the tyrannical states of his country, and insisted on receiving it from his Majesty alone. Neither the defeats at Dunbar, or at Worcester abated his zeal for the desperate cause; he betook himself to the Highlands, and for a long time resisted the usurping powers, notwithstanding he was cast off, and his adherents declared traitors by the zealous Marquis, his father ¶. Suffered, after his submission to the irresistible tyranny of the times, a long imprisonment. His release, at the restoration, subjected him but to fresh troubles: ingratitude seems to have been the first return to his services. A bare recital of his success with the King, in repelling certain injuries done him, was entitled Leasing-making, or creating dissensions between his Majesty and his subjects. For this, by the Scottish law, he was condemned to lose his head: a sentence too unjust to be permitted to be put into execution. After a long imprisonment, was restored to favour, to his fortune, and to the title of Earl. In all his actions he preserved a patriotic, yet loyal moderation; but in 1681, delivering in an explanation of an oath he was to take, as a test not to attempt any alteration in church or state \*\*, he was again disgraced, tried, and a second time condemned; and the infamous sentence would have been executed, had he not escaped from the power of his enemies. In 1685, in concert with the Duke of Monmouth, he made a fatal attempt to restore the liberties of his country, then invaded by James II. He failed in the design, and was put to death on his former sentence.

\* Whitlocke, 563. 567.

§ State Trials, ii. 417.

\*\* State Trials, iii. 441.

† The same, 529.

|| Cate, iv. 629.

‡ Biogr. Br. ii. 1150. (Edit. 1748.)

¶ Whitlocke, 563.



On the day of execution he eat his dinner, and took his afternoon's nap with his usual composure, falling with a calmness and constancy suitable to the goodness of his life.

Just before he left the prison, his wife, a frugal lady, asked him for the golden buttons he wore in his sleeves, lest the executioner should get them. "Is this a time for such a request?" says the brave Earl. He ascended the scaffold, and then took them out and ordered them to be delivered to his Countess.

A little before his death he composed his epitaph, I think still to be seen in the Greyfriar's church-yard, Edinburgh. The verses are rather to be admired, as they shewed the serenity of his mind at that awful period, than for the smoothness of the numbers; but the Latin translation, by the Rev. Mr. Jamison of Glasgow, cannot but be acceptable to every reader of taste:

Audi, hospes, quicumque venis, tumulumque revisis,  
Et rogatis quali crimine tinctus eram.  
Non me crimen habet, non me malus abstulit error,  
Et vitium nullum, me pepulit patria.  
Solut amor patriæ, verique immensa cupido  
Dissuetas iussit sumere tela manus.  
Opprimor, eni! rediens, vi sola et fraude meorum,  
Hostibus et sævis victima tern- cado  
Sic licet hic noster labor irritus, haud Deus æquus  
Despiciet populum sæcula cuncta suum.  
Namque alius veniet fatis melioribus ortus  
Qui toties ruptum sine beabit opus.  
Sat mihi credo, quamvis ca- ut ense fecetur)  
Hinc petor ætherei lucida templa poli.

Thou, passenger, who shalt have so much time,  
As view my grave, and ask what was my crime:  
No stain of error, no black vices' brand,  
Did me compel to leave my native land.  
Love to my country, truth condemn'd to die,  
Did force my hands forgotten arms to try.  
More from friends' fraud my fall proceeded hath  
Than foes, tho' thrice they did attempt my death.  
On my design tho' Providence did frown,  
Yet God, at last, will surely raise his own.  
Another hand with more successful speed,  
Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent's head.

The fine woods and cascades at Eschossien must not pass unnoticed; nor the fertile tract of corn-land between it and the sea; nor the deer-park, called Beauchamp, with its romantic glens; nor the lake Du-loch, near the foot of Glenshiera, a fresh water, communicating with Loch-fine, which receives into it salmon, sea-trout, flounders, and even herrings, so that the family, during the seasons, find it a never-failing reservoir of fish.

The tunny \* frequents this and several other branches of the sea, on the western coast during the season of herrings, which they pursue: the Scotch call it the Mackerel-sture, or stor, from its enormous size, it being the largest of the genus. One that was taken off Inveraray, when I was there in 1769, weighed between four and five hundred pounds. These fish are taken by a hook, baited with a herring, and, notwithstanding their vast bulk, soon lose their spirit, and tamely submit to their fate. Their capture is not attended to as much as it merits, for they would prove a cheap and wholesome

\* Br. Zool. iii. No. 133. tab. 52.



food to the poor. The few that are caught are cut in pieces, and either sold fresh, or salted in casks. Tunnies are the great support of the convents in the countries that bound the Mediterranean sea, where they swarm at stated seasons, particularly beneath the great promontories of Sicily, the *Thunnoscapia* \* of the ancients, because watchmen were placed on them to observe the motions of the tunnies, and give signals of their approach to the fishermen. In Scotland they arrive only in small herds of five or six, are discovered by their playing near the surface, and by their agility and frequent leaps out of the water. *Tunnies*

In the midst of the Duke's estate, not far from the castle, is a tract of about a hundred a year value, the property of the Earl of Breadalbane †; a gift of a chieftain of this house to an ancestor of his Lordship, in order to maintain the vast train of followers that attended on the great in feudal days: so that, whenever the owner of Taymouth paid his respects to his Lord in Inveraray, the suite might be properly accommodated; the difficulty of supplying so vast an addition to the family with forage might be obviated, and quarrels prevented between two such little armies of retainers.

Aug. 15. Return north, and reach Cladich, a village on the banks of Loch-aw, so named from Eval, heiress of the country about the year 1066, when the name was first changed from that of Loch-cruachan. I have here the pleasure of meeting Mr. Macintyre, minister of Clachan-dyfart, in the beautiful vale of Glenurchie. He conducts me to a cairn, in which had been found the ashes perhaps of some ancient hunter, and the head of a deer, probably buried with them, from the opinion, that the departed spirit might still be delighted with its favourite employ during the union with the body;

*Eadem sequitur tellure repositos.*

The custom of burning the dead was common to the Caledonians as well as the Gauls †. Both were attentive to the security of these poor remains; thought a neglect, impiety, and the violation of them the greatest act of enmity. The Highlanders to this day retain a saying, derived from this very remote custom. If they would express the malice of an enemy, they would tell him that was it in his power "he would wish to see their ashes floating on the water: *Dhurigè tu mo hùath le Uisge.*"

Take boat, and visit Inch-hail, a little isle, on which had been a cell of Cistercians, dependent on Dunkeld. Amidst the ruins of the church are some tombs of rude sculpture; among others, one of a Campbel, of Inveraw, of uncommon workmanship indeed!

Pass under Fraoch Elal, a small but lofty island tufted with trees, with the ruins of a fortress appearing above.

A little higher to the north opens the discharge of the lake; a narrow strait, flanked on each side with woods. From hence, after a turbulent course of three miles, a series of cataracts, the water drops into Loch Etive, an arm of the sea.

On the side of this strait is a military road leading from Dalmalie to Bunaw; and near it is the cave of Mac-Phaidan, a chieftain, who, taking part against his country with Edw. I. was pursued and slain in this retreat by the hero Wallace.

Visit Kilchurn castle, a magnificent pile, now in ruins, seated on a low isle, near the southern border of the lake, whose original name was Elan-keil-guhirn. The fortress was built by Sir Colin Campbel, Lord of Lochow, who died, aged 80, in 1480: others

\* Strabo, lib. v. Oppian. Halieut. lib. iii. 638.

† It has lately been exchanged by Lord Breadalbane, to accommodate the Duke.

‡ Cum mortuis cremant atque desoliant apta viventibus olim, Mela. lib. iii. c. 2.



say, by his lady, during the time of his absence, on an expedition against the infidels, to which he might have been obliged by his profession, being a knight of Rhodes. His successors added greatly to it. Within are some remains of apartments, elegant, and of no great antiquity. The view from it of the rich vale, bounded by vast mountains, is fine; among which Crouachan soars pre-eminently lofty.

This island was probably the original seat of the O'Duimhms, Lords of Lochow, the ancestors of the Campbels, who, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, assumed their present name, on account of the marriage of a Malcolm Mac-Duimhm (who had gone into France in quest of adventures) with the heiress of Bellus Campus, or Beauchamp in Normandy. From those lands Giallaespig, or Archibald, his son, took the name of Campbel, came into England with the Conqueror, and, visiting the country of his ancestors, married Evah, sole daughter of the chieftain; and thus became possessor of the estate of Lochow. This barony, and the land of Ardscondryche, were confirmed by Robert I. to Colin, son of Nigel Campbel, by the tenure of providing for the King's service, whenever it was demanded, a ship of forty oars, completely furnished and manned, and the attendance customary with the other barons of Argyleshire\*.

I must not leave this parish without mentioning a deep circular hollow, in form and of the size of a large cauldron, in a morass near Hamilton's-Pass, on the south side of the lake. There is a tradition that this was one of the vatts frequent in the Highland turberies, from which the old natives drew an unctuous substance, used by them to dye their cloth black, before the introduction of copperas, &c. The ingredient was collected from the sides of the hole, and surface of the water; the cloth or yarn was boiled in it, and received a lasting colour.

Aug. 16. Continue my journey for some time through the vale of Glenurchie, possessed by the Campbels† since the time of Sir Colin before mentioned, ancestor of the Breadalbane line, the famous knight of Rhodes, surnamed from his complexion and from his travels Duibh Na Roimh, or Black Colin of Rome‡. This tract is of great fertility, embellished with little groves, and watered by a fine stream. The view bounded on one side by the great hill of Crouachan, and on the other by that of Benlaoighe. The valley now contracts into a glen, abounding with cattle, yet destitute both of arable land and meadow; but the beasts gather a good sustenance from the grass that springs among the heath. See frequently on the road sides small verdant hillocks, styled by the common people, shi an, or the Fairy-naunt, because here, say they, the fairies, who love not the glare of day, make their retreat, after the celebration of their nocturnal revels.

Pass by a little lake, whose waters run into the western sea. On the road side a lead-mine is worked to some advantage, by means of a level. The veins are richest near the surface, but dwindle away towards the soles. At this place enter the district of Breadalbane; in Perthshire, and breakfast at Tyendrum, or the house of height, being the most elevated habitation in North Britain. Breadalbane also signifying the loftiest tract of Albin, or Scotland. These hills are a part of that lofty range commencing at Loch Lomond, traversing the country to the firth of Dornoch, and called by some writers, Drum-Albin. In my passage, in 1769, from the King's-house to this place, I rode near the mountains of Bendoran. One of them is celebrated for the hollow found it sends forth about twenty-four hours before any heavy rain. The spirit of the mountain shrieks§, warns the peasants to shelter their flocks; and utters the same awful prognostics, that Virgil attributes to those of Italy;

\* Anderson's Diplomata. No. XLVII.

† MS. Hist. of the Campbels.

‡ Buchanan's Clans, 139.

§ Ossian.



*Continuo ventis surgentibus, aut freta ponti  
Incipiunt agitata tumescere, et aridus altis  
Montibus audiri fragor.*

When winds approach, the vex'd sea heaves around ;  
From the bleak mountain comes a hollow sound.

WHARTON.

Immediately below the village of Tyendrum rises the river Tay; which takes its course into the eastern sea; such opposite currents have two streams, not half a mile distant from each other. Ride over the small plain of Dalrie, perhaps the seat of the Dalreudini mentioned by Bede \*, or the ancient government of Dalrieta, noticed by Camden, or perhaps from having been the scene of the following action, was called Dal-rie, or the King's field. On this spot was the conflict between Robert Bruce and the forces of Argyleshire, under Macdougall chieftain of Lorn, when the former was defeated. A servant of Lorn had seized on Bruce, but the prince escaped by killing the fellow with a blow of his battle-ax; but at the same time lost his mantle and brotche, which the assailant tore away in his dying agonies. The brotche was long preserved in the family, at length destroyed by a fire, that consumed the house of Dunolly, the residence of the representative. One I have seen had been the property of Maclean of Lochbuy, in the isle of Mull; and is said to be made of silver found on the estate. The workmanship is elegant, and seems to be of the time of Queen Elizabeth †. It is about five inches diameter at bottom. Round the upper margin is a low upright rim; within that are ten obelisks, about an inch and a quarter high, prettily fluted, and the top of each ornamented with a river pearl. These surround a second rim; from that rises a neat case, whose sides project into ten demi-rounders, all neatly fluted. In the center is a round crystalline ball, a magical gem, such as described in the tour of 1769. This case may be taken off; has a considerable hollow, in which might have been kept amulets or reliques; which, with the assistance of the powerful stone, must needs prove an infallible preservative against all harms.

Enter Strath-fillan, or the vale of St. Fillan, an abbot, who lived in the year 703, and retired the latter end of his days. He is pleased to take under his protection the disordered in mind; and works wonderful cures, say his votaries, even to this day. The unhappy lunatics are brought here by their friends, who first perform the ceremony of the Deasil, thrice round a neighbouring cairn; afterwards offer on it their rags, or a little bunch of heath tied with worsted; then thrice immerge the patient in a holy pool of the river, a second Bethesda; and, to conclude, leave him fast bound the whole night in the neighbouring chapel. If in the morning he is found loose, the saint is supposed to be propitious; for if he continues in bonds, his cure remains doubtful; but it often happens that death proves the angel that releases the afflicted before the morrow, from all the troubles of this life.

The Deasil ‡, or turning from east to west, according to the course of the sun, is a custom of high antiquity in religious ceremonies. The Romans § practised the motion in the manner now performed in Scotland. The Gaulish Druids made their circumvolution in a manner directly reverse: but the Druids of Gaul and Britain had probably the same reason for these circum-ambulations; for as they held the omnipresence of their God, it might be to instruct their disciples, that wheresoever they

\* Lib. i. c. 1.

† This fine ornament is in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Lort, late Greek Professor at Cambridge, who favoured me with the loan of it.

‡ From Deas or Des, the right hand, and Syl, the sun.

§ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii c. 2.



turned their face, they were fure to meet the aspect of the Deity \*. The number of turns was also religiously observed in very ancient days: thus the arch enchantress Medea, in all her charms attends to the sacred three :

*Ter se convertit, ter sumtis flumine crinem  
Irroravit aquis; ternis ululatus ora  
Solvit, et in dura submisso poplite terra,  
Nox, ait, &c.*

*She turn'd her thrice around, and thrice she threw  
On her long tresses the nocturnal dew;  
Then yelling thrice a most terrific sound,  
Her bare knee bended on the flinty ground.*

The faint, the object of the veneration in question, was of most singular service to Robert Bruce, according to the credulous Boethius, inspiring his soldiery with uncommon courage at the battle of Bannockburn †, by a miracle wrought the day before in his favour. His Majesty's chaplain was directed to bring with him into the field, the arm of the faint, lodged in a silver shrine. The good man, fearing, in case of a defeat, that the English might become masters of the precious limb, brought only the empty cover; but, while the King was invoking the aid of St. Fillan, the lid of the shrine, placed before him on the altar, opened and shut of its own accord: on inspection, to the wonder of the whole army, the arm was found restored to its place; the soldiers accepted the omen, and assured of victory, fought with an enthusiasm that ensured success. In gratitude for the assistance he received that day from the faint, he founded here, in 1314, a priory of canons regular, and consecrated it to him. At the dissolution, this house, with all the revenues and superiorities, were granted to an ancestor of the present possessor the Earl of Breadalbane ‡.

This part of the country is in the parish of Killin, very remote from the church. As the chapel here is destitute of a resident minister, Lady Glenurchy, with distinguished piety, has just established a fund for the support of one; has built a good house for his accommodation, and Lord Breadalbane has added to the glebe.

The tract is at present almost entirely stocked with south-country sheep, which have in a manner expelled the breed of black cattle. Sheep are found to turn more to the advantage of the proprietors; but whether to the benefit of the community, is a doubt. The live stock of cattle of this kingdom decreases; from whence will our navy be victualled? or how will those, who may be able to purchase animal food, be supplied, if the mere private interest of the farmer is suffered universally to take place? Millions at this time look up to the Legislature for restrictions, that will once more restore plenty to these kingdoms.

Pass near the seat of Rob-Roy, the celebrated free-booter mentioned in the former volume.

Enter Glen-Dochart, and go by the sides of Loch-Dochart, beautifully ornamented with trees. In a lofty island embosomed in wood, is the ruin of a castle, one of the nine under the rule of the great knight of Lochow. It was once taken by the Macgregors, in a manner that did credit to the invention of a rude age. The place was not accessible during summer; the assailants therefore took advantage of a frost, formed vast fascines of straw and boughs of trees, rolled these before them on the ice, to protect them against the arrows of the garrison, till they could get near enough to make

\* Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, 133.

† Boethius, 302.

‡ Keith, 241.



their attack, by scaling at once the walls of the fortrefs. The Veltæ \* of the northern nations were of this kind: the ancient Swedes and Goths practised an attack of the same nature; but did, what perhaps the Mac-gregors might also have done, wait for a high wind in their favour, roll the Veltæ as near as possible to the fort, set them on fire, and under favour of the flame, distressing the besieged, never failed of a successful event.

I must observe that the Mac-gregors were of old a most potent people. They possessed Glenurchie, were owners of Glen-Lion, and are even said to have been the original founders of Balloch or Taymouth, or at least to have had their residence there before they were succeeded by the Campbells †.

Somewhat farther, opposite to the farm of Acheffan, is a small lake, noted for a floating island, fifty-one feet long, and twenty-nine broad, that shifts its quarters with the wind. It has (like the islands of the Vadimonian lake, so elegantly described ‡ by the younger Pliny) strength sufficient to carry an involuntary voyage, the cattle that might be surprised feeding on this *mobile solum*, deceived with the appearance of its being firm land. It cannot indeed boast of carrying on its surface the darksome groves of those on the Cutilian waters; but, like the Lydian Calamina §, may be launched from the sides of the lake with poles, and can shew plenty of coarse grass, some small willows, and a little birch tree ||.

Proceed by the sides of the river, since its passage through Loch-Dochart, assuming the name of that lake. The pearl-fishery in this part of the river some years ago was carried on with great success, and the pearls were esteemed the fairest and largest of any.

The military road through this country is planned with a distinguished want of judgment; a series of undulations, quite unnecessary, distresses the traveller for a considerable part of the way. Near Achline the eye begins to be relieved by the sight of inclosures; and some plantations begin to hide the nakedness of the country. On approaching the village of Killin, every road and every path was filled with groupes of people, of both sexes, in neat dresses, and lively plaids, returning from the sacrament. A sober and decent countenance distinguished every party, and evinced the deep sense they had of so solemn a commemoration. Breadalbane in general is exempt from the charge of impropriety of conduct on these occasions, which happens sometimes; and by the undiscerning, the local fault is indiscriminately attributed to the whole.

Cross two bridges. The river here forms two islands, beautifully planted with firs: Inishbuy, the most easterly, is remarkably picturesque, the water rolling with tremendous force on each side for a long tract over a series of broken rocks, and short but quick-repeated cataracts, in a channel of unspeakable rudeness.

Reach Killin, or Cill-Fhin, from the tradition of its having been the burial-place of Fingal. Here is an excellent inn, built by Lord Breadalbane, who, to the unspeakable comfort of the traveller, established others at Dalmalie, Tyendrum, and Kenmore, where they are as acceptable as caravanferas in the East.

Mount Strone Clachan, a hill above Mr. Stuart's, the minister's house, and am overpaid for the labour of the ascent by a most enchanting view. A most delicious plain spreads itself beneath, divided into verdant meadows, or glowing with ripened corn;

\* Olaus Magnus de Gent. Sept. lib. vii. c. 8, 9.

† Buchanan's Clans, : 38, 139.

‡ Epist. lib. viii. Ep. 20.

§ Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 95.

|| The thickness of this isle is twenty-five inches. Perhaps, as Mr. Gahn affirms to be the case of other floating islands, this might have originated from the twisted roots of the *schænus mariscus*, and *scirpus cæspitosus*, converted into a more firm mass by the addition of the *carex cæspitosus*. Vide Amæn. Acad. VII. 166.



embellished with woods, and watered with rivers uncommonly contrasted. On one side, pours down its rocky channel the furious Dochart; on the other, glides between its wooded banks the gentle Lochy, forming a vast bend of still water, till it joins the first; both terminating in the great expanse of Loch-Tay. The northern and southern boundaries suit the magnificence of the lake; but the northern rise with superior majesty in the rugged heights of Finlarig, and the wild summits of the still loftier Laurs, often patched with snow throughout the year. Extensive woods clothe both sides, the creation of the noble proprietor.

At the foot of the first, amidst woods of various trees, lie the ruins of the castle of the same name, the old seat of the Campbells, the knights of Glenurchie, and built by Sir Colin between the years 1513 and 1523\*. The venerable oaks, the vast chefnuts, the ash trees, and others of ancient growth, give a fine solemnity to the scene, and compliment the memory of progenitors, so studious of the benefit of posterity. Tradition is loud in report of the hospitality of the place, and blends with it tales of gallantry; one of festivity, terminating in blood and slaughter. Amidst the mirth of a christening, in the great hall of Finlarig, inhabited, I think, at that time by Sir Robert, son of the chieftain, news arrived that the Mac-donalds of Keppoch had made a creach into the lands of some of their friends, had acquired a great booty, and were at that time passing in triumph over the hill of Strone-clachan. The Campbells, who were then assembled in numbers to honour the occasion, took fire at the insult, and, warm with the convivial cheer, started from the table to take sudden revenge. They ascended the hill with thoughtless bravery to begin the attack, were overpowered, and twenty cadets of the family left dead upon the spot. News of the disaster was immediately sent to Taymouth, the residence of the chieftain, who dispatched a reinforcement to those who had escaped. They overtook the Mac-donalds at the braes of Glenurchie, defeated them, slew the brother of the chieftain, rescued the booty, and returned back triumphing in the completion of their revenge.

August 17. Cross a large arch over the Lochy, winding to the north-west, through a small but elegant glen, whose fertile bottom is finely bounded by woods on both sides. Turn short to the east, and continue my journey on a fine road, at a considerable height above Loch-Tay. The land slopes to the water edge, and both above and below the highway forms a continued tract of cultivated ground, rich in corn, and varied with groves and plantations. The abundance of inhabitants on this side surpasses that of any place in Scotland of equal extent; for from Finlarig to the forks of the Lion, about fifteen miles, there are not fewer than seventeen hundred and eighty souls, happy under a humane chieftain. Their habitations are prettily grouped along the sides of the hills, are small and mean, often without windows or doors, and are the only disgrace to the magnificence of the scenery.

The opposite part of the lake is less populous, and less fertile; yet from the patches of corn-land, and the frequent woods, exhibits a most beautiful view.

In going through Laurs observe a druidical circle, less complete than one that should have been mentioned before, at Kinnel, a little south-west of Killin; which consists of six vast stones, placed equi-distant from each other.

The windings of the lake in the course of the ride become very conspicuous, appearing to form three great bendings. Its length is about fifteen miles, the breadth one; the depth in many places a hundred fathoms; and even within as many yards of the shore is fifty fathoms deep. It abounds with fish, such as pike, perch, salmon, char,

\* Black Book at Taymouth.



trout, samlets, minnows, lampries, and eels. A species of trout is found here that weighs thirty pounds.

All this country abounds with game, such as grouse, ptarmigans, stags, roes, &c.

Roes are in a manner confined to Glen Lion, where they are protected by the principal proprietor. Foxes are numerous and destructive. Martins are rare; but the yellow-breasted was lately taken in the birch woods of Rannoch. The otter is common. The vulgar have an opinion that this animal has its king or leader; they describe it as being of a larger size, and varied with white. They believe that it is never killed, without the sudden death of a man or some other animal at the same instant; that its skin is endued with great virtues, is an antidote against all infection, a preservative to the warrior from wounds, and insures the mariner from all disasters on the watery element.

The cock of the wood, or capertaille, or capercalze, a bird of this genus, once frequent in all parts of the Highlands, is now confined to the pine forests north of Lochness: from the size it is called the horse of the woods, the male sometimes weighing fifteen pounds. The colour of the breast is green, resembling that of the peacock: above each eye is a rich scarlet skin, common to the grouse genus: the feet of this and the black cock are naked, and the edges of the toes ferrated; for these birds, sitting upon trees, do not want the thick feathery covering with which nature hath clothed those of the red game and ptarmigan, who during winter are obliged to reside bedded in the snows. Bishop Lesly \* describes three of the species found in Scotland; the capercalze, which he truly says feeds on the extreme shoots of the pine, the common grouse with its feathered feet, and the black cock: he omits the ptarmigan. It has been my fortune to meet with every kind: the three last frequently; the capercalze only at Inverness.

Woodcocks appear in Breadalbane in the beginning or middle of November; but do not reach Ard-maddie, or, I may say, any part of the western coast of the Highlands till the latter end of December, or the beginning of January: they continue there in plenty till the middle or latter end of March, according to the mildness or rigour of the season, and then disappear at once. In the first season they continue arriving in succession for a month; and in every county in Scotland (where they are found) fly regularly from east to west. Their first landing-places are in the eastern counties, such as Angus, Merns, &c. usually about the end of October; but their stay in those parts is very short, as woods are so scarce. Woodcocks are very rarely seen in Caithness; and there are still fewer in the Orknies, or in the more remote Hebrides: one or two appear there, as if by accident driven thither by tempests, not voluntary migrants. There is no account of these birds having ever bred in Scotland, any more than of the fieldfare and redwing; yet all three make their summer-residence in Norway, from whence, in all probability, many of them visit our islands.

Sea eagles breed in ruined towers, but quit the country in winter; the black eagles continue there the whole year. They were so numerous a few years ago in Rannoch, that the commissioners of the forfeited estates gave a reward of five shillings for every one that was destroyed. In a little time such numbers were brought in, that the honourable board thought fit to reduce the reward to three shillings and sixpence; but a small advance, in proportion as the birds grew scarcer, in all probability would have effected their extirpation. But to resume the journey. The whole road on the side of the lake is excellent, often crossed by gullies, the effects of great rains, or torrents from the melted snow. The public are indebted to Lord Breadalbane not only

\* Hist. Scotiæ, p. 24. The female of the capercalze is of the colour of the common grouse.



for the goodness of the way, but for above thirty bridges, all made at his expence, to facilitate the passage. Cross the opening into the little plain of Fortingal, mentioned in my former Tour, noted for its camp, the most northern work of the Romans that I could get any intelligence of. It seems to have been the castellum of some advanced party in the time of Antonine, or Commodus, or perhaps a temporary station in that of Severus, in whose reign the Romans abandoned these parts. A copper vessel, with a beak, handle, and three feet, was found in it. I did not hear of any coins met with on the spot; but, in digging the foundation of a tower near Taymouth, fourteen silver denarii were discovered, but none of a later date than Marcus Aurelius.

I must also commemorate again the wonderful yew-tree in the church-yard of Fortingal, whose ruins measure fifty-six feet in circumference. The middle part is now decayed to the ground; but within memory was united to the height of three feet: Captain Campbell, of Glen-lion, having assured me that, when a boy, he has often climbed over, or rode on, the then connecting part. Our ancestors seem to have had a classical reason for planting these dismal trees among the repositories of the dead; and a political one, for placing them about their houses: in the first instance, they were the substitutes of the *invisa cupressus*; in the other, they were the designed provision of materials for the sturdy bows of our warlike ancestors,

Who drew,  
And almost joined, the horns of the tough yew.

In the days of archery so great was the consumption of this species of wood, that the bowyers were obliged to import slaves of yew \* for making the best sort of bows. This tree is not universally dispersed through England in its native state; or at least is now in most parts eradicated, on account of its noxious qualities; yet it is still to be found in quantities on the lofty hills that bound the water of the Winander, those near Rydal in Westmoreland, and on the face of many precipices in different parts of this kingdom.

Not far from the church is the house of Colonel Campbell, of Glen-lion, a beautiful vale that runs several miles up the country, watered by a river of the same name.

I must add to my account of the crystal gem in possession of that gentleman, that there was a remarkable one in possession of Sir Edward Harley, of Brampton-Brian, set in a silver ring, resembling the meridian of a globe, with a cross on the top, and on the rim the powerful names of Uriel, Raphael, Michael, and Gabriel. This predicted death dictated receipts for the cure of all curables†; and another, of much the same kind, even condescended to recover lost goods‡. It was customary in early times to deposit these balls in urns or sepulchres. Thus twenty were found at Rome in an alabastrine urn, cased with two great stones, and lodged in a hollow made in each to receive it. The contents were (besides the balls) a ring with a stone set in it, a needle, a comb, and some bits of gold mixed with the ashes: the needle shewed these remains to have been those of a lady.

In the tomb of Childeric, King of France, was found another of these balls. Some Merlin might have bestowed it on him; which must have been an invaluable gift, if it had the same powers with that given by our magician to the British Prince.

Such was the glassy globe that Merlin made,  
And gave unto King Ryence for his guard,  
That never foes his kingdom might invade,  
But he it knew at home before he hard  
Tydings thereof, and so them still debarr'd;

\* Statute 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. sect. 6.

† Aubrey's Miscellanies.

‡ Ibid.



It was a famous present for a prince,  
 And worthy worke of infinite rewarde,  
 That traitors cou'd betray, and foes convince :  
 Happy this realme had it remayned ever since \* !

Approach near Taymouth, keeping still on the side of the lake. Leave on the right, not far from the shore, the pretty isle of Loch-Tay, tufted with trees, shading the ruins of the priory. From the ancient inhabitants of this holy island, the present noble owner has liberty of fishing in the lake at all times in the year ; which is denied to the other land-owners in the neighbourhood. But it was necessary for the monks to be indulged with that privilege, as their very existence depended on it. To this island the Campbells retreated at the approach of the Marquis of Montrose, where they defended themselves for some time against that hero. A shot narrowly missed him, which enraged him to that degree as to cause him instantly to carry fire and sword through the whole country. It was taken and garrisoned ; but in 1654 was surrendered to General Monk †.

On the right is a plantation, the orchard of the monastery. In it is a black cherry-tree that measures, four feet from the ground, ten feet three inches in circumference.

Cross the Tay on a temporary bridge, just below its discharge from the lake, where it properly begins to assume that name. A most elegant bridge is now constructing in this place, under the direction of Captain Archibald Campbel, after a design by Mr. Baxter, partly at the expence of Lord Breadalbane, partly by that of the neighbouring gentry, and partly by aid of the commissioners of forfeited estates. It consists of three large arches, and a smaller on each side, in case of floods. Reach

Taymouth, his lordship's principal house, originally called Balloch castle, or the castle at the discharge of the lake ; was built by Sir Colin Campbell, sixth knight of Lochow, who died in the year 1583. The place has been much modernized since the days of the founder ; has the addition of two wings, and lost its castellated form, as well as the old name. We are informed that this Sir Colin " was an great justiciar all his tyme thocht qhille he sustenit that dadlie feid of the Clangregour ane lang space. And besydis that he caused execut to the death many notable lymmeris. He behaddit the Laird M'Greg' himselff at Candomir in presence of the Erle of Atholl, the justice clerk, and fundrie other noblemen †."

By a poem I met with in the library at Taymouth, it appears that this unfortunate chieftain, surnamed Duncan Laider, or the Strong, made a very good end ; and delivered, in penitential rhymes, in Spenser's manner, an account of his past life, his sorrow for his sins, and his pathological farewell to the various scenes of his plundering exploits. Like Spenser, he personifies the vices. The two first stanzas will suffice for a specimen of his manner :

Quhn passit wes the tyme of tendir age,  
 And youth with insolence maid acquaintance.  
 And wickitnes enforced evill courage,  
 Quhill Might with Crueltie maid alliance ;  
 Then Falshead tuke on him the governance,  
 And me betaucht ane houshald for to gyde  
 Callit evil companie, baith to gang and ryde.

My maister houshald wes heicht Oppressioun,  
 Reif my steward that cairit of na wrang ;  
 Murthure, Slauchtir, ay of ane professioun,  
 My cubicularis, bene thir yearis lang :  
 Recept, that oft tuk mony ane fang,  
 Was porter to the yettis, to oppin wyde,  
 And Covatrice wes chamberlane at all tyde.

\* Spenser's Fairy Queen, Book III. c. 2. stanza 21.

† Whitclock's Mem. 592.

‡ Black Book.



The most remarkable part of the furniture of Taymouth is the portraits ; here being a most considerable collection of the works of Jameson, the Scotch Vandyck, an eleve of this family.

In the same room with the famous genealogical picture are about twenty heads of persons of the same family. Among them is the last Sir Duncan Campbell, a favourite of James VI. ; and not less so of Anne of Denmark ; who, after the accession, often by letter solicited his presence at her new court ; and sent him, as a mark of innocent esteem, a ring set with diamonds, and ornamented with a pair of doves.

The other pictures of Jameson's performance are in a small parlour ; but unfortunately much injured by an attempt to repair them. There are the heads of

William Graham, Earl of Airth, 1637. He was originally Earl of Menteith, a title derived from a long train of ancestors. He was much favoured by Charles I. who indulged his pride by conferring on him, at his request, the earldom of Strathern, which he pretended to, as being descended from David Stuart, nephew to David II. Unfortunately his vanity induced him to hint some pretensions to the crown. Charles punished his folly by depriving him of both earldoms ; but, relenting soon after, created him Earl of Airth, with precedence due to the creation of Malise, E. of Menteith by James I.

John Lord Lefslly, 1636, afterwards Duke of Rothes\*. He died in 1681 ; and had, according to the extravagant folly of the times, a funeral of uncommon magnificence†. The Duke of York being at that time in Scotland, was asked how he should be buried, his highness answered as chancellor of Scotland ; his relations, ill versed in courtly language, concluded that his funeral was to be at the public expence, and bestowed on it a sum their circumstances would not admit of. But a happy consequence of this vanity was a law restricting the idle expence of costly funerals.

James, Marquis of Hamilton, 1636, afterwards Duke of Hamilton.

Mary, Marchioness of Hamilton, 1636, daughter to the former, and on the death of her brother, heiress to the title and fortune. This lady is distinguished for her works of piety and charity ; in the isle of Arran, by the glorious title of the Good.

Archibald Lord Napier, 1637, grand-son of the celebrated John Napier, author of the Logarithms.

William Earl Marishal, 1637, a remarkable sufferer in the causes of Charles I. and II. : rewarded, on the restoration, with the privy seal of Scotland.

The Lord of Loudon, 1637, afterwards chancellor of Scotland.

Thomas Hamilton, Lord Binning, son of the first Earl of Hadington, and successor to the title. In 1640, being commandant of the garrison of Dunglas, then held for the Covenanters, was blown up, with several other persons of quality, by the desperate treachery of his page, an English boy, who had been insulted by the company on account of some success of the Scots, and in revenge set fire to the powder magazine ; one gentleman, who at the time stood at an open window, was blown out and survived ; the boy's arm was found in the ruins with a ladle in it, with which he was supposed to have carried the fuel.

John Earl of Mar, 1636, made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales.

Sir Robert Campbell, of Glenurchie, 1641.

Sir John Campbell, of Glenurchie, 1642.

\* Vide Vol. I. 108.

† Represented in four large plates, published by Thomas Sommers.



In the drawing room are two portraits, by Vandyck, of two noble brothers, distinguished characters in the unhappy times of Charles I. The first may be stiled one of the most capital of that great painter's performances. Sir Robert Walpole, the best judge of paintings in his time, was of that opinion, and would have given any price for it. There is particular reason for the exquisite finishing of this picture; Vandyck was patronized by his lordship, lived with him at Holland house, and had all opportunity to complete it at full leisure. The beautiful, the courteous, the gallant Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, is represented at full length, dressed with the elegance he might have appeared in to win the affections of the Queen of his unfortunate master. He appears in a white and gold doublet; a scarlet mantle, laced with gold, flows gracefully from him; his white boots are ornamented with point; his armour lies by him. Charles was struck with jealousy at the partiality shewn to this favourite by Henrietta. He directed his lordship to confine himself to his house; nor was the restraint taken off, till the Queen refused on that account, to cohabit with her royal spouse.\* But neither loyalty to his master, nor tenderness to his fair mistress, could prevent him from joining the popular party after receiving every favour from the court, his earldom, the garter, command of the guard, and groom of the stole. With unsettled principles, he again deserted his new friends, shifting from side to side. At length, immediately before the murder of his sovereign, roused by the dangers of one to whom he was so much indebted, he made a single effort in his favour; but, on the first appearance of danger (as he had done more than once) fled the attack, was taken, and ended his days on the scaffold, falling timidly, inglorious, unpitied.

In the same room is the portrait of his elder brother Robert Earl of Warwick, high admiral of England, in the service of the parliament. The ships in the back ground denote his profession. His person, like the Earl of Holland's, elegant; his mind more firm, and his political conduct more coherent. He left a court he had no obligation to; adhered to the Parliament as long as it existed, and supported himself by the power of Cromwell, as soon as the tyrant had destroyed that instrument of his ambition. He was of great popularity with the puritanical party, kept open house for the Divines of the times, was a constant attendant at their sermons, "made merry with them and at them, which they dispensed with. He became the head of their party, and got the style of a godly man. Yet of such a licence in his words and in his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found out†." What a picture of fanatical priest-hood? which could endure, for its own end, the vices of the great; yet at the same time, be outrageous against the innocent pleasures of the multitude.

In the dining room are portraits of a later time. John, the first Earl of Breadalbane, a half length, in his robes. His lady, daughter to the unfortunate Holland, is in another frame, near him. His lordship was unhappily a distinguished character in the reign of King William. He had formed a humane plan for conciliating the affections of the clans by bribing them into loyalty, till reflection and cooler times would give them opportunity of seeing the benefits that would result from change of government. The chieftains at once attended to his proposals; and, at the same time, gave assurance to their old master, that they would preserve terms no longer than was consistent with his interest. Enraged at their perfidy, and perhaps actuated by feudal resentment, he formed the common scheme in North Britain, of extirpation by fire and sword. The most pernicious indeed of the clans was singled out for execution; but the manner and the season were attended with circumstances of such a nature, that caused the indifferent to shudder; the clans to resent with a long and fatal revenge.

\* Royal and Noble Authors, i. 132. 2d. ed.

† Clarendon.



In the library is a history of Thebes, in verse.

The will of Duncan Laider, before quoted ; a long poem in manuscript.

His lordship's policy \* furrounds the house, which stands in a park, one of the few in North Britain where fallow deer are seen.

The ground is in remarkably fine order, owing to his lordship's assiduity in clearing it from the stones with which it was once covered. A blaster was kept in constant employ, to blast with gunpowder the great stones ; for by reason of their size, there was no other method of removing them.

The Berceau walk is very magnificent, composed of great lime trees, forming a fine Gothic roof, four hundred and fifty yards long. The south terrace on the banks of the Tay is eighteen hundred yards long ; that on the north, two thousand two hundred, and is to extend as far as the junction of the Tay and the Lion, about eighteen hundred more : each is fifty feet wide, and kept with the neatness of the walks of a London villa. The river runs with great rapidity, is clear but not colourless ; for its pellucidity is that of brown crystal, as is the case with most of the rivers in Scotland. The Tay has here a wooden bridge, two hundred feet long, leading to a white seat on the side of the hill, commanding a fine view up and down Strath Tay. The rich meadows beneath the winding of the river, the beginning of Loch-Tay, the discharge of the river out of it, the pretty village and church of Kinmore, form a most pleasing and magnificent prospect.

The view from the temple of Venus is that of the lake, with a nearer sight of the church and village : the two sides of the fine water are seen to vast advantage.

Much flax is cultivated in these parts. A few years ago, when *præmia* were given for the greatest crops, from seventy to a hundred and twenty hogsheds of lin-seed were annually sown ; and each peck yielded two stones of dressed flax ; and when the yarn sold highest, two thousand pounds worth has been sold out of the country. The present low price affects the trade of the country, yet still more flax is imported than the land produces.

Oats, bear †, and potatoes are the other crops. Oats yield from four to six-fold at the most, oftener less ; bear, from eight to ten, at an average, six. The corn raised seldom suffices the number of inhabitants ; for they are often obliged to have recourse to importation.

Every person has his potatoe-garden ; and they often change the sort : the London-Lady has been found to succeed best, which in some farms yields from seven to ten fold. Some people have distilled from this root a very strong spirit, which has been found to be cheaper than what is distilled from any grain. Starch is also made of it ; and, in some families, bread.

Corcar, or the Lichen omphaloides, is an article of commerce ; great quantities have been scraped from the rocks, and exported for the use of the dyers, at the price of a shilling or sixteen pence a stone.

A good many sheep are now reared here. The best fat weathers sell for eleven shillings each. Those of the old small kind for only six. Much wool is sent out of the country.

The best black cattle have been sold for five guineas per head ; but the usual price of the four year old is about five and forty shillings. While on this subject, I cannot help

\* This word signifies here, improvements, or demesne.

† A variety of Barley with square heads, and four rows of grain, called by old Gerrard, Beare Barley, or Barley big, and *Hordeum polytychum vernum*, to distinguish it from the common kind, which he styles *Hordeum dytichon*. Its suits barren lands, and ripens early, which recommends the use in this rainy climate.



mentioning the distressful state of this country, previous to the rebellion; for, till the year 1745, Lord Breadalbane was obliged to keep a constant guard for the protection of his vassals cattle, or to retain spies among the thievish clans, having too much spirit to submit to pay the infamous tax of black meal to the plundering chieftains.

Few horses are reared here. Such which feed on the tops of the higher hills are often affected with a distemper that commonly proves fatal, if a remedy is not applied within twenty-four hours. It attacks them in the months of July and August, usually after a fall of rain, on or before the dew rises in the morning. An universal swelling spreads over the body; the remedy is exercise, chasing, or any method that promotes urine and perspiration. The vulgar attribute this evil to a certain animal that scatters its venom over the grass; but more probably it arises from some noxious vegetable hitherto unobserved.

August 19. Cross the Lion at a ford near its union with the Tay. To the north soars the rocky hill of Shi-hallin, or the paps; and to the left lies the road to Ramnoch, noted for its lake and pine forest.

Visit Castle Menzies, the seat of Sir Robert Menzies, placed romantically at the foot of the northern side of Strath-Tay. The woods that rise boldly above, and the grey rocks that peep between, are no small embellishment to the vale. Far up the hill are the remains of a hermitage, formed by two sides of native rock, and two of wall, some centuries past, the retreat of the chief of the family, who disgusted with the world, retired here, and resigned his fortune to a younger brother.

Cross Tay-bridge, and visit on the opposite side, Moneys, a place Mr. Fleming is so happy as to call himself owner of. A neat walk conducts you along the sides of a deep and well-wooded glen, enriched with a profusion and variety of cascades, that strike with astonishment. The first, which lies on the left, runs down a rude staircase with numbers of landing-places, and patters down the steps with great beauty. Advancing along the bottom, on the right, is a deep and darksome chasm, water-worn for ages; the end filled with a great cataract, consisting of several breaks. The rocks more properly arch than impend over it, and trees imbrown and shade the whole.

Ascend a zig-zag walk, and, after a long labour, cross the first cascade. The path is continued among the woods to the top of the hill: emerge into a corn-field, re-enter the wood, and discover, from the verge of an immense precipice, another cataract, forming one vast sheet, tumbling into the deep hollow, from whence it gushes furiously, and is instantly lost in a wood beneath.

No stranger must omit visiting Moneys, it being an epitome of every thing that can be admired in the curiosity of water-falls.

August. 20. Leave Taymouth. Soon reach the eastern extremity of Lord Breadalbane's estate; which, I may now say from experience, reaches near a hundred miles; having seen the other end among the slate islands in the western sea. The ancestor of Lord Breadalbane's being asked why he placed his house at the extremity of his estate, answered, that he intended it should be in time in the middle of it. In those days he might have a prospect of making his words good.

Ride along the banks of the Tay. The river flows in frequent reaches of considerable length, which are finely bordered with corn-fields, intermixed with small groves; both which spread on both sides, far up the hills. Cross Tay-bridge, and continue the same sort of pleasing ride, with one variation only, and that for a small space, where the banks heighten, and are clothed with hanging woods; and near them are a few risings covered with broom.



A little below Tay-bridge enter that division of Perthshire, called Athol, infamous, says Camden, for its witches; with more truth, at present, to be admired for its high improvements, natural and moral.

Enter the parish of Logierait, containing about 2,200 inhabitants. Go through the little town of Logierait, in feudal days the seat of the regality court, where the family of Athol had an extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction. By power delegated from the crown, the great men had formerly courts, "with sock, sack, pitt\* and gallous, toill and hame, infangthief and outfangthief, had power to hald courts for slauchter; and to doe justice upan ane man taken with theft, that is seised thairwith in hand have-and, or on back beand." Justice was administered with great expedition, and too often with vindictive severity: originally the time of trial and execution was to be within three suns: about the latter end of the last century, the execution was extended to nine days after sentence: but, on a rapid and unjust execution in Hamilton†, in the year 1720, the time was to be deferred for forty days, on the south, and sixty on the north, of the Tay, that the case might reach the royal ear, and majesty have opportunity of exerting its brightest prerogative.

Above the town, is the poor remnant of the castle, defended on the accessible side by a deep ditch: the other is of great steepness. It is said to have been a hunting seat of Alexander III. The prospect from hence is fine; for three beautiful vales, and two great rivers, the Tay and the Tummel, unite beneath. This was selected as the place of execution, that the criminal might appear a striking example of justice to so great an extent of country. I must add, that *l'exécuteur de la haute justice* had his house free, and two pecks of meal, and a certain fee, for every discharge of his office.

Descend, and am ferried over the Tummel: reach the great road to Blair, and turning to the left, reach Dalhian; where on the summit of a little hill, in an area of a hundred and sixty feet diameter, is the ruin of St. Catherine's chapel: on the accessible side of a hill is a ditch of great depth. This place seems to have been an ancient British post; and that in after-times the founder of this chapel might prefer the situation on account of the security it might afford to the devotees in a barbarous age. There are in other parts of this parish remains of chapels, and other religious foundations, as at Killichaffie, Tillipurie, Chapelown, and Pilgir; and at Killichange may be seen a ruin, surrounded with woods, with the rolling waters of the Tummel adding solemnity to the situation.

Enter the parish of Mouline, Ma-oline, or the little lake, from the wet situation of part: that called the Hollow of Mouline is the most fertile. The parish contains about two thousand five hundred souls. Their manufactures, and those of Logierait, are the same: in both great quantities of flax being spun into yarn; and much flax imported from Holland and the Baltic for that purpose, besides what is raised in the country. Notwithstanding the apparent fertility of these vales, the produce of oats, bear, and potatoes, is not equal to the consumption; but quantities of meal are imported. Barley bread is much used in these parts, and esteemed to be very wholesome.

To the honour of the landlords of all the tracts I passed over since my landing, none of the tenants have migrated. They are encouraged in manufactures and rural œconomy. The ladies promote the article of cleanliness among the lower order of females by little *præmia*: for example the Duchess of Athol rewards with smart hats the lasses who appear neatest in those parts, where her Grace's influence extends.

\* Women were usually punished by drowning. † Life of Captain Porteous: London 1737, p. 38.



In this parish are considerable natural woods of oak: they are cut down in twenty years for the sake of the bark, which is here an important article of commerce. The timber sells at little or no price, being too small for use.

The common diseases of this country (I may say of the Highlands in general) are fevers and colds. The putrid fever makes great ravages. Among the *nova cohors febrium* which have visited the earth, the ague was till of late a stranger here. The Glacach, or, as it is sometimes called, the Mac-donalds disorder, is not uncommon. The afflicted finds a tightness and fullness in his chest, as is frequent in the beginning of consumptions. A family of the name of Macdonald, an hereditary race of Mac-haons, pretend to the cure by glacach, or handling of the part affected, in the same manner as the Irish Mr. Greatbreaks, in the last century, cured by stroking. The Mac-donalds touch the part, and mutter certain charms; but, to their credit, never accept a fee on any entreaty.

Common colds are cured by Brochan, or water gruel, sweetened with honey; or by a dose of butter and honey melted in spirits, and administered as hot as possible.

As I am on this subject, I shall in this place continue the list of natural remedies, which were found efficacious before they began to

Fee the Doctor for his nauseous draught.

Adult persons freed themselves from colds, in the dead of winter, by plunging into the river; immediately going to-bed under a load of cloaths, and sweating away their complaint.

Warm cow's milk in the morning, or two parts milk and one water, a little treacle and vinegar made into whey, and drank warm, freed the Highlander from an inveterate cough.

The chin-cough was cured by a decoction of apples, and of the mountain ash, sweetened with brown sugar.

Consumptions, and all the disorders of the liver, found a simple remedy in drinking of butter-milk.

Stale urine and bran made very hot, and applied to the part, freed the rheumatic from his excruciating pains.

Fluxes were cured by the use of meadow sweet, or jelly of bilberry, or a poultice of flour and suet; or new churned butter; or strong cream and fresh suet boiled, and drank plentifully morning and evening.

Formerly the wild carrot boiled, at present the garden carrot, proved a relief in cancerous, or ulcerous cases. Even the faculty admit the salutary effect of the carrot-poultice in sweetening the intolerable factor of the cancer, a property till lately neglected or unknown. How reasonable would it be therefore, to make trial of these other remedies, founded in all probability, on rational observation and judicious attention to nature!

Persons affected with the scrophula imagined they found benefit by exposing the part every day to a stream of cold water.

Flowers of daisies, and narrow and broad leaved plantane, were thought to be remedies for the ophthalmia.

Scabious root, or the bark of ash tree burnt, was administered for the tooth-ach.

The water ranunculus is used instead of cantharides to raise blisters.

But among the useful plants, the Corr or Cor-meille \* must not be omitted, whose root dried are the support of the Highlanders in long journeys, amidst the barren hills.

\* *Orobis tuberosus*, wood pease. Hudf. Fl. Ang. 274.



destitute of the supports of life; and a small quantity, like the alimentary powders, will for a long time repel the attacks of hunger. Infused in liquor it is an agreeable beverage, and, like the *Nepenthe* of the Greeks, exhilarates the mind. From the similitude of sound in the name, it seems to be the same with *Chara*, the root discovered by the soldiers of Cæsar at the siege of *Dyrrachium*\*, which steeped in milk was such a relief to the famished army. Or we may reasonably believe it to have been the Caledonian food described by Dio†, of which the quantity of a bean would prevent both hunger and thirst: and this, says the historian, they have ready for all occasions.

Among the plants of mere rarity, must be reckoned the trailing thyme leaved *Azalea*, and the reclining *Sibbaldia*. The first is found on *Crouachan*, and on *Benmore*; the last on *Benmore*.

Mr. John Stuart informed me, that he had discovered, in some part of *Breadalbane*, the *Betula Nana*, or Dwarf Birch. This plant grows in plenty in some boggy ground in the canton of *Schweitz*, where the natives believe it to be the species with which our Saviour was scourged; and from that period it was cursed with a stunted growth.

For burns, they boil cream till it becomes oil, and with it anoint the part.

The Itch declines in proportion as cleanliness gains ground. It may happen that that disorder may be sought in the purlieus of *St. Giles's*, and other seats of filth, poverty, and debauchery, in our great towns.

During the unhappy civil wars of this kingdom in the last century, a loathsome and horrible distemper, originating from the vices of mankind, made its appearance in the Highlands, and was supposed to have been communicated first by the parliament's garrison at *Inverlochy*. It has since diffused itself over most parts of the Highlands, and even crept into the Lowlands, seeming to have accomplished the divine menace, in visiting the sins of the father upon the children to the third and fourth generation.

The recital is disagreeable, but too curious to be suppressed; and therefore, not to betray the delicate mind into a disgusting narrative, I throw it into the Appendix, and leave the perusal to the choice of the reader.

I shall now proceed from the disorders of the body to those of the soul; for what else are the superstitions that infect mankind? a few unnoticed before are still preserved, or have till within a small space been found in the places I have visited, and which may merit mention, as their existence in a little time may happily be lost.

After marriage, the bride immediately walks round the church, unattended by the bridegroom. The precaution of loosening every knot about the new-joined pair is strictly observed, for fear of the penalty denounced in the former volumes. It must be remarked that the custom is observed even in France, *nouer l'aiguillette* being a common phrase for disappointments of this nature.

Matrimony is avoided in the month of January, which is called in the Erse the cold month; but what is more singular, the ceremony is avoided even in the enlivening month of May. Perhaps they might have caught this superstition from the Romans, who had the same dread of entering into the nuptial state at that season; for the amorous *Ovid* informs us,

Nec viduæ tædis eadem, nec virginis apta  
Tempora, quæ nupsit non diuturna fuit.  
Hac quoque de caula, si te proverbia tangunt,  
Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait.

Fasti, v. 487.

\* Cæsar, de Bel. Civil. lib. iii.

† In vita Severi.



No tapers then shall burn ; for never bride,  
Wed in ill season, long her-bliss enjoy'd.  
If you are fond of proverbs, always say,  
No lass proves thrifty, who is wed in May.

After baptism, the first meat that the company tastes is crowdie, a mixture of meal and water, or meal and ale thoroughly mixed : of this every person takes three spoonfuls.

The mother never sets about any work till she has been kirked. In the church of Scotland there is no ceremony on the occasion ; but the woman, attended by some of her neighbours, goes into the church, sometimes in service-time, but oftener when it is empty ; goes out again, surrounds it, refreshes herself at some public-house, and then returns home. Before this ceremony she is looked on as unclean, never is permitted to eat with the family ; nor will any one eat of the victuals she has dressed.

It has happened that, after baptism, the father has placed a basket filled with bread and cheese on the pot hook that impended over the fire in the middle of the room, which the company sit around ; and the child is thrice handed across the fire, with the design to frustrate all attempts of evil spirits or evil eyes. This originally seems to have been designed as a purification, and of idolatrous origin, as the Israelites made their children pass through the fire to Moloch. The word used for charms in general is *colas* or *knowlege*, a proof of the high repute they were once held in. Other charms were styled *paiders*, a word taken from the *Pater noster*. A necklace is called *padreuchain*, because on turning every bead they used one of these *paiders*. Other charms again are called *toisgeuls* from the use of particular verses of the gospel.

The superstition of making pilgrimages to certain wells or chapels is still preserved : that to St. Phyllan's is much in vogue ; and others again to different places. The object is relief from the disorders mankind labour under. In some places the pilgrims only drink of the water ; in others they undergo immersion.

A Highlander, in order to protect himself from any harms apprehended from the fairy tribe, will draw round himself a circle with a sapling of the oak. This may be a relique of druidism, and only a continuation of the respect paid to the tree held in such veneration by the priesthood of our ancestors.

They pay great attention to their lucky and unlucky days. The Romans could not be more attentive on similar occasions ; and surely the Highlander may be excused the superstition, since Augustus\* could say that he never went abroad on the day following the *Nundina*, nor began any serious undertaking on the *Nonæ*, and that merely to avoid the unlucky omen. The Scottish mountaineers esteem the 14th of May unfortunate, and the day of the week that it has happened to fall on. Thus Thursday is a black day for the present year.

They are also very classical in observing what they first meet on the commencement of a journey. They consider the looks, garb, and character of the first person they see. If he has a good countenance, is decently clad, and has a fair reputation, they rejoice in the omen ; if the contrary, they proceed with fears, or return home, and begin their journey a second time.

The beltein, or the rural sacrifice, on the first of May O. S., has been mentioned before. Hallow eve is also kept sacred : as soon as it is dark, a person sets fire to a bush of broom fastened round a pole, and, attended with a crowd, runs about the village. He then flings it down, keeps great quantity of combustible matters in it, and makes a great bonfire. A whole tract is thus illuminated at the same time, and makes a fine

\* Suetonius, vit. Aug. c. 92.



appearance. The carrying of the fiery pole appears to be a relique of druidism ; for, says Doctor Borlase \*, *faces preferre* was esteemed a species of paganism, forbidden by the Gallic councils, and the *accensores facularum* were condemned to capital punishment, as if they sacrificed to the devil.

The Highlanders form a sort of almanack or presage of the weather of the ensuing year in the following manner : They make observation on twelve days, beginning at the last of December ; and hold as an infallible rule, that whatsoever weather happens on each of those days, the same will prove to agree in the correspondent months. Thus ; January is to answer to the weather of December the 31st ; February to that of January 1st ; and so with the rest. Old people still pay great attention to this augury.

To these superstitions may be added certain customs now worn out, which were peculiar to this country.

In old times the great Highland families sent their heir, as soon as he was weaned, to some wealthy tenant, who educated him in the hardy manner of the country, at his own expence. When the foster-father restored the child to his parents, he always sent with him a number of cows, proportioned to his abilities, as a mark of the sense he had of the honour done him. A strong attachment ever after subsisted between the two families : the whole family of the foster-father was received under the protection of the chieftain, and held in the highest esteem.

To this day the greater chieftains are named by their clans from some of their ancestors, eminent for strength, wisdom, or valour. Thus the Duke of Argyle is styled Mac-chaillean mhoir, the son of the great Colin. Lord Breadalbane, Mac-chaillean mhic Dhonachi, the son of Colin, son of Duncan. The head of the family of Dunstaffage, Mac-Innais an Duin, or the son of Angus of the hill.

Most of the old names of the Highlanders were derived from some personal property. Thus Donald or Don-shuil signifies brown eye ; Fin-lay, white head ; Dun-can, brown head ; Colin, or Co-aluin, beautiful ; and Gorm-la, a blue eye.

The old Highlanders were so remarkable for their hospitality that their doors were always left open, as if it were to invite the hungry travellers to walk in and partake of their meals ; but if two cross sticks were seen at the door, it was a sign that the family was at dinner, and did not desire more guests. In this case the churl was held in the highest contempt ; nor would the most pressing necessity induce the passenger to turn in. Great hospitality is still preserved through all parts of the country to the stranger, whose character or recommendations claim the most distant pretensions. But this virtue must cease, or at best lessen, in proportion as the inundation of travellers increases : a quick succession of new guests will be found to be a trouble and an expence unsupportable ; but they will have this consolation, that good inns will be the consequence even of a partial subversion of the hospitable system.

Strict fidelity is another distinguishing character of the Highlanders. Two instances, taken from distant periods, will be sufficient proofs of the high degree in which they possess this shining virtue. In the reign of James V., when the Clan chattan had raised a dangerous insurrection, attended with all the barbarities usual in those days, the Earl of Murray raised his people, suppressed the insurgents, and ordered two hundred of the principal prisoners to execution. As they were led one by one to the gallows, the Earl offered them a pardon in case they would discover the lurking place of their chieftain ; but they unanimously told him, that were they acquainted with it, no sort of punishment should ever induce them to be guilty of a breach of trust to their leader †.

\* Antiq. Cornwall, 136.

† Lesly de origine, moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum, 405.



The other example is taken from more recent and mercenary days. In the year 1746, when the young pretender preferred the preservation of an unhappy life by an inglorious flight, to the honour of falling heroically with his faithful followers in the field of Culloden, he for five months led the life of a fugitive, amidst a numerous and various set of mountaineers. He trusted his person often to the lowest and most dissolute of the people; to men pinched with poverty, or accustomed to rapine; yet neither the fear of punishment for assisting the wretched wanderer, nor the dazzling allurements of the reward of thirty thousand pounds, could ever prevail on any one to violate the laws of hospitality, or be guilty of a breach of trust. They extricated him out of every difficulty; they completed his deliverance, preserving his life for mortifications more afflicting than the dreadful hardships he sustained during his long flight.

Soon after entering the parish of Mouline, leave on the right Edradour. At this place, on the top of a steep den, are the remains of a circular building, called the Black castle, about sixty feet diameter within side, and the walls about eight feet thick. It is supposed to have been inhabited by an English baron who married a Scots heiress in the reign of Edward I. There is another about a mile west from the village of Mouline, near Balyou'an, and a third on an eminence south of the former. One of these answers to another similar at Killichange, in the parish of Logierait. Some conjecture these round buildings to have been intended for making signals with fires in case of invasions; others think them to have been Tigh Fasky, or a storehouse for the concealment of valuable effects in case of sudden inroads. The first is a very probable opinion, as I can trace, approaching towards the west sea, a chain of these edifices, one within sight of the next, for a very considerable way. It is not unlikely, if search was made, but that they may even extend to the east sea, so as to form a series of beacons across this part of the kingdom.

My worthy fellow-voyager, Mr. Stuart, has, from remarks on several in the neighbourhood of Killin, enabled me to trace them for several miles. To begin with the most eastern, next to those I have mentioned, there is one on the hill of Drummin, opposite to Taymouth, on the side of the vale; another lies within view, above the church of Fortingal: on the hill Druim-an-timhoir is a third, opposite to Alt-mhuic, east of Miggerny: one under the house of Cashly, called Castal-mhic-neil; and another, about half a mile west, of the name of Castal-a-chon-bhaican, a crooked stone called Con-bhacan, being erected about two hundred feet east from it, and so named, from a tradition that the Nimrods of old times tied their dogs to it with a leathern thong, when they returned from the chase. The figure of this building differs from the others, being oval\*: the greatest length within the wall is seventy-one feet; the breadth forty; the thickness at the sides twelve feet, at the ends only eight. The door at the east end low and narrow, covered with a flag.

But the most entire is that styled Castal-an dui, lying at the foot of the hill Grianan, on the farm of Cashly, three miles west from Miggerny. On the north-west side is a stone twenty-nine feet long, and nine thick, which supplies part of the building on the outside. The form of this building is a circle: the thickness from eleven to twelve feet; and within the place where the great stone stands, is an additional strength of wall, about eight feet thick. The most complete place is nine feet and a half high: the diameter within the wall is forty-five feet. The greatest part of the stones used in this edifice are from three to six feet long, and from one and a half to three feet thick.

\* The Faghs na ain eighe, or the work of one night, engraved book iii. tab. viii. of Mr. Wright's Louthiana, is similar to this.



About three hundred yards west from this is another, called Castal-an-Deirg. A mile farther west is another, of the name of Fiam-nam-bòinean; and lastly, within sight of this, five miles distant, on the side of a hill called Ben-chastal, is one more, the most westerly of any we have yet had intelligence of. Most, if not all of these, lie in Glen-Lion. The tradition of the inhabitants respecting them is included in these lines:

Da chaisteal-deug aig Feann  
Ann an crom-ghleann nar clach.

That is, "Fingal, the king of heroes, had twelve towers in the winding valley of the grey-headed stones."

I must mention two others, that are out of the line of these, yet might be subservient to their use. One lies on the north side of Loch-Tay, about five miles east of Killin, above the public road. The other called Caisteal Baraora, on the south side, about a quarter of a mile from the lake, and a measured mile east of Achmore, the seat of Mr. Campbel, of Achalader.

On the top of a great eminence, a furlong from this, are the remains of a vast inclosure, a strong hold, of the same nature with that I saw in Glen-elg\*, to which the inhabitants might drive their cattle in time of invasion, on the signals given from the round towers. The form tends to an oval; the greatest length is three hundred and sixty feet; the breadth one hundred and twenty. No part of the wall is entire, but the stones that formed it lie in ruins on the ground to the breadth of fifteen feet. Within, near the east end, is the foundation of a rectangular building, thirty-eight feet long, ten broad. This post commands a vast view of the west end of Breadalbane, almost to the head of the vallies of Glen-Dochart and Glen-Lochy; and at a very small distance from it is seen the hill of Drummin, from whose round tower the signal might easily be received.

round forts

The round edifices of this internal part of Scotland, and those of the coast and of the islands, seem to have been erected for the same purpose, but probably by different architects. The former are the labours of much less skilful workmen; the stones more rude, the facings less exact and elegant, but not inferior to the manner now in use in the common dry walled houses of the country.

I cannot but think that all these buildings were originally constructed by the natives; and that those so frequent in the islands, and of such superior workmanship, might have been rebuilt by the Danes and Norwegians, on the same model, but more artificially than those they found on the spot. From all the enquiries I have made among the natives of Scandinavia, I do not learn that any such buildings are known there, a single instance excepted on the Sualesberg†, a mountain half a Norwegian league distant from Dronheim. If no more are discovered, it is probable that the invaders did not bring this mode of building with them. But they might have considered the use and convenience of these structures, and adopted the plan, making such improvements as appeared to them necessary. Thus, in some they formed walls, with galleries within; and in others, erected small buildings in the areas‡, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather; for being in an enemy's country, the Danes were obliged to use them as little garrisons: on the contrary, the natives never might consider them in any other

\* Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 336.—p. 261 of this volume.

† The building alluded to was the work of King Suerre, who died in 1202, about a hundred and four years after these isles were made subject to Norway by Magnus the Barefooted. Suerre might therefore have taken the model of this single tower from the Hebrides.

‡ Vide the Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 219. 292, 358.—p. 265 of this volume.



light than as short and temporary retreats from an invading enemy. It is also pretty certain, that the Danes either never reached some of the places where we now see these buildings, or at least never made any more than a short inroad. On the other hand, they possessed the islands and some of the coasts for a long series of years, and had ample time to form any improvements that were agreeable to them.

A few other antiquities are also found in this parish. On a plain below Dirnanean in Strath-Ardle is a circular mount, composed of small round stones, mixed with earth, coated with turf, on whose summit is an erect four-sided stone, of a considerable size. This seems a sepulchral memorial of some person of rank, whose urn is probably beneath. Another stone of the same kind is also to be seen at some distance from it, at the edge of the river.

At the east end of the same plain is the appearance of a grave, sixteen feet long, with a large stone at each end. In the language of the country this is styled the grave of high blood, from a tradition that a Danish prince was slain and interred here. It is suspected that a skirmish might have been fought here, and the slain in general buried in this place.

Of castles of a more modern date, this parish boasts only one, in the hollow of Mouline, of a square form, built with bad whin stone, cemented with hot lime, so strong as scarcely to be broken. Two round towers yet remain, and a transverse wall. The vestige of the ditch is still to be traced. The inhabitants ascribe the building to one of the Cummins; but Sir James Balfour\*, with more certainty, gives it to Thomas of Galloway, Earl of Athol, and acquaints us that it was the residence of the ancient Earls.

Proceed on my way; and, after a short ride through a barren and dreary tract, am again enraptured with the charms of Falkally, which appears like fairy ground, amidst the wild environs of craggy mountains, skirted with woods; it is seated in a beautiful meadow, on one side bordered with woods, on the other bounded by the Tumel, rival in size to the Tay, which at a small distance appears again gushing from between the wooded rocks, and tumbling down a precipice of great height, to water these delicious scenes.

Salmons annually force their passage even up this furious cataract, and are taken here in a most artless manner: a hamper, fastened to a wicker-rope, pinned into a cleft of the rock by a stick, is flung into the stream: now and then a fish, in the fall from its effort to get up, drops into this little ware. It is not to be supposed that the owner can enrich himself by the capture: in fact, the chance of his good fortune is hired out at the annual rent of one pound fourteen shillings.

At other times the fisher flings into the stream below a crow-foot, or caltrop, fastened to a long rope. On this instrument the salmons often transfix themselves, and are drawn up to land. Another method, of much risque to the adventurer, is at times practised. A person seats himself on the brink of the precipice, above the cataracts, and fixes one foot in the noose of a wicker-cord: here he expects the leap of a salmon, armed with a spear: the moment the fish rises, he darts his weapon at the hazard of falling into the water by his own effort, or the struggle of his prey.

A little to the east of this fall the Garrie unites itself with the Tumel, a river that rises from a lake thirteen computed miles above Blair. The noted pass of Killicrankie is formed by the hills that impend over it on each side; the waters of the Garrie rushing beneath in a deep, darksome, and horrible channel; in the last century a pass of much danger and difficulty, a path hanging over a tremendous precipice, threatening

\* M.S.



destruction to the least false step of the traveller ; at present a fine road, formed by the soldiery lent by government, and encouraged by sixpence per day added to the pay, gives an easy access to the remoter Highlands. A fine arch over the Garrie joins the once impervious fides.

Near the north end of this pass, in its unimproved and arduous state, on an open space, was fought the celebrated battle of Killcrankie ; when the gallant Viscount Dundee fell in the moment of victory, and with him all the hopes of the abdicating monarch. The enemies of this illustrious hero made his eulogy : Mackay, the defeated general, in the course of his flight, pronouncing the death of his antagonist : " Was Dundee alive," says he, " my retreat would not have been thus uninterrupted." His body was interred in the church of Blair. His glory required no inscription to perpetuate it ; yet the elegance of his epitaph, composed by Doctor Archibald Pitcairn, merits repetition, doing equal honour to the hero and poet :

Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo sospite solo  
 Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ.  
 Te moriente novos accepit Scotia cives :  
 Accepitque novos de moriente Deos.  
 Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi,  
 Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane vale.  
 Tuque vale gentis prisæ fortissime ductor,  
 Optime Scotorum atque ultime, Græme, vale.

O last and best of Scots ! who didst maintain  
 Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign ;  
 New people fill the land, now they are gone ;  
 New gods the temples, and new kings the throne :  
 Scotland and thou did each in other live,  
 Thou could'st not her, nor cou'd she thee survive ;  
 Farewel, thou, living, that didst support the state,  
 And cou'dst not fall, but by thy country's fate.

DRYDEN.

August 21. Continue my ride to Athol-house, in the Blair of Athol, seated on an eminence above a plain watered by the Garrie ; a most outrageous stream, whose ravages have greatly deformed the valley by the vast beds of gravel it has left behind.

The house or castle is of uncertain antiquity : the oldest part is called Cummin's tower, being supposed to have been built by John, commonly called de Strathbogy, who enjoyed the title of Athol in right of his wife. It became the principal seat of his successors. In 1644 the Marquis of Montrose possessed himself of it, and was joined by a large body of the Athol Highlanders, to whose bravery he was indebted for the victory at Tibbirmoor. In the troubles of 1653, the place was taken by storm by Colonel Daniel \*, an officer of Cromwell, who, unable to remove a magazine of provision lodged there, destroyed it by powder. In 1689, it occasioned one of the greatest events of the time, being the cause that brought on the celebrated battle of Killcrankie. An officer belonging to Viscount Dundee flung himself into it, and refusing to deliver it to Lord Murray, son to the Marquis of Athol, was by him threatened with a siege. His lordship, to effect the reduction, assembled a body of forces and marched towards the place. Dundee knew the importance of preserving this pass, and the communications with the Highland clans, in whom he had the greatest confidence †. With his usual expedition he joined the garrison ; and in a few days after concluded his glorious life with the well-known defeat of the royal forces under Mackay.

\* Whitlock, 582.

† Balcarras's Memoirs, 99.



The last siege it experienced was in 1746, when it was gallantly defended by Sir Andrew Agnew against the rebels, who retired from before it a few weeks preceding the battle of Culloden. As soon as peace was established, a considerable part of that fortress was reduced in height, and the inside most magnificently furnished.

The views in front of the house are planted with so much form, as to be far from pleasing, but the picturesque walks among the rocks on the other side cannot fail to attract the admiration of every traveller of taste. The late Noble owner, with great judgment, but with no less difficulty, cut, or rather blasted out, walks along the vast rocks and precipices that bound the rivers Banovy and Tilt. The waters are violent, and form in various places cascades of great beauty. Pines and trees of several species wave solemnly over the head, and darken the romantic scene. The place appeared to great advantage: for the Highlands, as well as other beauties, have their good and their bad days. The glen, that in 1769 I thought deficient in water, now by reason of the rains, looked to great advantage, and finished finely the rich scenery of rock and wood.

The York cascade, a mile from the house, merits a visit. It first appears tumbling amidst the trees, at the head of a small glen. The waters are soon joined by those of another that dart from the side. These united waters fall into a deep chasm, appear again, and, after forming four more cataracts, are lost in the Tilt, which likewise disappears, having for a considerable space excavated the rock we stood on; running invisible, with a roaring torrent, before it emerges to day.

It is but of late that the North Britons became sensible of the beauties of their country; but their search is at present amply rewarded. Very lately a cataract of uncommon height was discovered on the Bruer, a large stream about two miles north from this place. It is divided into five falls, visible at once, and in a line with each other: the four uppermost form together a fall of a hundred feet; the fifth alone is nearly the same height; so that when the whole appear in front, in high floods, they seem one sheet of near two hundred feet: a sight scarcely to be paralleled in Europe. Cataract

Trees of all kinds prosper here greatly: larches of twenty years growth yield plank of the breadth of fifteen inches. The late Duke annually lessened the nakedness of the hills, and extended his plantations far and wide. His attention to the culture of rhubarb must not pass unnoticed: for his benevolent design of rendering common and cheap this useful medicine, is blest with the utmost success. The roots which he had cultivated in the light soils, similar to those of the Tartarian deserts, the native place, increase to a vast size: some when fresh having been found to weigh fifty pounds, and to be equal in smell, taste, and effect to those we import at an enormous expence to our country. On being dried, they shrink to one quarter of their original weight. Rhubarb  
There is reason to suppose that the Scotch rhubarb may be superior in virtue to the foreign, the last being gathered in all seasons, as the Mongall hunters chance to pass by. They draw up the roots indiscriminately, pierce them at one end, and sling them on their belts, and then leave them to dry in their tents without further care.

Aug. 22. Leave Athol house. Return by Faskally along the great road to the junction of the Tummel with the Tay. Nature hath formed, on each side of the vale, multitude of terraces, some with grassy side, others wooded. Art hath contributed to give this road an uncommon magnificence: such parts, which want cloathing are planted not only with the usual trees, but with flowering shrubs; and the sides of the way are foddred in the neatest manner. In a little time the whole way from Dalnacardoch to Perth, near forty-five miles, will appear like a garden; if our sister Peg goes on at this rate, I wish that, from a confessed flattern,<sup>s</sup> she does not become downright finical.



On approaching Dunkeld, the vale becomes very narrow : at last leaves only space for the road and the river, which runs between hills covered with hanging woods. The town of Dunkeld is seated on the north side of the Tay ; is supposed to take its name from the word *Dun* a mount, and Gael the old inhabitants, or Caledonians, and to have been the *Castrum Caledoniæ*, and the *Oppidum Caledoniorum* of the old writers \*. At present I could not hear of any vestiges of Roman antiquity. The town is small, has a share of the linen manufacture, and is much frequented in summer by invalids, who resort here for the benefit of drinking goats' milk and whey.

This place in very early days became the seat of religion. Constantine III. king of the Picts, at the instance of Adamnanus is said to have founded here a monastery of Culdees, in honour of St. Columba, about the year 729 : these religious had wives according to the custom of the eastern church, only they were prohibited from cohabiting *dum vicissim administrarunt*. About 1127 that pious prince David I. converted it into a cathedral, displaced the Culdees, and made Gregory their abbot, the first bishop, who obtained from Pope Alexander III. ample protection and confirmation †. The revenue at the Reformation was 1505l. 10s. 4d. Scots, besides a large contribution of different sorts of grain ‡.

The present church was built by Robert Arden, the 19th bishop, who was interred in it, about the year 1436 §. Except the choir, which serves as the parish church, the rest exhibits a fine ruin, amid the solemn scene of rocks and woods. The extent within is 120 feet by 60. The body is supported by two rows of round pillars, with squared capitals. The arches Gothic.

In the vestry-room is a large monument of the Marquis of Athol, who died in 1703. It is hung with the arms of all the numerous connections of this illustrious house, which, by its great ancestor Sir James Stuart, called the Black Knight of Lorn, and first Earl of Athol of the present family, may boast of being related to every crowned head in Europe, excepting the Grand Seigneur.

In the body of the church is a tomb with the recumbent effigies in armour of Alexander Stuart, Earl of Buchan, third son of Robert II. by Elizabeth More ; a person of most uncommon impiety || ; and for his cruelty justly styled the Wolf of Badenoch. Yet his epitaph, when entire, ran thus :

“ Hic jacet bonæ memoriæ, Alexander Senescallus comes de Buchan et dominus de Badenoch, qui obiit 24 Novemb. 1394.”

The cathedral was demolished in 1559 : the monuments were destroyed in 1698, by the garrison that was placed there at that time. I looked in vain for the tomb of Marjory Scot, who died at Dunkeld, January 6th, 1728. Her epitaph was composed by Alexander Pennicuik, and is said to have been inscribed in memory of her longevity. It thus addresses the reader :

Stop, passenger, until my life you read,  
The living may get knowledge from the dead.  
Five times five years I liv'd a virgin life ;  
Five times five years I liv'd a happy wife ;  
Ten times five years I liv'd a widow chaste ;  
Now wearied of this mortal life I rest  
Betwixt my cradle and my grave were seen  
Eight mighty kings of Scotland and a queen.

\* Boethius, lib. ix. p. 167. Buchanæ, lib. ii. c. 22.

† Keith, 46.

‡ Maitland, Hist. Scot. i. 244.

§ Monteith's Epitaphs, 229.

|| 4th Edit. Tour Scot. 297.



Four times five years a commonwealth I saw,  
 Ten times the subjects rise against the law;  
 Thrice did I see old prelacy pull'd down,  
 And thrice the cloak was humbled by the gown.  
 An end of Stuart's race I saw, nay more,  
 I saw my country sold for English ore.  
 Such desolations in my time have been;  
 I have an end of all perfection seen.

The great ornament of this place is the Duke of Athol's extensive improvements, and magnificent plantations, bounded by crags with summits of a tremendous height. The gardens extend along the side of the river, and command from different parts the most beautiful and picturesque views of wild and gloomy nature that can be conceived.

Ascend the hill, and from a southern brow have a view of a chain of small lakes, on whose banks is Leigh Wood, an estate granted by James III. to John Stuart, Earl of Athol, as a reward for his victory over the great Macdonald of the isles.

Return towards the north, along an extensive flat, bounded on the right by vast and precipitous crags. On this plain is planted abundance of rhubarb, by way of trial whether it will succeed as well in these wild tracts as in the manured soils. Walk through a narrow pass, bounded by great rocks. One retains the name of the King's feat \*, having been the place where the Scottish monarchs placed themselves, in order to direct their shafts with advantage at the flying deer driven that way for their amusement. A chase of this kind had very nearly prevented the future miseries of the unhappy Mary Stuart. The story is well told by William Barclay, in his treatise *contra Monarchomachos*: it gives a lively picture of the ancient manner of hunting; and, on that account, will perhaps be acceptable to the reader in an English dress.

"I once had a sight of a very extraordinary fort, which convinced me of what I have said. In the year 1563, the Earl of Athol, a prince of the blood royal, had, with much trouble and vast expence, a hunting-match for the entertainment of our most illustrious and most gracious Queen. Our people call this a royal hunting. I was then a young man, and was present on that occasion: two thousand Highlanders, or wild Scotch, as you call them here, were employed to drive to the hunting ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Atholl, Badenoch, Marr, Murray, and the countries about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly, that in less than two months time they brought together two thousand red deer, besides roes and fallow deer. The Queen, the great men, and a number of others, were in a glen when all these deer were brought before them; believe me, the whole body moved forward in something like battle order. This sight still strikes me, and ever will strike me; for they had a leader whom they followed close wherever he moved.

"This leader was a very fine stag with a very high head: this sight delighted the Queen very much, but she soon had cause for fear; upon the Earl's (who had been from his early days accustomed to such sights) addressing her thus, 'Do you observe that stag who is foremost of the herd, there is danger from that stag, for if either fear or rage should force him from the ridge of that hill, let every one look to himself, for none of us will be out of the way of harm; for the rest will follow this one, and having thrown us under foot, they will open a passage to this hill behind us.' What happened a mo-

\* By mistake the view of this place, in the first and second edit, of the Tour, is called the King's feat, near Blair.



ment after confirmed this opinion : for the Queen ordered one of the best dogs to be let loose on one of the deer ; this the dog pursues, the leading stag frightened, he flies by the same way he had come there, the rest rush after him and break out where the thickest body of the Highlanders was ; they had nothing for it but to throw themselves flat on the heath, and to allow the deer to pass over them. It was told the Queen that several of the Highlanders had been wounded, and that two or three had been killed outright ; and that the whole body had got off, had not the Highlanders, by their skill in hunting, fallen upon a stratagem to cut off the rear from the main body. It was of those that had been separated that the Queen's dogs and those of the nobility made slaughter. There were killed that day 360 deer, with five wolves, and some roes."

From the summit of the King's seat is a beautiful prospect to the north of Strath-Tay ; and to the south, a still finer one of the winding of the river, through a tract enriched with corn-fields, and varied with frequent woods ; and, at a distance, the celebrated wood of Birnham, and hill of Dunfinane.

On descending into the gardens, visit the house, or rather villa, belonging to the Duke of Athol ; small, but furnished with peculiar elegance ; the windows are finely painted by Mr. Singleton, an eleve of the house, whose performances do him much credit.

Cross the Tay, to visit the improvements on the banks of the great torrent Bran, which rushes impetuously over its rugged bottom. All this part is a mixture of cultivation, with vast rocks springing out of the ground, among which are conducted variety of walks, bordered with flowers and flowering shrubs, and adorned with numbers of little buildings, in the style of the oriental gardens.

Continue my ride on the west side of the Tay, and soon quit this august entrance into the Scottish Alps. The mountains gradually sink, the plain expands, and agriculture increases. Arrive in the plain of Stormont, a part of Strathmore, or the great plain, being the most extensive of any in North Britain, bounded on the north by the Grampian hills, on the south by those of Ochil, and of Seidlow, and on the east by the sea ; stretching at one extremity within a small distance of Sterling, at the other to Stonehive in the Merns, but distinguished in different places by different names.

Pass by a neat settlement of weavers, called, from the inhabitants, Spittlefields. This country is very populous, full of spinners, and weavers of buckrams and coarse cloths or stentings ; of which twelve millions of yards are annually exported from Perth. Much flax is raised here, and the country is full of corn, but not sufficient to supply the numerous inhabitants. Late at night reach Inch-tuthel, the modern Delvin, the seat of John Mackenzie \* Esq. where I found a continuation of Highland hospitality.

The situation of this house is of strange singularity ; on a flat of a hundred and fifty-four Scotch acres †, regularly steep on every side, and in every part of equal height ; that is to say, about sixty feet above the great plain of Stormont, which it stands on.

\* Mr. Mackenzie's father, who was a good antiquary, held this to have been part of the land granted by Kenneth to the gallant Hay, the hero of the battle of Loncarty, whose descendants possessed it four or five centuries.

† The difference between the measures of land in Scotland and those used in England, is in proportion to the Scots fath of six Scots ells length, and the English perch, which by statute is in length five yards and a half, whereby the acres stand thus : one Scots acre is, one acre one rood and one perch English ; 100 Scots are 125 acres 2 roods 33 perches : so that the proportion is nearly as four is to five. It is to be observed, that there is no statute for the Scots chain, as there is for the English ; only a very old custom, which seems to have been brought from the Paris Royal Arpent, which is nearly the same with that used at present in Scotland, and called the Scots acre.



The figure is also remarkable, and much better to be expressed by an engraving than by any description of mine.

Two nations took advantage of this natural strength, and situated themselves on it. The Picts, the long possessors of these eastern parts of the kingdom, in all probability had here an oppidum, or town, such as uncivilized people inhabited in early times; often in the midst of woods, and fortified all round with a dike. Here we find the vestiges of such a defence, a mound of stones and earth running along the margin of the steep, in many places entire, in others, time or accident hath rendered it less visible, or hath totally destroyed it. The stones were not found on the spot, but were brought from a place two miles distant, where quarries of the same kind are still in use.

Another dike crosses the ground, from margin to margin, in the place it begins to grow narrow. This seems intended as the first defence against an enemy, should the inhabitants fail in defending their outworks, and be obliged to quit their station and retire to a stronger part. Near the extremity is what I should name their citadel; for a small portion of the end is cut off from the rest by five great dikes, and as many deep fosses, and within that is the strong hold, impregnable against the neighbouring nations.

This place had also another security which time hath diverted from them: the river Tay once entirely environed the place, and formed it into an island, as the name in the antient language, which it still retains, imports; that of *Inch-tuthel*, or the isle of Tuthel. The river at present runs on one side only; but there are plain marks on the north in particular, not only of a channel, but of some pieces of water, oblong, narrow, and pointing in the direction the Tay had taken, before it had ceased to insulate this piece of ground. I cannot ascertain the period when its waters confined themselves to one bed; but am informed that a grant still exists from one of the James's of a right of fishing in the river, at *Caput-mac-Athol*, east of the place.

It is not to be imagined that there can be any traces of the habitations of a people who dwelt in the most perishable hovels: but as the most barbarous nations paid more attention to the remains of the dead than to the conveniency of the living, they formed, either for the protection of the reliques of their chieftains from insults of man, or savage beast, or for sepulchral memorials, mounds of different sizes. - Ancient Greece and ancient Latium concurred in the same practice with the natives of this island. Patroclus among the Greeks, and Hector among the Trojans, received but the same funeral honours with our Caledonian heroes, and the ashes of Dercennus\* the Laurentine monarch had the same simple protection. The urn and pall of the Trojan warrior might perhaps be more superb than those of a British leader: the rising monument of each had the common materials from our mother earth:

The snowy bones his friends and brothers place,  
With tears collected, in a golden vase;  
The golden vase in purple palls they rolled,  
Of softest texture, and inwrought with gold.  
Last o'er the urn the sacred earth they spread,  
And rais'd a tomb memorial of the dead †.

Or, as it is more strongly expressed by the same elegant translator, in the account of the funeral of Patroclus:

High in the midst they heap the swelling bed  
Of rising earth, memorial of the dead †.

\* *Æneid*, lib. xi line 849.

† Pope's *Homer's Iliad*, book xxiv. line 1003.

† The same, book xxiii. line 319.



Monuments of this kind are very frequent over the face of this plain: the tumuli are round, not greatly elevated, and at their basis surrounded with a foss. Many bones have been found in some of these barrows, neither lodged in stone chests nor deposited in urns.

The Romans, in their course along this part of Britain, did not neglect so fine a situation for a station. Notwithstanding the great change made by inclosures, by plantation, and by agriculture, there are still vestiges of one station five hundred yards square. The side next to Delvin house is barely to be traced: and part of another borders on the margin of the bank. There is likewise a small square redoubt near the edge, facing the East-inch in the Tay, which covered the station on that side.

The first was once inclosed with a wall fourteen feet thick, whose foundations are remembered by two farmers of the name of Stertan, aged about seventy; who had received from their father and grandfather frequent accounts of ashes, cinders, brick, iron, utensils, weapons, and large pieces of lead, having been frequently found on the spot in the course of ploughing\*: and to the west of this station, about thirty years ago, were discovered the vestiges of a large building, the whole ground being filled with fragments of brick and mortar. A rectangular hollow made of brick is still entire: it is about ten or twelve feet long, three or four feet wide, and five or six feet deep. Boethius calls this place the Tulina of the Picts; and adds, that in their time, it was a most populous city; but was deserted and burnt by them on the approach of the Romans under Agricola. He also informs us, that it bore the name of Inch-tuthel in his days†. The materials from which this historian took the early part of his work are unknown to us, any further than what we learn from himself, that they were records sent to him in 1525 from Jona; but by whom compiled, remains undiscovered. I do not doubt his assertion; nor do I doubt but that some truths collected from traditions may be scattered amidst the innumerable legendary tales, so abundant in his first books. This I would wish to place among the former, as the actual vestiges of two nations are still to be traced on the spot. I would also call it the Orrea of the Romans, which the learned Stukely supposes to have been Perth, notwithstanding he places it in his map‡ north-east of the Tay, and on the very spot where the present Delvin stands.

Aug. 24. Leave Delvin. Cross the Tay, at the ferry of Caputh. Pass over a short tract of barren country. On the banks of a small rill are vestiges of an encampment, as is supposed, of the Danes, and to have been called from those invaders Gally Burn, or the burn of the strangers. A little farther, in a very fertile improved country, is Loncarty, celebrated for the signal victory obtained by the Scots, under Kenneth III §, over the Danes, by means of the gallant peasant Hay, and his two sons, who, with no other weapons than yokes which they snatched from their oxen then at plough, first put a stop to the flight of their countrymen, and afterwards led them on to conquest. These spirited lines are a perfect picture of the action:

Quo ruitis, cives? Heia! hosti obvertite vultus!  
 Non pudet infami vertere terga fugâ?  
 Hostis ego vobis; aut ferrum vertite in hostem.  
 Dixit, et armatus dux præit ipse jugo.  
 Quâ, quâ ibat vastum condensa per agmina Danum  
 Dat stragem. Hinc omnis consequiturque fuga.

\* By letter from the Rev. Mr. Bisset, minister of Caputh.

† In his account of Richard of Cirencester.

‡ Hist. Scotiæ, lib. iv. p. 64.

§ Who began his reign in 976.



Servavit cives. Victorem repulit hostem.

Unus cum natis agminis instar erat.

Hic Decius agnosce tuos magnæ æmula Romæ,

Aut prior hac; aut te his Scotiæ major adhuc \*.

The noble families of Hay derive their descent from this rustic hero, and, in memory of the action, bear for their arms the instrument of their victory, with the allusive motto of *jub jugo*. Tradition relates, that the monarch gave this deliverer of his country, in reward, as much land as a grey-hound would run over in a certain time, or a falcon would surround in its flight: and the story says that he chose the last. There is something heroic in this tale: but after all the truth is, the family may be derived from the ancient stock of De la Haye of Norman origin.

Over this tract are scattered numbers of Tumuli, in which are frequently found bones and entire skeletons, sometimes lodged in rude coffins, formed of stones, disposed in that form; at other times deposited only in the earth of the barrow. In one place is an upright stone, supposed to have been laid over the place of sepulture of the Danish leader. The present names of two places on this plain certainly allude to the action and to the vanquished enemy. "Turn again Hillock" points out the place where the Scots rallied, and a spot near eight Tumuli, called Danemark, may design the place of greatest slaughter.

Continue my ride through a fine plain, rich in corn; the crops of wheat excellent. The noble Tay winds boldly on the left; the eastern borders are decorated with the woods of Scone. The fine bridge now completed, the city of Perth, and the hills and rising woods beyond, form a most beautiful finishing of the prospect.

Perth, till about the year 1437, was the principal city of Scotland, the frequent residence of its princes, and seat of parliaments and courts of justice. It is placed in the middle of a verdant plain, which it divides in two parts, one called the north, the other the south Inch. This city rose after the destruction of the old Perth or Bertha, a place above two miles higher up the river, which was overwhelmed by a flood in the time of William the Lion in 1210, who, with his family, with difficulty escaped in a small skiff. William re-built the town in a place less liable to such calamities; and called it St. John's Town in honour of the saint.

Old Perth was a place of commerce in the year 1128, is evident from the charter of David I. to the abbey of Holyrood house, in which he gives a hundred shillings out of his small tithes there, or the duties arising from the first merchants that should come in to the port. In 1160 found here security in a strong tower from an attack made on him by Ferquhard Earl of Strathern, who made here an unsuccessful attempt to seize his person †.

The new Perth became considerable, not only on account of its being a royal residence, but likewise by reason of the vast commerce which its situation on one of the first rivers in North-Britain would naturally convey. Its importance soon gave it walls and fortifications. Major † calls it the only walled city in Scotland. The castle stood near the Skinner-gate street. The importance of the place made it frequently experience the calamities of war. Edward I., when he over-ran Scotland, possessed himself of this city. In 1312 it was taken by Robert Bruce § in the month of January; when he put to death the chief persons both English and Scotch, but spared the common people; after which he levelled the fortifications. After the fatal battle of Dupplin in 1332, Baliol, with small opposition, entered the place, and left it in possession of the

\* Joh. Johnstoni Heroes Scoti.

† Annals Scotland, 116.

‡ P. 20.

§ Fordun, 2, 244.



enemies of his country. Edward III. who knew its importance, repaired the walls, and restored the fortifications at the expence of the rich abbies of Arbroth, Cowper, Lindores, Balmerinoch, Dumferline, and St. Andrew's; and placed there, as governor, Sir Thomas Ochtrede. It remained under a foreign yoke but a small time; for in 1340 Robert Stuart, guardian of Scotland, with a strong army, and the assistance of William Douglas, who came opportunely from France, with five ships, restored the place to its natural master, after a gallant defence of two months and two weeks, by the governor Sir Thomas Ochtrede\*.

I do not recollect that it underwent any siege from that period till the religious wars of 1559; when the queen regent, provoked by the insult of the inhabitants on all she held venerable and holy†, placed there a garrison of French. The zeal however of the congregation soon collected a potent army to its relief under Argyle, who, after a short siege, obliged the garrison to capitulate and retire.

Perth from that time remained in peace above a century. In 1644 the Marquis of Montrose seized the place, after the battle of Tibbirmoor; and Cromwell, in July 1651, after a weak defence from a weak garrison, made himself master of this important city: and, to secure the possession, the English commissioners ordered‡ a citadel to be built on the South Inch, capable of containing five hundred men, the remains of which still retain the name of Oliver's Mount.

The Earl of Mar's army, in the rebellion of 1715, lay a considerable time in this place, and spent here considerable sums of money. This circumstance contributed as much to enrich the city, as the settlement of numbers of Oliver's forces, after the establishment of peace, assisted in introducing that spirit of industry, which, to this moment, distinguishes the inhabitants.

Perth is large, well built, and populous, and contains about eleven thousand inhabitants, nine thousand of whom are of the established church of Scotland; the rest of a variety of persuasions, such as Episcopalians, Non-jurors, Glaslites, and Seceders; the second chiefly consists of a congregation of venerable females. The town has but one parish, supplied with three churches, besides the chapels for such who dissent from the established church.

The two principal streets are remarkably fine: in some of the lesser ones are still to be seen a few wooden houses in the old style; but as they decay, the magistrates prohibit the re-building them in the same manner. The great improvement of the town is to be dated from the year 1745, it being supposed to have increased one third since that turbulent period: for the government of this part of Great Britain had never been properly settled till a little after that time.

The Tay washes the east side of the town, and is deep enough to bring vessels of one hundred and twenty tons burden as far as the quays: and, if Dutch-built, or flat-bottomed, even of two hundred tons burden. This enables the inhabitants of Perth to carry on a very considerable trade. The exports are as follow: Of white and brown linens, about seventy-five thousand pounds worth are annually sent to London, besides a very great quantity that is disposed of to Edinburgh and Glasgow: and London, Manchester and Glasgow take about ten thousand pounds worth of linen yarn.

Linseed oil forms a considerable article of commerce. Seven water-mills belonging to this place are in full employ, and make, on a medium, near three hundred tons of oil,

\* Major, 235.

† The reformers committed several excesses; such as interrupting the priests in their sermons, nailing a pair of ram's horns on the head of St. Francis, and a cow's tail to his rump, &c. &c.

‡ Whiteock, 528.

which



which is chiefly sent to London, and brings in from eight to nine thousand pounds. The first mill for this purpose was erected, about the beginning of this century, by John Duke of Athol. At the first a glass of whisky, mixed with half as much of the oil, was a fashionable dram; but this soon grew out of use, as well as the custom of throwing away the linseed cakes; which are now sold at a good price, and used with the utmost success in feeding cattle. The gentleman is now living, who first introduced stall-fed beef into the market of Perth. Before that time the greatest part of Scotland lived on salt meat throughout the winter, as the natives of the Hebrides do at present, and as the English did in the feudal times\*. So far behind has North Britain been in the conveniences of life, and such rapid progress has it of late made towards attaining them.

The exports of wheat and barley are from twenty-four to thirty thousand bolls.

Considerable quantities of tallow, bees' wax, dressed sheep-skins, dressed and raw calve-skins, and goat-skins are shipped from this place.

The exports of salmon to London and the Mediterranean brings in five thousand two hundred pounds sterling. That fish is taken here in great abundance. Three thousand have been caught in one morning, weighing, one with another, sixteen pounds a-piece; the whole capture being forty-eight thousand pounds. The fishery begins at St. Andrew's-day, and ends August 26th, Old Style. The rent of the fisheries amount to three thousand pounds a year.

No beggars are seen about the streets. In July 1776, sixteen persons were chosen from different quarters of the town, to assess the place for poor rates, for the maintenance of the indigent.

It is to no purpose to search for any remains of the monastic antiquities of this place; fanatic fury having in a few hours prostrated the magnificent works of mistaken piety. "Pull down the nests, and the rooks will fly away," was the maxim of the rough apostle Knox, and his disciples took effectual care to put in execution the opinion of their master.

The Dominicans first felt the effect of their rage. After the conclusion of one of his sermons, inciting the demolition of images and church ornaments, an indiscreet priest began the celebration of mass. A boy in his zeal flung a stone and injured a picture: the populace took that as a signal to begin the demolition, and in a very short time plundered the monastery, and laid all in ruin. This house was founded in 1231 by Alexander II. In 1437 its walls were polluted by the execrable murder of James I. the best and most accomplished prince of the name. He had retired to this convent on the rumour of a conspiracy. The attack was made: the heroism of Catherine Douglass, an attendant on the Queen, must not be passed in silence. She ran and shut the door on the first alarm; but, missing the bar which should have secured it, substituted her tender arm in the place, which was instantly crushed to pieces by the efforts of the assassins.

The Observantines, a branch of the Franciscans, had here a monastery, founded by Lord Oliphant, in 1460. It underwent the same fate with the other. In it, say the writers on the reformation, were found eight puncheons of salt beef, wine, beer, and plenty of other provisions; besides most excellent furniture, consisting of sheets, blankets, and beds; and yet there were only eight persons in the convent; from whence they drew an inference how ill the monks observed their vows of poverty and absti-

\* We admire the stock of provisions in the larder of the elder Spencer about the year 1327, when, as late as May, the carcasses of 80 salted beeves, 500 bacons, and 600 muttons were found, mere reliques of his winter provisions. But in those days, there was no hay, no harvelled food for domestic animals.



nence; never considering that the religious houses were the support of the poor, and the inns of the rich; and that their regular acts of charity and hospitality obliged them to keep these large stocks of provisions, without affording the means of applying them to the purpose of selfish luxury.

The rigid order of Carthusians founded a place here. James I. on his return from his English captivity, established a convent of them in 1429\*, as these monkish lines express:

*Annus millenus vicens sicque novenus  
Quadringentenus Scotis fert munera plenus:  
Semina florum, germina morum, mystica mella  
Cum tibi, Scotia, fit Carthusia, sponsa novella.*

The vicar of the Grand Chartreuse in Dauphiné was the first superior. On the dissolution, James VI. created George Hay, of Nethercliff, commendator of this priory, with the title of Lord, but finding the revenue too small to support the dignity, wisely resigned it into his Majesty's hands.

The church belonging to this monastery was said to have been one of the finest in Scotland. In it was the tomb of the royal founder, that of his Queen, Jane, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, son of John of Gaunt, and that of Margaret, Queen of James IV. and daughter of Henry VII. in right of whom the crown of England devolved on the royal family of Scotland. In the house was preserved the doublet in which James I. was murdered; which the monks, with pious regard, shewed, stained with blood, and pierced in many places with the swords of the conspirators.

Leave Perth, and pass over the South-Inch, a green beautifully planted. Keep ascending a hill for a considerable space, and enjoy a rich view of the carse of Gowrie, and of the firth of Tay, bounded by that fine tract on one side, and the county of Fife on the other. On passing the heights of this ascent, have a full view of Strathern: continue my way, for some time, on the fine terrace that runs along the northern side; and finish this day's journey at Dupplin, the seat of my noble friend the Earl of Kinnoul.

In the house are several very fine pictures: among others

The adoration of the shepherds; the worshipping of the wise men in the east; and Diogenes remarking the boy drinking out of his hand; three capital pieces, by Paulo Panini. The figures uncommonly fine.

Two monks praying: heads. By Quintin Metsis.

A fine half length of St. Jerom, half naked: a figure of intense devotion. His eyes lifted up, his mouth opening. By Lamanse.

A fine head of an old woman, looking over her shoulder, keen and meagre. By Honthorst.

Heads of Polembergh, the painter, and his wife. By Honthorst.

The head of Boon, a comic painter, playing on a lute. By himself†.

Head of Spenser the poetic ornament of the reign of Elizabeth; the sweet, the melancholy, romantic bard of a romantic queen; the moral, romantic client of the moral romantic patron, Sir Philip Sydney; fated to pass his days in dependence, or in struggling against adverse fortune, in a country insensible to his merit: either at court

\* The letter from the General of the order, dated from La grande Chartreuse, August 19th, 1426, is still extant; addressed to James, signifying permission to erect a house of that order at Perth. The General also offers to send two monks into Scotland to superintend the building.

† For an account of these three painters consult Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes, 4to. vol. ii. p. 112. 125. vol. iii. 27.



To loose good days; that might be better spent,  
 To waste long nights in penive discontent;  
 To speed to day, to be put back to-morrow,  
 To feed with hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;  
 To have his prince's grace, yet want her peers;  
 To have his asking, yet wait many years;  
 To fret his soul with crosses and with cares,  
 To cut his heart with comfortless despair;  
 To fawn, to crouch, to ride, to wait, to run;  
 To spend, to give, to want, to be undone \*.

Or in Ireland to be tantalized with the appearance of good fortune; to be seated amidst scenery indulgent to his fanciful muse; yet, at length, to be expelled by the barbarous Tyrone; to have his house burnt, and his innocent infant perish in the flames; to return home; to die in deep poverty; lamenting

That gentler wits should breed  
 Where thick skin chuffs laugh at a scholler's need †.

May it not be imagined, that, in the anguish of his soul, he composed his *Cave of Despair* ‡, as fine a descriptive poem as any in our language? Might not his distresses furnish him with too powerful arguments for suicide, had not his Una, or his innate religion, snatched him from the danger?

Another poet, equally neglected, but of too merry a turn to sink under any pressure, is the droll Butler, whose head, beautifully painted by Sir Peter Lely, is here also. This poet, instead of whining out his complaints to insensible Majesty, rallies his monarch with the same pleasantry that he exposed the ridiculous characters in his immortal poem:

This prince, whose ready wit and parts  
 Conquer'd both men and women's hearts,  
 Was so o'ercome with knight and Ralph,  
 That he could never claw it off;  
 He never eat, nor drank, nor slept,  
 But Hudibras still near him kept;  
 Nor would he go to church, or so,  
 But Hudibras must with him go;  
 Nor yet to visit concubine,  
 Or at a city feast to dine,  
 But Hudibras must still be there,  
 Or all the fat was in the fire.  
 Now after all, was it not hard  
 That he should meet with no reward,  
 That sited out this knight and 'squire  
 This monarch so much did admire?  
 That he should never reimburse  
 The man for equipage and horse,  
 Is sure a strange ungrateful thing  
 In any body but a King.  
 But this good King, it seems, was told  
 By some that were with him too bold,  
 "If e'er you hope to gain your ends,  
 "Careless your foes, and trust your friends."  
 Such were the doctrines that were taught,  
 'Till this unthinking King was brought  
 To leave his friends to starve or die;  
 A poor reward for loyalty §!

\* Mother Hubbard's Tale.

† Book I. canto ix.

‡ Quoted in the *British Biography*.

§ Butler's Remains.



Mrs. Tofts, in the character of St. Catherine : a beautiful picture. Mrs. Tofts lived at the very introduction of the opera into this kingdom, and sung in company with Nicolini ; but, being ignorant of Italian, chaunted her recitativo in English, in answer to his Italian : but the charms of their voices overcame this absurdity. Her character may be collected from the following epigram :

So bright is thy beauty, so charming thy song,  
As had drawn both the beasts and their Orpheus along ;  
But such is thy av'rice, and such is thy pride,  
That the beasts must have starv'd, and the poet have dy'd \*.

A head of Prince Rupert, by Lely, covered with a vast wig ; the unfortunate mode for that great artist, stiff and ungraceful. Rupert after a thousand actions, distinguished as much by their temerity as valour ; after several battles won and lost by his excess of courage, at once disgraced himself by a pannic. Accustomed to face an enemy in the field, and to act the part of the assailant ; he seems to have lost all spirit when cooped up within walls. He knew so little of himself that he promised his ill-fated uncle a four months defence of the important town of Bristol ; but as soon as the attack was made, he sunk beneath it, and made an almost instant surrender. After he was commanded by Charles to quit the kingdom, he still attempted some naval services ; but neither acquired fame nor success. After the restoration he recovered his former reputation ; and in the naval engagement with the Dutch, to which all later battles have been but play, his temerity seemed to have been lost : but his courage and conduct shone with equal lustre. His active spirit never suffered him to rest even in the intervals of peace. Love and the Arts were his relaxations. Miss Hughes, an actress, was the object of the first. Among the last we owe to him the art of mezzotinto scraping. He invented a metal for great guns, and a method for boring them. He also taught the first Kirkby the art of giving the fine temper to fish-hooks.

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, in a gown and velvet cap. By Richardson.

A beautiful miniature of Sir John Earnly, chancellor of the exchequer in the reign of Charles II., and one of the commissioners of the treasury in that of James II. on the displacing of Hyde, Earl of Rochester. By Cooper.

A head of Sir Thomas Nicholson, attorney-general. By Jameson.

George Hay, first Earl of Kinnoull, and chancellor of Scotland in 1622, who died in 1634. His dress a black robe furred ; a ruff ; a laced-linen cap : the seals by him. A fine full length, painted in the year 1633. Aged 63. By Mytens.

His son, the second Earl, captain of the guards to Charles I. a tall upright figure, with great roses in his shoes ; an active but unfortunate royalist, continued in arms as late as the year 1654, when he was totally defeated, and made prisoner, by the usurping powers in Scotland.

Sir George Hay of Meginnis ; full length, in armour : done at Rome, 1649. By L. Ferdinand.

Below stairs, in one of the bed chambers, is a half-length portrait of the celebrated James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, one of the most singular characters of the age. His engaging manner recommended him to the favour of James I. who first bestowed on him the title of Lord Hay, with rank next to our barons, but without privilege of sitting in the English Parliament. Soon after, without external ceremony, but by the mere delivery of the letters patent, before witnesses in the privy

\* She retired from England, and died at Venice, about twelve years ago.



chamber, at Greenwich, he conferred on him the honour of an English peerage; and this the lawyers held to be equally valid with any formal vestiture\*.

His majesty then procured him the sole daughter and heiress of Lord Denny, the greatest match of that time; and never ceased heaping on him honour, favours, and riches, which he seems not to have coveted for any other end than to indulge his violent passion for dress, luxury, and magnificence. He was a man of the greatest expence, and introduced more excess in cloaths and diet than any other that ever lived†; and was the inventor of all those expensive fashions from which others did but transcribe their copies. His dress in the portrait at Dupplin is an exception; being black slashed, and puffed with white; his hair short and curled; his beard peaked; but when he made his public entry into Paris as ambassador, his cloak and hose were of white beaver, richly embroidered with gold and silver. His cloak had no other lining than embroidery, the doublet cloth of gold richly wrought, and his white beaver hat brimful of embroidery. His horse was shod with silver shoes, slightly tacked on, so that every curvet flung off one to be scrambled for by the populace; and that was instantly replaced by a farrier who attended for the purpose‡.

Sumptuous as his apparel was on this occasion, it fell short of the dress in which he and the Earl of Holland appeared when they espoused, by proxy, Henrietta Maria; for they received her clad in beaten silver. They certainly did not consult the Graces in this stiffness of splendor.

In his embassy into Germany the same pomp followed him. At the Hague he met with his contrast in the frugal Maurice, Prince of Orange; who being told he ought to give an entertainment to the great English ambassador, "Let him come," says his highness; and looking over his simple bill of fare, seeing only one pig, ordered a couple§, by way of making the treat more sumptuous, nor could he be prevailed on to alter it. What a feast was this to him who seemed to have realized the entertainments of Sir Epicure Mammon! who used to have the board covered, at the entrance of his guests, with dishes as high as a tall man could reach, filled with the greatest delicacies; and after they had feasted their eyes, would cause them to be removed for a fresh service; who once permitted one person to carry off in his cloak-bag forty pounds worth of sweatmeats; another to eat a pye composed of ambergrise, musk, and magisterial of pearl||. It is not surprising that with all these extravagancies he wasted above four hundred thousand pounds; not that his generosity, attended with uncommon affability and gracefulness of manners, and with a great and universal understanding, should rivet him in the affection and esteem of the whole English nation. But that with the luxury of an Apicius, he could mingle the honest sentiments of a Clarendon in his advice to his prince¶; and that he dared to deliver to his opiniative master disagreeable truths, and unpalatable counsels, are facts more astonishing than any of his wasteful fooleries. To conclude, he finished his life in 1636, and quitted the stage *conviva satur* \*\*, dying, as the noble historian observes, with as much tranquillity of mind to all appearance, as

\* Camden's Annals, 1615. In the former edition of this volume I followed the translation in the Complete History of England, ii. 644, but find now I was misled by it.

† Clarendon, i. 61.

‡ Wilson, 92, 93, 94.

§ Wilton, 154.

|| Lloyd, ii. 62.

¶ Cabala, as quoted in Drake's Parliamentary History, v. 530.

\*\* Old Osborn, vol. i. p. 157, makes him die like a blasphemous lunatic: for when his own weakness had passed a judgment that he could not live many days, he did not forbear his entertainments, but made divers brave cloaths, as he said, "to outface naked and despicable death withal," saying, "that nature wanted wisdom, love or power, in making man mortal and subject to diseases."



used to attend a man of the most severe exercise of virtue, and with as little apprehension of death, which he expected many days.

In this apartment is a half-length of his son and successor to the title; but in the dining-room is a full-length of the same, a most beautiful portrait, by Cornelius Jansen. It is difficult to say which is most elegant; the person or the dress of this young nobleman, for it is drawn at an early period of life: all his father's fancy seems exerted in the habit, beset with loops and buttons: a love-lock graces one side of his neck: one hand is on his staff of office, the other on his side. His history is but brief. He married Margaret, daughter of Francis fourth Earl of Bedford; was appointed captain of the yeomen of the guard to Charles I.; and for taking an active part in putting the commission of array in execution, in the county of Essex, was by the parliament sent to the Tower. In 1643 he appears among the nobility, who signed the letter at Oxford to the popular general; but soon after deserted the royal cause, and took the oath appointed by parliament for those who flung themselves under its protection\*. At length, distressed in his circumstances, he retired to Barbadoes†, an island granted to his father, and died in 1660.

But the most remarkable head is that of the celebrated Catherine, Countess of Desmond. She lived to the age of some years above a hundred and forty, and died in the reign of James I. Sir Walter Raleigh speaks of her marriage as a fact well known to all the noblemen and gentlemen of Munster‡. He gives us room to think that she died before the publication of his History, which was in the year 1614. Supposing then her ladyship's age to have been a hundred and fifty at the time of her death, she might have danced in the court of King Edward, at the age of nineteen, a blooming widow, that prince not dying till 1483.

This lady was a most popular subject with the painters: besides this at Dupplin, there are not fewer than four others in Great Britain, in the same dress, and without any difference of feature. The most ancient is on board, in a bed-chamber at Devonshire-house, with her name and age (140) inscribed. The honourable John Yorke has another, at his seat near Cheltenham. There is a fourth in possession of Mr. Scott, printer, in Chancery-lane; and the fifth is in the standard closet in Windsor castle. The last was a present from Sir Robert Car, Earl of Roxburgh, as is signified on the back; above that is written with a pen, Rembrandt, which must be a mistake, for Rembrandt was not fourteen years of age in 1614, at which time it is certain that the Countess was not living§. The picture at Dupplin, which is much in the manner of that celebrated painter, is probably a copy done by him after some original he might have met with in his own country, for it does not appear he ever visited England.

Take the earliest opportunity of paying my respects to Mr. Oliphant, post-master-general, at his seat of Rossie, a few miles from Dupplin. I am in a particular manner indebted to this gentleman for the liberal concern he took in my journey, by directing that all my correspondencies relating to it should be freed and forwarded to me. A true instance of national politeness, and a peculiar honour done to myself.

In my road cross the Earn, and pass by the church of Fort-teviot, once the site of a Pictish palace, where Kenneth II. departed this life||, and where Malcolm Canmore is said to have resided. Near this place, a little to the west, are the vestiges of a camp, occupied by Edward Baliol, immediately before the battle of Dupplin, in August 1332. Donald, Earl of Mar, regent in the minority of David II., lay encamped on the hill,

\* Whitelock, 83. 145.

† Staggering State, &c 151.

‡ Hist. of the World, book i. ch. v. sect. 5.

§ Grainger's Biogr. vol. ii. 8vo. 1779-80.

|| Guthrie, i. 156.



at no great distance from Dupplin house. By an unhappy but common disagreement in feudal times, the other part of his forces were separated under the Earl of Dunbar, at Auchterarder, a few miles distant. This had determined Mar to stand on the defensive till he could be joined by the former; but Baliol crossing the river in the night, and beginning his attack, he was induced partly by that, partly by the reproach of timidity from the Earl of Carrick, to suffer his prudence to give way to rashness, and to renew the fight with Baliol, supported by the English archers, the best troops then in Europe. A horrible carnage ensued: three thousand Scots fell on the spot, among whom were the flower of the nobility; with no farther loss to the enemy than two knights, and thirty-three 'squires, without that of one common man. The day was particularly fatal to the Hays. Historians relate that the name would have been extinct, had not several of the warriors left their wives pregnant. We may be permitted to qualify this, by supposing, as seems to have been the case, that the line of the chieftain would have failed but for such an accident, a posthumous child preserving the race; or perhaps the whole may have been an invention, borrowed from the Roman story of the Fabii.

August 26. Determine on a little journey up Strathearn, and to the head of the river, at the loch of the same name. At a small distance from Dupplin, at the top of the hill, first meet with the Roman road, twenty-four feet broad, formed with great stones, and visible in many places. It continues one way by Tibbirmoor to Bertha, and from thence over the Tay near Perth; and to the west passes a little to the north of the castle of Innerpeffery, and is continued on the other side of the river, where it falls into the camp at Strageth, and from thence to that at Ardoch. Mr. Maitland seems to have traced the Roman roads and camps of North Britain with great industry, and to have discovered many that were never before observed. It was my ill fortune not to meet with his book till I had in a manner quitted the classical ground, therefore must refer the reader to his first volume of the History of Scotland for an account of these curious remains.

Proceed west. Pass by the great plantations at Gask-hall: in these woods is a small circular intrenchment; and about half a mile farther, on Gask-moor, is another, whose ditch is eleven feet wide; the area within the bank fifty-six in diameter; and between this and Innerpeffery are two others, similar, placed so near, that every thing that stirred beneath, or at a certain distance around, could be seen, having probably been the site of little observatory forts, subservient to the stations established by Agricola, on his conquest of this country.

Reach the village of Innerpeffery. At this place is a good room, with a library, for the use of the neighbourhood, founded by David, Lord Madderty, which still receives new supplies of books. Just beneath crosses the Earn in a ferry-boat, and turning to the left visit the Roman camp at Strageth: much of it is now defaced with the plough; but many of the vast fosses and ramparts are to be seen in several parts; also the rows of fosses and ramparts facing the exterior south-west side. According to Mr. Gordon, who caused it to be surveyed and engraved, the length is ninety-five paces, the breadth near eighty.

Breakfast at Mr. Keir's, agent to the forfeited estate of the Duke of Perth. The ground here is fertile, and about this place (Muthel) is well cultivated; the land is manured with grey marle, filled with river shells, though lodged eight feet beneath the surface; and turnips and cabbages are raised to feed the cattle; an example, if followed, of the first importance to the country.



Proceed along the military road towards Crief. See on the road side a row of neat small houses, intended for quiet retreats for disbanded soldiery, but, as usual, deserted by the colonists. This seems to have been the only Utopian project of the commissioners appointed by his Majesty for the management of the forfeited estates unalienably annexed to the crown, by the act of 25 George II. But as these gentlemen, with rare patriotism, discharge their trust without salary, they ought not to be liable to censure, like hireling placemen, on every trifling failure\*.

The service that this board has been of to North Britain is so considerable, that it merits a little farther attention than I have hitherto paid it. First, I must premise that the gross rent of these estates amounts to about eight thousand pounds; but after paying certain annuities to the widows of attainted persons, ministers' stipends, and other public demands, the salaries of agents, and other necessary officers, the clear residue, which comes into the hands of the receiver-general, amounts to little more than 5000l..

The application of this money has proved a great benefit to the country; out of it is paid annually two hundred pounds to schoolmasters stationed in many remote parts of the Highlands. The like sum annually for the purpose of bringing up the sons of the poorer tenants to useful trades; such as blacksmiths, cart-wrights, coopers, weavers, flax-dressers, &c. &c.; who, besides the expence of their education, are furnished with a set of tools, and a reasonable aid towards enabling them to pursue their respective trades, when they return to settle in their own country.

The commissioners often send the sons of some of the better sort of tenants into the Lowlands, and some into England, to be taught the best sort of farming. They encourage artificers to settle on the annexed estates, by affording them proper accommodation, and bestowing on them seasonable aids. They have from time to time expended large sums for the purpose of introducing and establishing the linen and the woollen manufactures, and for promoting fisheries in the Highlands; for making highways, and erecting bridges within the annexed estates and countries adjacent. In particular, they bestowed, under the sanction of His Majesty's permission, an aid of eleven thousand pounds towards building a bridge over the Tay at Perth; a noble work, and of great national utility.

They have caused large tracts of barren and uncultivated grounds on different parts of the estates to be inclosed, and planted with oaks, firs, and other trees, now in a very prosperous condition, and which will in time be of considerable value. They allow certain sums to tenants for inclosing their farms, free of interest for three years, after which they are to pay five per cent. advance in their rent. They employ skilful persons to make trials for discovery of mines and minerals, of medical and other useful indigenous plants. They lend their aid to every undertaking of public utility, that comes within the intent of the act, and constantly keep in view and hope to accomplish the great objects of it: "the civilizing of the inhabitants of the annexed estates, the promoting among them the protestant religion, good government, industry, manufactures, and the principles of loyalty to the present royal line."

Soon after leaving these houses, the unfortunate proofs of their good intentions, observe on the right and left two great rocks, called Concraig, running east and west for a vast way; their fronts steep, and perfectly smooth and even, so as to be easily mistaken for a wall. Go over the bridge of Crief, and pass through the town. It is plea-

\* Several advantages followed this plan, notwithstanding the primary object miscarried. 1. It caused a great deal of ground to be inclosed with hedges and ditches. 2. It gave rise to several plantations. 3. It produced a proper manner of building cottages, and left comfortable mansions for a more industrious people after they were deserted by their first inmates.



fantly seated on the side of a hill, and tolerably well built. It possesses a small share of the coarse linen manufacture.

Turn to the north-west, and have in front a fine view of the serpentine Earn, and numbers of little hills tufted with trees, and backed by immense rugged mountains.

Pass by Auchtertyre, the seat of Sir William Murray, situated on a hill, sprinkled over with good oaks, and commanding a most elegant view. The pretty Loch Monivard lies beneath, whose bottom yields a quantity of excellent marle, which is dragged up for a manure. The church of the same name lies at a small distance from it. About the year 1511, this place was a horrid scene of feudal revenge. Walter Murray, abbot of Inchaffery, having a claim on the tythes of this parish, then the property of the Drummonds, rode the boundaries in a manner that was interpreted by them insulting and tumultuous. They were determined to repel the abbot and his party, and at the instant were accidentally joined by an ally, the captain of Dunstaffage, who was likewise on an errand of revenging the murders of some Drummonds by certain of the name of Murray. The abbot fearing to be overpowered, took sanctuary in the church; when a shot from one of his party slew a follower of Dunstaffage, who took instant and cruel vengeance, by burning the place and all that had retired into it.

Pass by Laurs, a seat of Colonel Campbell, agreeably placed amidst woods. Go through the village of Comerie, near which are four great stones, erect, and placed so as to form a square. They appear to me the portal of a druidical temple, or place of worship, now destroyed; and that it was meant to dignify the entrance, and inspire the votaries with greater reverence, as if it was the place of peculiar sanctity. The curious, by consulting p. 187, and tab. xv. of the learned Borlase's *Antiquities*, may find a complete history of what these stones form only a part.

The valley begins now to grow very narrow, being continually intersected by small but beautiful hills, mostly clothed with woods, which occasion every half mile or less an agreeable change of scene; new vallies succeed, or little plains beyond plains, watered by the Earn, here limpid and rapid; frequently to be crossed on genuine Alpine bridges; supported by rude bodies of trees; over them others covered with boughs, well gravelled over. The higher we advanced the more picturesque the scenes grew; the little hills that before intersected the vales, now changed into great insulated rocks, some naked, others clothed with trees. We wound about their bases frequently through groves of small oaks, or by the side of the river, with continued views of the vast rugged Grampians on each hand, soaring far above this romantic scenery. Some little corn and grass filled the small plains where there was space free from trees. The last was now in harvest; but so short, that the peasants were obliged to kneel to cut it with a sickle. Their industry went so far as to induce them to cut it even among the bushes, and carry it into open places for the benefit of drying it in the free air.

At once arrive in sight of Loch-Earn, a fine extent of water, about eight miles long and one broad, filling the whole vale. A pretty isle tufted with trees divides the lake at this end. The boundaries are the vast and rugged mountains, whose wooded bases bound the margin, and very rarely give any opportunity of cultivation. A fine road through woods impends over one side, and is a ride of uncommon beauty. The great rocks that lay above us guarding the lands of Glen-Karken, are most wild and picturesque; for a while bend inwards, then soar precipitous, presenting a wooded front, overtopped with naked rocks, opening in parts to give a view of corn fields and farm houses, at a dreadful height above us.

This lake is the termination of Strathern towards the north-west, and gives name to the river which gives name to the valley. The word is originally derived from the

Celtic,



Celtic, Eryn, or Heryn, the west, as the river runs from that quarter. The Romans adopted it; and Claudian in particular speaks of this country, when celebrating the victories of the elder Theodosius.

maduerunt Saxone fuso  
 Orcades : incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule :  
 Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Ierne \*.

The Orknies first he dyed with Saxon gore,  
 Then Thule with the Pictish blood grew hot :  
 Icy Strathern bemoan'd huge heaps of Scots.

Return and dine at Comerie. Near this place, on a plain of some extent, is the famous camp which Mr. Gordon contends to have been occupied by Agricola, immediately before the battle of Mons Grampius, and to which, in order to support his argument, he gives the name of Galgachan, as if derived from Galgacus, leader of the Caledonians at that fatal engagement. This camp lies between the river of Earn and the little stream called the Ruchel : and on a plain too contracted for such a number of combatants as Tacitus says there was, to form and act in, or for their charioteers or cavalry to scour the field. There are indeed small hills at the foot of the greater, where the British forces might have ranged themselves before the battle ; but the distance from the sea is an insuperable argument against this being the spot, as we are expressly informed that Agricola sent his fleet before, in order to distract and divide the attention of the enemy, and that he himself marched with his army till he arrived at the Grampian mountains, where he found Galgacus encamped. From the whole account given by Tacitus, it should be supposed, that action was fought in an open country, at the foot of certain hills, not in a little plain amidst defiles, as the vallies about Comerie consist of. A conjecture may be made hereafter concerning the spot where the Grampian victory was obtained. The battle which was fought here, might have been that occasioned by the attack of the Caledonians on the ninth legion. Classical authority informs, that, in the general insurrection of that gallant people in the sixth year of Agricola's command, he divided his army into three parts ; one might be at Ardoch, the other at Strageth, the third or the ninth legion might be sent to push up the defiles of Comerie, in order to prevent the enemy from surrounding him, or taking advantage of their knowledge of the country, or his inferiority of numbers †. His three divisions lay so near, as to enable them to assist each other in case of an attack.

The Caledonians naturally directed their force against the weakest of the three armies, the ninth legion, which probably had not fully recovered the loss it sustained in the bloody attack by Boadicia ‡. The camp also was weak, being no more than a common one, such as the Romans flung up on their march. It has no appearance of ever having been stative : and it is probable that as soon as Agricola had, by an expeditious march, relieved this part of his army out of a difficulty they were fairly involved in, he deserted the place, and never hazarded his troops again amidst the narrows of this hostile country. Weapons and other instruments have been discovered on the spot, in the course of the forming the roads through this pass. A brazen spur, iron bands, a sort of iron hammer, and a most curious small iron battle-axe, or rather pick-axe, have been met with ; which are evidences of a conflict on this spot.

\* De IV. Conf. Honorii. lin. 31.

† Ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso, et ipse in tres partes exercitu incescit. Vita Agricolæ.

‡ Taciti Annales, lib. xiv. c. 32.



The camp, notwithstanding it could not boast of any great strength, is beautifully designed. The four entrances are entire, guarded by curtains within and without; but there are no vestiges of the prætorium, which confirms my suspicion that the attack was begun before all the usual works were completed. On the north side of this is another square entrenchment, joined to this by a regular communication. One side had been bounded by the Ruchel, but at present that little stream has removed itself to some distance. Within this entrenchment is another: I cannot help thinking that these works were intended as a stationary fort, it having the situation that the Romans consulted, that of a river on one side, but that it was left unfinished for the same reason that the camp was. The size of the camp is about nine hundred and seventy-five feet by nine hundred. There are some particularities about this place worthy to be mentioned; such as the multitude of oblong hollows that lie parallel, and divided from one another by banks three feet wide, which are to be seen just on the outside of the northern agger of the camp. These seem to have been places for dressing the provisions for the soldiery, not places of interment, as was suspected; for Mr. Macnab, schoolmaster of Comerie, at my request, was so obliging as to cause several of these holes to be dug through, and informed me that nothing but large quantities of wood charcoal was to be found, the culinary fuel; and not the least trace of urn or human bones were met with to countenance the other opinion. Besides these are two remains of antiquities, both monumental. The one British, a vast upright stone, near the edge of the camp: perhaps erected, after the retreat of the Romans, by the Caledonians, over some chieftain slain in the fight. The other a vast tumulus, which probably covered the slain. This was a Roman tribute to the memory of their unfortunate countrymen. Germanicus performed such exequies over the remains of the legions of Varus in Germany, and carried the first sod to the heap. *Primum extruendo tumulo cespitem Cæsar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos, et presentibus doloris sociis* \*.

Aug. 27. Visit Castle Drummond, seated boldly on the side of a hill, amidst a fine extent of woods, commanding a great view down Strathearn. The house is very unequal to the situation, being both mean and small; nor is it of any great antiquity. On the back part are some remains of the old castle, built by Sir John Drummond, hereditary steward of Strathearn in 1493, after removing from the ancient seat of the family at Stobhall. The family derive themselves from Mauritz, an Hungarian of royal blood, who, having the conduct of the mother and sisters of Edgar Atheling, in their flight from the Norman usurper, was (with his royal charge) driven by a storm into the Firth of Forth. The reigning monarch Malcolm Canmore fell in love with, and married the Princess Margaret, one of the sisters; and, in reward to Mauritz, for his skilful pilotage, made him a considerable grant of lands, and caused him to assume the name of Drymen, or the high ridge; but figuratively the great wave of the sea, in memory of the perils from which he had delivered the fair Queen.

The castle was besieged immediately after the cruel burning of the church of Monivard; the chieftain and his followers having retired thither to screen themselves from their inherited punishment. It soon surrendered to the King, James IV. on condition that their lives should be preserved; but as soon as that Prince got them in his power, he carried them to Stirling, where they suffered death for their iniquitous barbarity. It was afterwards besieged, taken and garrisoned by Cromwell's forces, and finally, at the Revolution, totally demolished. The ruin of the family was completed in 1745, when the Duke of Perth, by an unfortunate attachment, forfeited the ancient estate, to



the amount of four thousand a year, and lost his life, worn out with the fatigues of the winter's campaign.

Continue my ride southerly. See, on the top of a moor about four miles from Castle Drummond, a small but strong exploratory fort, called Kemp, or, more properly, Camp-Castle. The area is seventy-six feet by sixty-four, and is defended by three deep ditches. This seems to have been a place of observation subservient to that of Ardoch, two miles distant. The Roman way, which is continued from the camp at Strageth, passes by this fort, and leads me to the next. On each side are to be observed multitudes of holes, mostly of a round form, out of which probably the materials had been got for the making of the roads, such at least are frequent on the sides of the Roman roads in England and in Italy.

Pass through a small glen, or rather a deep hollow, which crosses the road, and see a deep and oblong trench, perhaps made as a lodgment for a small party to defend this part. A little farther, on a line with this, is a small round area, like those on Gaskmoor, but considerably stronger, being surrounded by not fewer than three fosses. Not remote from this, on the front of a deep dell, is a regular lunette, with a very strong foss; and near that again another round fort, defended by two ditches.

From this lunette is a great foss, which passes half a mile wide of Ardoch, and, as I was informed, fell into the water of Kneck, at two miles distance from its origin.

I am now in the midst of classical ground; the busy scene of action in the third year of Agricola's expeditions. Through this valley he led his troops, when he carried the terror of his arms as far as the Tay; when he passed unmolested through new discovered nations, with the elements warring against him\*. Here after all the difficulties he met with in conducting his forces through the forests, and wading through æstuaries first tried by himself†; he found an ample space for erecting of fortresses, and establishing of stations‡. Of these

Ardoch forms the first and chief, seated at the head of two vales, and commanding a view into each: into the fertile Strathallan, which leads to Stirling, the probable rout of Agricola; and into the Glacialis Ierne, the present Strathearn, an open tract, which, under the common name of Strathmore, gave full space for the operations of this celebrated leader.

As this stationary camp was the most important, so it was secured with greater strength and artifice than any of the rest. No general ever equalled him in the judicious choice of situation; no camp he made was ever taken by storm, or obliged to surrender, or to be deserted§. This he fixed on an elevated situation, with one side on the steep bank of the little river of Kneck, and being fortified on that part by nature, he thought fit to give it there the security of only a single foss. The other three have five, if not six fosses, of a vast depth, with ramparts of correspondent heights between. The works on the south side are much injured by the plough; the others in fine preservation. In the area is the prætorium, or the quarter of the general, in a tolerable perfect state. The area is four hundred and fifty feet by four hundred. The four portæ, or entrances, are plainly to be distinguished; and the road from the prætorian port to the prætorium very visible. This station was of force sufficient to baffle any siege from a barbarian enemy: this was one of those that he made a winter garrison during

\* Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus, quâ formidine territi hostes, quanquam conflictatum sævis tempestatibus, exercitum laceessere non auli.

† Æstuaria ac sylvas ipse prætentare.

‡ Ponendique insuper castellis spatium fuit.

§ Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum, aut pactione aut fugâ desertum.



the remaining time of his command in the country; and by laying in a year's magazines of provisions freed the soldiers from all apprehensions of a blockade\*, and enabled them to make frequent sallies.

To the north of this fortress are the outlines of three inclosures, surrounded, if I recollect right, by only single ramparts. They are the works of different periods, or perhaps might have been the summer camps to this station; or they might have been the proestria to the place, a sort of free towns, built and inclosed with slight entrenchments, under the cover of the fort, which might be styled their citadel†. The first is contiguous to it, and receives into the west side the Roman road. The measurements of the area are a thousand and eighty feet by eight hundred and forty. The portæ are quite filled up.

Another very large one lies north of this, and part of the south, and even trespasses on, and takes in a small portion of it. The four entrances are very visible, and each has, by way of defence, opposite to it, on the outside, a short rampart. The dimensions of this are two thousand six hundred feet, by sixteen hundred and seventy. The present road to Stirling runs through the midst of this.

A third, which seems never to have been completed, breaks in on one side of the greater; it points towards the Kneek, and either never reached that water, or has been on that side totally defaced.

Many antiquities have been found about this station, such as bits of bridles, spear-heads, and armour, which were deposited at Ardoch-house, the seat of Sir William Stirling, where they remained till the year 1715, when they were carried away by the soldiers. Since that time a very curious sepulchral monument has been discovered there, and presented to the College at Glasgow. It is inscribed thus:

*Dis manibus Ammonius. Damionis coh. 1. Hispanorum stipendiorum XXVII. Heredes F. C.*

This is engraven in the xvth plate of the College Antiquities, and mentioned by Mr. Horsley among the Scottish monuments. Sir William Stirling did me the honour of informing me, that several coins have been found there, but now dispersed; and that there is in his possession an urn filled with ashes, a fragment of the unburnt scull, and a piece of money. The last had, in all probability, been put into the mouth of the deceased as the fare of Charon for wafting him over Styx.

I must not omit, that opposite to Ardoch, on the other side of the Kneek, is a place called the Keir. Here, says Mr. Gordon, (for I did not visit it,) are a great many circumvallations and ramparts of stone and earth, and regular terraces descending on the side of the hill. In Wales we have many British posts that bear the general name of Caer; and had I time to have examined it, I should doubtless have found it to have been one.

Nor must I leave this place without observing, that from its ramparts is to be seen the plain of Sheriffmoor, where the ill-disputed battle of Dunblain was fought in 1715. The Earl of Mar lay with his army the evening before at Ardoch.

On leaving this fine relique of antiquity, proceed down Strathearn. Pass by a stupendous Cairn. Cross an extensive black moor, and soon after reach Tullibardine‡, a great old house, the original seat of the Murrays, and which gives the title of Mar-

\* Crebræ eruptiones; nam adversus moras obsidionis, annuis copiis firmabantur.

† Vide Horsley, p. 101.

‡ From Tulloch, a hillock, and Bardin, bards; this place being supposed to have been appropriated to the support of a bard. In old times districts were allotted by the great men for their support, which often became hereditary in their families. Doctor Macpherson, 218.



quis to the heir of Athol. In 1715 it was made a garison by the rebels, and for some time impeded the advance of the King's army towards Perth. Before the house, according to honest Lindefay, was shewn the length and the breadth of the great ship, the Great Michael, built by James IV. and described by his historian with most scrupulous minuteness \*. The dimensions, says he, were expressed here by the shipwrights, by a plantation of hawthorns, which I looked for, but in vain.

Near the house is a very neat case of a small church; but the inside is quite ruinous.

Draw near the Ochil hills, verdant and smooth; see at a small distance, at their foot, Kincardine, an ancient seat of the Montrose family. To the left is the small town of Auchterardire, which, with Muthel, Blackford, Dinin, and several other villages, were burnt by an order of the Pretender, dated from his court at Scone, the 17th of January, and the fifteenth year of his reign, 1715—1716. This cruel command was executed in a most uncommonly severe season; and the poor inhabitants of every age and sex left exposed to the rigour of the cold. To palliate these proceedings, the necessity of obstructing the march of the King's forces towards Perth was pleaded: and that the Pretender, on his flight from that city, left in the hands of General Gordon, for the use of the sufferers, a large sum of money, with a letter to the Duke of Argyle, requesting a proper distribution.

Go through Dinin, and reach Dupplin at night.

Aug. 28. Ride to see the ruins of a great cairn on the road side, about a mile north of Dupplin, which had been lately demolished. On removing the stones, were discovered at the bottom a great number of chests whose dimensions were two feet eight by two feet two, every one consisting of five flags, forming four sides and a lid. In all excepting one were bones, and mixed with them in some of the chests were round perforated bodies, which I suspect to have been druidical beads; there were besides numbers of rings, heart-shaped trinkets, and others of a flat and oblong form, all made of a coarse glass.

At a small distance from this place is the plain of Tippir-moor, where the Marquis of Montrose gained a signal victory over the Covenanters, a rabble from the county of Fife, with an inferior army of half-armed Highlanders and Irish. "If ever God spake word of truth out of my mouth," says one of the enthusiastic divines to his friends, "I promise you in his name assured victory this day:" but he was possessed with a lying spirit; for two thousand of their flock fell in the field, and two thousand more were taken prisoners. Tradition records a barbarous superstition of the Irish troops, who that morning put to death an innocent herdsman they happened to meet, from the notion that victory would declare itself for the party which first drew blood.

\* "In this same year the King of Scotland bigged a great ship, called the Great Michael, which was the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever sailed in England or France; for this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oak wood, by all timber that was gotten out of Norrway; for she was so strong, and of so great length and breadth, (all the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other strangers, were at her device, by the King's commandment, who wrought very busily in her, but it was year and day ere she was complete.) To wit, She was twelve score foot of length, and thirty six within the sides; she was ten foot thick in the wall, and boards on every side, so slack and so thick that no cannon could go through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the sea. From the time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with tows and anchors offering thereto, she was counted to the King to be thirty thousand pounds of expences, by her artillery which was very great and costly to the King by all the rest of her orders. To wit, She bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind in her dock, and one before, with three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to say, myand and battered-falcon, and quarter-falcon, flings, pestilent serpents, and double-dogs, with haptor and culvering, cors-bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six score of gunners to use her artillery; and had a thousand men of war by her captains, shippers, and quarter-masters."



Reach the church of Tippiir-moor, which takes its name from a holy well, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. This parish was sometime the residence of the bishop of Dunkeld. Bishop Galfred died here in 1249; and Bishop Sinclair in 1337\*. The last re-built and restored the church of St. Serf, on the north side of the water of Almond, once the chief of this parish; but, as report goes, was afterwards deserted on account of a child of Lord Ruthven's being drowned in the river, in returning from being baptized.

Below the minister's house is a rhomboid intrenchment, called the Ward: but there is not the least tradition about the design of it. A little farther is a high copped tumulus or mount, styled the round Law, such places being in these parts generally supposed to have been the seats of justice.

At a small distance from hence arrive at the high banks above the river Almond, which here waters the plain that extends to Perth, and falls into the Tay, about a mile above that city. Near this place was seated the ancient Bertha, or Perth, which Boethius asserts had been the residence of the Scottish Kings. Here, says he, Kenneth exercised severe justice on the great Banditti†. This place, says Buchanan‡, was besieged by the Danes before the battle of Loncarty; it was totally destroyed by a flood in 1210, and the city re-built on the spot where the present Perth stands. The tide of the Tay, in former times, reached this place; from which circumstance is derived the name, Bertha, being a contraction from Aber-Tay, or the place where the Tay met the sea§. An anchor has been found here; and, as I have been told, that on digging, are to be found almost every where old walls, vaults and caueways, far beneath the present surface of the ground. The Romans had a station on its banks, which their road pointed to: and still the falls of the cliffs produce many proofs of the truth of the assertion. About eight years ago, by the lapse of a great piece of land, was discovered great quantities of excellent iron, in short thick bars, from one to two feet in length, as if it had been cut for the convenience of retailing.

Other falls have produced discoveries still more singular, and have layed open a species of interment, as far as I know, hitherto unnoticed. Some years ago, in the face of a broken bank, were discovered, six pillars in a line, ten feet distance from one another, and eighteen feet high from the top of the ground to the bed of the Almond, shewing out of the bank a semicircular face. These proved to have been the contents of certain cylindrical pits, sunk in the earth as places of sepulture. The urns were placed in them, and the hollows filled with earth of a different kind from the banks, and so strongly rammed in, as to remain coherent, after the former had in part been washed away. The Rev. Mr. Duff has described these hollows in a manner somewhat different, comparing them to the segments of a cone, with the broader part downwards; and to have been filled with bones, ashes, and fragments of urns. These funebrious vessels have been found here of different sizes; one of very uncommon dimensions as well as materials: being of fine clay only half an inch thick; and entirely plated in the inside with brass. It is capable of containing ten gallons; and was filled with ashes. Other urns of a small size have been met with in these pits; one held some wood ashes, and part of a lacrymatory; an evidence of the nation they belonged to. So that if we may rely on the map of Richard of Cirencester, this place might have been the Orrea of the Romans.

A mile farther, on the plain, is the ancient house of Ruthven; once the seat of the unfortunate Gowries. It consists of two square towers, built at different times; and

\* Mill's Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, MS.

† Lib. VI. c. 31.

§ Annals Scotland, 138.

† Lib. XI. p. 217.



distinct from each other; but now joined by buildings of latter date. The top of one of the towers is called the Maiden's leap, receiving its name on the following occasion: a daughter of the first Earl of Gowrie was addressed by a young gentleman of inferior rank in the neighbourhood, a frequent visitor of the family, who never would give the least countenance to his passion. His lodging was in the tower, separate from that of his mistress;

*Sed vetuere patres quod non potuere vetare.*

The lady, before the door was shut, conveyed herself into her lover's apartment; but some prying Duenna acquainted the countess with it; who cutting off, as she thought, all possibility of retreat, hastened to surprize them. The young lady's ears were quick; she heard the footsteps of the old countess, ran to the top of the leads, and took the desperate leap of nine feet four inches over a chasm of sixty feet, and luckily lighting on the battlements of the other tower, crept into her own bed, where her astonished mother found her, and of course apologized for the unjust suspicion. The fair daughter did not choose to repeat the leap; but the next night eloped, and was married.

But this place was the scene of more serious transactions, which laid the foundation of a repentment that proved fatal to its noble master. Here was executed the generous design of freeing James VI. from his worthless favourites, who were poisoning his youth with exalted notions of royal prerogative; and instilling into him those principles which, in after times, proved so destructive to his progeny. Gowrie, with numbers of other peers, inveigled James into this castle, in the year 1582, on his return from a hunting match in Athol. When he was about to depart, he was stopped by the nobles in a body, who presented him with the memorial against the ill conduct of his principal favourites. He endeavoured to free himself from restraint, but was prevented; and upon his bursting into tears, was told by the guardian of Glames, that it was better children weep than bearded men. This was called the Raid of Ruthven. The conspirators carried him off; but on his escape he again resigned himself to Arran, a favourite void of every species of virtue, and even, after an act of oblivion, declared them guilty of high treason, and actually put Gowrie to death at Stirling, after a trial injurious to his Majesty's honour.

After the doubtful conspiracy of the two sons of this unfortunate nobleman at Perth, and after their deaths, and posthumous conviction, the very name was abolished by act of parliament; the house indeed was preserved; but to obliterate all memory of so detested a family, even the name of that was changed to Hunting-Tower.

Near this house is the stone building called the Lowfwork, so styled from Low the first contriver. This serves to divert part of the water of Almond into an aqueduct, leading to Perth, which is of the greatest service to the various mills at this present time, and anciently assisted to make the place almost impregnable, by filling the ditch that surrounded the walls. On one side of this aqueduct is the bout of Balhousie, a stone work, perforated with an orifice, thirty-two inches round, guarded with a circle of iron at each end. This hole is permitted, by very ancient usage to convey a portion of water to the mill of that name. A contract is still extant between the magistrates of Perth and Eviot, then the owner of Balhousie, in 1464, about the repair of this bout; and very lately the same has been renewed by the Earl of Kinnoul, the present noble possessor of those lands\*.

\* As it is my wish to preserve the memory of every benefactor to the human species, I must not omit mention of Alexander Christie, an Irish-Scot, who about fifty years ago in this parish, at a place called Tulloch, set up the first bleaching ground; and was the first person who introduced the right culture of potatoes into this country.



Mr. Duff from this spot pointed to me the site of Tillilum, near Perth, once a convent of Carmelites, in the east end of the parish of Tippi-moor. The founder is not mentioned: we only learn from Keith that Richard Inverkeithing, Bishop of Dunkeld, built here a fine chapel and a house, in 1262, and that the synods of the diocese were wont to be kept here for fear of the Cattarranes, or the Highland robbers, till the year 1460, when Thomas Lauder, Bishop of Dunkeld, removed them to his own cathedral\*.

In my return to Dupplin had a distant view to Methwen, a place lying between Tippi-moor and the Almond, noted for the defeat Robert Bruce received here from the English, in 1306, under Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.

The banks of this river, about two miles higher than Bertha, afforded an untimely grave to the fair friends, Bessie Bell, and Mary Gray, two neighbouring beauties, celebrated in an elegant Scotch ballad, composed by a lover deeply stricken with the charms of both. One was the daughter of the Laird of Kinvaid, the other of the Laird of Lednoch. A pestilence that raged in 1666, determined them to retire from the danger. They selected a romantic and sequestered spot, on the side of Brauchie Burn, where:

They bigged a bower on yon Burn brae,  
And thick'd it o'er with rushes.

Here they lived for some time, and as should seem, without jealousy, for they received the visits of their lover, till catching the infection; they both died, and were both interred in the lands of Lednoch, at Dronach Haugh†.

August 29. Leave Dupplin, and re-visit Perth. Am honoured by the magistrates with the freedom of the city.

Pass over the part of the North-Inch. On this plain, in 1396, a private war between the Clan Chattan, and the Clan Kay, was decided in a manner parallel to the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii. A cruel feud raged between these warlike tribes, which the King, Robert the III., in vain endeavoured to reconcile: at length the Earls of Crawford and Dunbar proposed, that the difference should be determined by the sword, by thirty champions on each side. The warriors were chosen, the day of combat fixed, the field appointed, and the King and his nobility assembled as spectators. On reviewing the combatants, one of the Clan-Chattan (seized with a panic) was missing; when it was proposed, in order to form a parity of numbers, that one of the Clan Kay should withdraw; but such was the spirit of that brave people, that not one could be prevailed on to resign the honour and danger of the day. At length one Henry Wind, a fadler, who happened accidentally to be present, offered to supply the place of the lost Macintosh, for the small sum of a French crown of gold. He was accepted; the combat began, and Henry fairly earned his pay, for by his prowess victory declared itself in favour of his party. Of that of Clan-Chattan only ten and the volunteer were left alive, and every one of them dangerously wounded. Of the Clan-Kay only one survived, who, declining so unequal a combat, flung himself into the Tay, and swam over unwounded to the opposite shore‡.

Ride over the bridge of Perth, the most beautiful structure of the kind in North Britain, designed and executed by Mr. Smeaton. Its length is nine hundred feet; the breadth (the only blemish) twenty-two within the parapets. The piers are founded ten feet beneath the bed of the river, upon oaken and beachen piles, and stones laid in puzzalane, and cramped with iron. The number of arches nine; of which the centre

\* MS. Life of the Bishops.

† Buchanan, lib. X. c. 2, 3.

‡ Gabions of Perth, p. 19.



is seventy-five feet in diameter. This noble work opens a communication with all the different great roads of the kingdom, and was completed at the expence of twenty-six thousand pounds: of this the commissioners of forfeited estates, by his Majesty's permission, gave eleven thousand; Perth, two; private subscribers, four thousand seven hundred and fifty-six; the royal boroughs, five hundred. But still this great work would have met with a check for want of money, had not the Earl of Kinnoull, with his characteristic public spirit, advanced the remaining sum, and taken the security of the tolls: with the hazard only to himself.

Several preceding bridges have been washed away by the violent floods, that at times pour down from the Highlands. The first misfortune on record is that which befel it in 1210, in the time of William the Lion, before recited by me. I am uncertain whether it suffered a second time before the year 1329; or whether the order given that year by Robert I., for liberty of getting stones out of the quarries of Kynkarachi and Balcormoc\*, for the building of that, the bridge of Earn, and the church of Perth, was not for re-building the former, which might have lain in ruins since the days of William. After this, it met with a succession of misfortunes, in the years 1573, 1582, and 1589; and finally, in the year 1612, when it had been just re-built and completed in the most magnificent manner, a fatal flood overthrew the whole: a judgment, said the people, on the iniquity of the place, for in 1606 here was held that parliament, "at which bishops were erected, and the lords rode first in their scarlet gowns"†. From that period it lay neglected, till the late successful attempt restored it at least to its former splendor.

On reaching the eastern banks of the Tay, make a digression about a mile and a half to the left, to see the celebrated abbey of Scone‡, seated amidst beautiful woods, and, at a small distance from the river. Long after the foundation of the abbey, Scone had been a place of note. It is called by some the ancient capital of the Picts: but it certainly was the seat of the princes of Scotland as early as the time of Kenneth. On a tumulus, still in being, they kept their court of justice: on this they sat to determine the pleas between their barons, whence it was called the *Mons Placiti de Sconá, omnis terra*, or the Mote hill of Scone. It is also, sometimes called Boot hill, in allusion to a supposed ancient practice of bringing to this place, a bootfull of earth from different estates, when the proprietors were here to be invested in them. Mote, in the Galic tongue, signifies a court; for in very early times it was customary for the great people to deliver their laws from eminences of this kind. - Our Druids had their Gorseddau, where they sat aloft, and delivered their decrees, their sentences, and their orations to the people.

It has been said, that Malcolm Mac-Kenneth, or Malcolm the II. seated in the famous chair, placed on this mount, "gave and distributed all his lands of the realm of Scotland amongst his men, and reserved nothing in propertie to himself, bot the royall dignitie, and the Mutehill in the towne of Scone§." So that it should seem the very existence of his royal dignity depended on the possession of this hill of authority. But I must remark with Mr. Guthrie, that this distribution ought to be taken in a more limited sense: it being incredible that any Prince should thus totally divest himself of all the royal demesnes. It is most probable that he only renewed to his barons the grants

\* On opening this quarry, for the materials of the present bridge, numbers of the ancient tools were discovered.

† Gabions, 82.

‡ Or Seyon, as it is called in a charter of Alexander II. Vide Anderson's Diplomata, No. XXX.

§ Regiam Majest. p. 1. and Boethius, lib. XI. p. 245.



of their lands, and in reward for their faithful services made their tenures sure and hereditary, which before they held precariously, and on the will of the crown \*.

The abbey was founded by Alexander the First, in 1114, and was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Michael the arch-angel, and filled with canons regular of St. Augustine. It is said to have been originally a seat of the Culdees, which is not improbable, as it is not to be supposed that so noted a place could be destitute of some religious order. The revenues at the reformation were considerable: amounting to 1140l. 6s. 6d. Scots; besides sixteen chaldrons and two firlots of wheat; seventy-three chaldrons thirteen bolls, two firlots and two pecks of bear; sixty-two chaldrons of meal; eighteen chaldrons and three bolls of oats; and one last of salmon.

In the church of this abbey was preserved the famous chair, whose bottom was the fatal stone, the palladium of the Scottish monarchy; the stone, which had first served Jacob for his pillow, was afterwards transported into Spain, where it was first used as a seat of justice by Gethalus, cotemporary with Moses. It afterwards found its way to Dunstaffage in Argyleshire, continued there as the coronation chair till the reign of Kenneth II. who to secure his empire removed it to Scone. Here it remained, and in it every Scottish monarch was inaugurated till the year 1296, when Edward I. to the mortification of North-Britain, translated it to Westminster abbey; and with it, according to ancient prophecy, the empire of Scotland.

The ceremony of placing the new monarch in the coronation chair was hereditary in the ancient Earls of Fife. Edward, in the midst of his usurpation, paid a strict attention to that point: the office was in Duncan the eleventh Earl; but as he was under age and with the King, I find in Rymer's *Fœdera* † a writ dated Nov. 21, 1292, at Norham, directing one John of Perth, instead of the young Earl, to perform the ceremony of putting his creature John Baliol into the regal chair at Scone.

This abbey, with the church, in the year 1559, underwent the common fate of religious houses, in the furious and ungovernable season of reformation. This was demolished by the zealots of Dundee, in resentment of one of their company being killed by a shot from the house. The nobility who were present strove to divert their rage, being more interested in the preservation, from the prospect of sharing in the plunder of the church.

In the church is the monument of Sir David Murray, ancestor of Lord Stormont, the present owner of the place. Sir David's figure is placed in an attitude of devotion, with a long inscription, relating his lineage, offices and virtues. Charles II. was crowned in this church before he set out in the expedition that terminated in the fatal battle of Worcester. The crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle, the wily peer being for once cheated by the young prince, who flattered him with the hope of seeing one of his daughters mother of a line of kings †.

In the year 1715 the old Chevalier resided here for some time, and issued out six proclamations, among which was one for his coronation on the 23d of January 1716; but before that time his resolution failed, and he fled from a crown he was unworthy to wear. His son, in 1745, made the place a short visit.

Return the same road; pass near the end of the bridge of Perth, and after a short space, ride beneath the vast rocks of Kinnoull, which threaten destruction to the traveller, from the frequent falls from this black and ragged precipice. Many awful ruins are scattered far beyond the road; one of which a few years ago overwhelmed a small

\* Hist. Scotland, I. 226.

† Vol. ii. p. 600.

‡ Clarendon, vi. 395.



cottage and the poor inhabitants. Beautiful agates are frequently found in this hill. In examining the fragments that lay beneath, I discovered a considerable quantity of lava, a proof of its having been an ancient volcano.

In the church of Kinnoull is the magnificent monument of Chancellor Hay \*. His lordship is represented standing under a rich entablature, supported by three pillars: two elegantly carved, the third plain, surrounded by a coronet. His dress is a long gown, great ruff, and small close cap. The seals and a scull are placed on a table before him. Beneath is a space designed for the epitaph, but left uninscribed.

Soon reach the noted Carse of Gowrie, a fine tract that extends in length fourteen miles, and in breadth four, bounded on the north by a range of hills called the Braes of Gowrie, and by the river Tay on the south. Too much cannot be said of its fertility. It is covered with corn of every species; peas and clover all in great perfection; varied with orchards, plantations, and gentlemen's seats. The roads are planted on each side with trees, which, with the vast richness of the country, reminded me of Flanders; and the extensive corn lands, with the mud-houses, dabbled on the outside with cow-dung, for fuel, immediately brought before me the idea of Northamptonshire. It agrees with the last also, in finding during summer a great deficiency of water for common uses, and a great lack of fuel all winter; so that the following is become a proverbial saying, (false, I trust, in the last instance) "that the Carse of Gowrie wants water all summer, fire all winter, and the grace of God all the year through."

The view of the Tay and the opposite shore add great charms to the view. On the southern bank stands Elcho, a poor convent of Cistercian nuns, founded by David Lindsay of Glanerk and his mother, on a piece of ground belonging to Dumferline; endowed afterwards by Madoch †, Earl of Strathearn, with the lands of Kinnaird in Fife. But the recluses were never very opulent, as their whole revenue at the Reformation amounted but to sixty-four pounds six shillings and eight-pence.

A little further the Tay begins to spread considerably, and to assume the form of an æstuary. At a hamlet called Hawkestone, see on the road side a very large stone, said to be that on which the hawk of the peasant Hay alighted, after it had performed its flight round the land which was given to the gallant rustic in reward of his services: on it is inscribed in modern letters, I know not why, the word Caledonia.

Reach Errol, a small town, remarkable for the beautiful views, particularly those from the gardens of Mr. Crawford, seated on a knoll, with a rich view of land or water from every part. Here I remarked the *arbor vitæ* of a very uncommon size, being five feet six inches in circumference. The seeds ripen here very well.

Observe, about a mile to the left, Castle-Lion, a seat of the Lions Earls of Strathmore.

The Carse of Gowrie terminates a few miles farther, when the land grows higher, but still continues fertile and improved.

The southern boundary of the Tay is the shire of Fife, a beautiful extent of country, rising gently from the water edge. Newburgh, a port of Perth, where vessels of three hundred tons may lie, is to be seen on that shore, a little east of Abernethy. Farther on are many places of note that lie on that coast, and were seen in the course of this day's ride. The first is Lindores, a little east of Newburgh, a rich abbey, founded by David Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William the First, on his return from the Holy Land, about the year 1178. The pious inhabitants were Tyronecian monks, drawn from the abbey of Kells, whom Boethius pronounces to have been famous for the inno-

\* Sir George Hay first Earl of Kinnoull.

† Probably Malaife or Maurice, for I see no Madochs among the Earls.



cency of their manners. Their revenue in money was two thousand two hundred and forty pounds fourteen shillings and fourpence Scots; and they had besides twenty-two parish churches dependent on them. The Duke of Rothesay, eldest son to Robert II., who was starved to death at Falkland by his uncle, was, according to report, buried in the church of this abbey.

A few miles more to the east, on the same shore, are the ruins of Balmerino, or Balmerinoch, a most beautiful abbey of Cistercians (transplanted from Melros), begun by Alexander II. and his mother Emergarda, in 1229, on lands purchased by her for a thousand marks from Richard de Ruele, who resigned this and the lands of Cultreach and Ballindean to her in 1215, for this pious use. Various other donations were bestowed on it; among which may be reckoned Corbie and Birkill, and its parks, bequeathed by Lawrence of Abernethy, because the royal foundress had left him in her will a legacy of two hundred marks sterling. The preceptory of Gadvan in Fife also belonged to this abbey, and two or three of the monks always resided on it. The revenues of the place were not large, not exceeding seven hundred and four pounds two shillings and tenpence halfpenny in Scots money. At the Reformation Balmerino was erected into a barony, in favour of Sir James Elphinston.

Near the village of Invergowrie quit the shire of Perth, and enter that of Angus, and after a ride of three or four miles arrive at Dundee, a well-built town, seated on the æstuary of the Tay, about eight miles from the mouth, in lat. 56.—24. 30. long. from London 3—5. 3. west; and is the third in rank of the royal boroughs. The number of inhabitants in the town and suburbs amount nearly to fourteen thousand. Here are three established churches, with three ministers and two assistants, for the discharge of the duty of the parish, which includes a certain district near the town; besides, there are two episcopal chapels, a meeting-house for the Glasites\*, and three for the burgher and antiburgher seceders.

The town is seated on the side of a hill, and is rather irregularly laid out. Above it is Law of Dundee, a mark to seamen. The harbour is artificially protected by piers, and furnished with a quay, on which are three very handsome public warehouses, built in 1756. The largest is composed of a centre a hundred feet long, with two handsome wings, all built of free-stone, and their corners adorned with rustic work. The harbour is very commodious, and very accessible by people that are acquainted with it. There are on the north shore, near the entry of the æstuary, two light-houses, very completely finished, and well attended, being the property of the fraternity of seamen at Dundee; but the want of a new survey is much to be regretted, as the sands have of late years shifted: the public therefore look up to the admiralty expecting its attention in this important article. The port will contain about two hundred sail, has at spring tides fourteen feet water, and admits vessels of upwards of three hundred tons burden. There are at present about seventy ships belonging to the place, and one of two hundred and sixty-four tons, that is employed in the Greenland whale-fishery. An attempt is now making to revive the coasting cod-fishery.

The manufactures of Dundee are linen, especially of Osnaburghs, sail-cloth, cordage, threads, thread-sockings, buckrams (a new work in Scotland), tanned leather, and shoes, for the London market; hats, which has set aside their importation from England for the supply of these parts; and lastly, as an article of trade, may be mentioned a sugar-house, erected about seven years ago, which does considerable business. Here was, in memory of man, a manufacture of coarse woollen cloth, called plaiden, which

\* Or the followers of Mr. John Glas, founder of the sect of Independents in North Britain.



was exported undressed, undyed, to Sweden, Germany, and the United Provinces, for cloathing the troops of those countries; but this was superseded by that of Osnaburghs, which commenced in the year 1747, and is now the staple of the county of Angus. In 1773, 4,448,460 yards were stamped; the price from fourpence to sixpence a yard. These are shipped for London, Newcastle, Leith, Burrowstones, and Glasgow, from whence they are sent to the West Indies and America, for the cloathing of the slaves. To the same places are also exported threads, soap, shoes, leather, and fadlery goods. To Sweden and Norway are sent potatoes, and dressings of flax; and in times of plenty, when exportation is allowed, corn, meal, and flour. The salmon taken near Broughtay castle is sent salted to Holland.

In respect to imports, it receives from North America, Russia, Memel and Dantzick, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Portugal, the usual exports of those countries; and from Holland undrest flax, for the manufacture of threads and fine linens, pot-ashes, linseed, clover-seed, old iron, and madder, for the use of dyers. Such is its present state.

The public buildings, ancient and modern, are these: the magnificent Gothic tower of the old church, a venerable and superb building, now standing by itself, giving reason to every spectator to regret the loss of the body. The only remains are the choir; called the Old Kirk, whose west end is crossed by another building, divided into two places of worship, evidently of a later construction, and probably built out of the ruins of the old: the last, when entire, was in form of a cross, and, according to Boethius, founded by David Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William I. of Scotland, and dedicated to the blessed Virgin. This happened on his return from his third crusade, in which he had accompanied Richard I. in 1189, and carried with him five hundred of his countrymen. After undergoing various calamities incident to these pious warriors, on his return to his native country he was nearly perishing by shipwreck in sight of this place, when vowing to erect a temple to the Virgin he was instantly relieved, and shewed his gratitude in this superb pile\*. It must be confessed that he called in the aid of other well-disposed people; for he obtained a mandate from the Pope, still to be seen in the Vatican†, recommending, to assist in the expence, a collection throughout Christendom.

The time that part of the body of the church was destroyed is not certainly known; it was probably at the time of the Reformation, when the zealots of this place made excursions far and wide to destroy the churches of other cities.

This place had several religious houses; one of Mathurines, founded by James Lindsay, whose charter was confirmed at Perth, in 1392, by Robert III. Another of Dominicans, by Andrew Abercrombie, a burghess of the town. A third, of Franciscans, by Devorgilla, daughter to Alan Lord of Galloway; but that was supported only by alms. Lady Beatrix, dowager of William Earl of Errol, gave them a hundred pounds Scots, on condition that the monks prayed (with a low voice) for her soul, and that of her husband. In 1482 they consisted of a warden and fourteen brethren. The fourth was a nunnery, whose name is barely mentioned‡.

The town-house is a most elegant structure, begun in the year 1730, and finished in 1734. It was carried on under the directions of the father of the gentlemen to whom we owe the Adelphi. It contains the post-office, the court-room, with vaulted repositories for the records, the guildhall, and the council-chamber.

\* Boethius, lib. xiii. 275, 276.

† It was shewn to Doctor William Raitt, in 1740, by the Pope's librarian.

‡ Keith, 243. 272. 274. 283.



Here is a new church, built in a style that does credit to the place, and which shews an enlargement of mind in the presbyterians, who now begin to think that the Lord may be praised in beauty of holiness.

There is not a relique left of the ancient castle; but its site may be found where the Lion inn now stands.

Two or three miles east of Dundee, on the river, are the ruins of the fort called Brough-Tay Crag; over against which is Parton Crag, or East Ferry, from whence is the road to St. Andrew's. This place was taken by the English fleet, in 1547, on the invasion of Scotland by the Duke of Somerset. The English remained in possession of it till 1550, when it was surrendered to the French under M. Deslè, who by its capture freed the Scots from a most troublesome neighbour.

This place derives its name from Dun, a hill, and Dee or Tay, the river, on which it stands; for Tay seems to have been corrupted from Dee, a common Celtic name for several rivers. Boethius says that its ancient name was Alectum, but I cannot learn on what foundation. The Roman fleet entered this æstuary, and might have had a station in some part; but from diligent enquiry I cannot learn that there have been either camp or road, or coins, or any other traces of that nation discovered in the neighbourhood.

The first notice I find of it in history is on the occasion before mentioned, when the Earl of Huntingdon founded its church, and changed, as Boethius asserts, its name from Alectum to Dei Donum. It was a considerable place in the time of Edward I., who in his northern progress, in 1291, reduced it and other places that lay in his way. About the year 1311 it was in possession of his son, who placed there as governor William de Montfichet\*. In 1423 it entered into an obligation with Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen to raise eleven thousand pounds towards paying the ransom of James I., then prisoner in England†. This is a proof of its wealth at that time; and an evidence of its commerce in 1458 may be collected from the royal privilege granted to it by James II., of the following tolls towards the repair of the harbour, which were thus imposed: on every ship ten shillings; on every crayer, buss, barge, or ballinger, five shillings; on every fercoft, twelve-pence; on every great boat, six-pence‡.

But Dundee received a dreadful check by the siege it underwent by the English, under General Monk, in September 1651. The governor, Major-general Lumsden, was summoned; but returning a very insulting answer, Monk determined to storm the place. By means of a Scotch boy he discovered the situation of the garrison, that it was secure, and generally by noon in a state of intoxication. He made a feint, as if he intended to raise the siege; but returned instantly with his forces supplied with sheaves of wheat cut out of the neighbouring fields; with them they filled the ditch, succeeded in their attack, and put about six hundred of the garrison to the sword. The governor perished, as Sir Philip Warwick says§, by the hands of a fanatic officer, after quarter was given, to the great concern of the humane Monk. The booty was immense, for besides the wealth found in the town, there were sixty sail of ships in the harbour||.

I must not quit Dundee without saying that Dudhope, the seat of the gallant Viscount Dundee, lies a little north of the place. It had been the ancient residence of the Scrymseours, and was rebuilt in 1600 by Sir John Scrymseour, a family ruined in the civil wars. It fell at length to the crown, and was granted by James VII. to the Viscount, then only

\*† Ayloffe's Ancient Calendars, 123. 306.

‡ Anderson's Dict. of Commerce, i. 277.

§ Memoirs, 361.

|| Vide Gumble's Life of Gen. Monk, 42. Whitelocke, 508, 509.



Graham of Claverhouse; on his heroic death it was given to the Marquis of Douglas, and still remains in that house.

Aug. 30. In the morning continue my journey, and turn from Dundee northward. The country grows a little more hilly; is still much cultivated; the soil is good, but the fields of wheat grow scarcer. Leave on the left Balumbi, a ruined castle with two round towers. On the right is Clay-pots, one of the seats of the famous Cardinal Beaton.

Leave, unknowingly, to the west a curious monumental stone, set up in memory of the defeat of Camus, a Danish commander, slain on the spot, about the year 994. According to Mr. Gordon \*, it is in form of a cross. On one side is a most rude figure of our Saviour crucified; beneath, a strange Centaur-like monster with six legs. On the upper part of the other side is a man, his head surrounded with a glory, and an angel kneeling to him. Beneath are two forms like Egyptian mummies; and in the third compartment, two men with bonnets on their heads and books in their hands. The battle was fought near the village of Barray, where numbers of tumuli mark the place of slaughter; but Camus flying, was slain here. Commissary Maule mentions a camp at Kaer-boddo, fortified with rampart and fofs, to this day styled Norway dikes.

Reach Panmure, a large and excellent house, surrounded by vast plantations. It was built about a hundred years ago, on the site of the seat of the ancient family of the Maules, in the barony of Panmure, conveyed into that house by the marriage of the heiress of the place, daughter of Sir William de Valoniis, lord chamberlain of Scotland in the reign of Alexander II. This barony and that of Banevin had been granted to his father Philip de Valoniis, and confirmed to himself by William to be held by the service providing half a soldier whensoever demanded †.

In the house are some excellent portraits of distinguished personages; among them a half-length of the Earl of Loudon, chancellor of Scotland during the civil wars of the last century, esteemed the most eloquent man of his time, and the most active leader of the covenanting party. We may learn from his history, that the regard pretended by the faction for the interests of religion was mere hypocrisy. The proof may be collected from the imprisonment of this nobleman in the Tower, in the year 1639, for the highest act of treason; for joining in an offer to put his country under the protection of the French king, provided he would assist the party in their designs ‡; for offering to unite with powers the most arbitrary in Europe, and the most cruel and inveterate persecutors of their Calvinistical brethren; but the violence of party would have induced them to have heard a mass which they pretended to abhor, provided they could reject the innocent liturgy, and tyrannize over sinking monarchy. After the quarrel of the Scots with the English parliament, he united in the endeavours of his countrymen to restore Charles II., yet passed sentence, as chancellor, on the gallant Montrose, with all the founess of his old friends, and with all the insolence of a Jefferies. On the defeat of the King at Worcester, his new attachments obliged him to avoid the rage of the ruling powers: he fled to the Highlands, at length made his peace, and lived in obscurity till his death in 1663.

A half-length of the first Earl of Panmure, in his robes. He was lord of the bed-chamber to Charles I., and a faithful servant to his Majesty in all fortunes. After the King's death he retired into Scotland, where, in 1654, he was fined, by an ordinance of the Protector's council, in the sum of ten thousand pounds, for no other reason than that his sons were engaged in the royal cause.

\* Itin. 154. tab. liii. fig. 1.

† Anderson's Diplomata, No. xxviii.

‡ Clarendon, i. 129.



James Earl of Panmure, in a long wig, and armour, disgraced by James II. for non-compliance with that Prince's designs in favour of popery; yet, at the convention of the estates at the Revolution, was a strenuous advocate in defence of his old master. In 1715 carried his attachment so far as to join the insurgents in favour of the son; behaved with gallantry at the battle of Sheriff-moor, and forfeited his estate and honours in the cause. His nephew, by his merit, recovered the title, being created on that score Earl of Panmure in the kingdom of Ireland; and fortune, in this instance a judicious goddess, supplied him with the means of purchasing the large family estate.

A fine head of Prince Rupert, looking over one shoulder.

A fine portrait of the Duke of Monmouth, sitting: his hair long and beautiful; his dress, a brown fatten mantle, and a laced cravat.

A head of the Duke of Hamilton, killed by Lord Mohun.

Charles XII. of Sweden, with his usual savage look.

The Duc d'Aumont, the French ambassador in the reign of Queen Anne, who came over on the occasion of the peace. He is said to have paid this fine compliment to the troops that had helped to reduce the dangerous power of his master, by observing emphatically, at a review near London, "that he was very glad to see them in that place \*."

Mr. Colehill of Chigwell, Yorkshire, a half-length, in a black cap, furred gown, with a gold chain.

His daughter, grotesquely dressed in black; her arms perfectly *beriffées* with points. She was the lady of Sir Edward Stanhope, president of the north, whose picture in small is by her.

August 31. Proceed eastward through an open country, and in two hours reach Aberbrothick, or Arbroath, seated on the discharge of the little river Brothick into the sea, as the name imports; aber in the British implying such a situation. It is a small but flourishing place, well built, and still encreasing: the town has been in an improving state for the thirty last years, and the number of inhabitants greatly augmented. This is owing to the introduction of manufactures; the number at this time is said to be about three thousand five hundred: these principally consist of weavers of coarse brown linens, and some sail-cloth; others are employed in making white and coloured threads; the remainder are either engaged in the shipping of the place, or in the necessary and common mechanic trades.

The brown linens, or Osnaburghs, were manufactured here before any encouragement was given by government, or the linen company erected at Edinburgh. The merchant who first introduced the manufacture is still alive, and has the happiness of seeing it overspread the country. It appears from the books of the stamp office in this town, that seven or eight hundred thousand yards are annually made in the place, and a small district round. Beside this export, and that of thread, much barley, and some wheat is sent abroad; but so populous is the country, that more than an equivalent of meal is imported.

The foreign imports are flax, flax-seed, and timber, from the Baltic. The coasting trade consists of coals from Borrowstones, and lime from Lord Elgin's kilns in Fife. The first forms a considerable article of commerce, this being the last port to the north into which that commodity may be brought, free from the heavy duty commencing after it has passed the promontory, the Red Head. The coast from the Buttonefs, or northern cape of the Firth of Tay, is entirely destitute of a port, as far as the harbour

\* Communicated by the Rev. Mr. Granger, to whose liberal disposition I find myself often indebted.



of Montrose. In fact this eastern side of the kingdom is as unfavourable to the seaman as it is to the planter. Whosoever will give themselves the trouble of casting their eye on the map, will perceive that from the Humber's mouth to John-a-Groat's house, there is an uncommon scarcity of retreats for the distressed navigator: they occur seldom, and have often near their entrances the obstructions of sand to render the access difficult. On the western side of the kingdom nature hath dealt out the harbours with a perfect profusion; not a headland can be doubled, but what offers a safe anchorage to the distressed vessel.

Aberbrothick would have wanted a harbour, had not the aid of art been called in; for in default of a natural, a tolerable artificial one of piers has been formed, where at spring tides, which rise here fifteen feet, ships of two hundred tons can come, and of eighty at neap-tides; but they must lie dry at low water. This port is of great antiquity: there is an agreement yet extant between the abbot and the burghers of Aberbrothick, in the year 1194, concerning the making of the harbour. Both parties were bound to contribute their proportions; but the largest fell to the share of the former, for which he was to receive an annual tax, payable out of every rood of land lying within the borough. This is a royal borough, and, with Montrose, Brechin, Inverbervie, and Aberdeen, returns one member to parliament.

The glory of this place was the abbey, whose very ruins give some idea of its former magnificence: it lies on a rising above the town, and presents an extensive and venerable front; is most deliciously situated, commands a view of the sea to the east, of a fertile country to the west, bounded by the Grampian hills; and to the south, of the openings into the firths of Tay and Forth.

The abbey was once inclosed with a strong and lofty wall, which surrounded a very considerable tract: on the south-west corner is a tower, at present the steeple of the parish-church; at the south-east corner was another tower, with a gate beneath, called the Darn-gate, which, from the word darn, or private, appears to have been the retired way to the abbey. The magnificent church stands on the north side of the square, and was built in form of a cross: on the side are three rows of false arches, one above the other, which have a fine effect, and above them are very high windows, with a circular one above. In April last a part adjoining to the west end fell suddenly down, and destroyed much of the beauty of the place. The length of the whole church is about two hundred and seventy-five feet, the breadth of the body and side-aisles, from wall to wall, sixty-seven: the length of the transept an hundred and sixty-five feet; the breadth twenty-seven.

It seems as if there had been three towers; one in the centre, and two others on each side of the west end, part of which still remains. On the south side, adjoining the church, are the ruins of the chapter-house; the lower part is vaulted, is a spacious room, well lighted with Gothic windows. Above is another good apartment.

The great gate to the abbey fronts the north: above the arch had been a large gallery, with a window at each end. At the north-west corner of the monastery stand the walls of the regality prison, of great strength and thickness: within are two vaults, and over them some light apartments. The prison did belong to the convent, which resigned this part of its jurisdiction to a layman, whom the religious elected to judge in criminal affairs. The family of Airly had this office before the Reformation, and continued possessed of it till the year 1747, when it was sold and vested in the crown with the other heretable jurisdictions.

In the year 1445, the election of this officer proved fatal to the chieftains of two noble families. The convent had that year chosen Alexander Lindeſay, eldest son of



the Earl of Crawford, to be the judge or bailey of their regality; but he proved so expensive by his number of followers, and high way of living, that they were obliged to remove him, and appoint in his place Alexander, nephew to John Ogilvie of Airly, who had an hereditary claim to the place; this occasioned a cruel feud between the families; each assembled their vassals, and terminated the dispute near the town. The Lindfays were victorious, but both the principals fell in the battle, with about five hundred of their followers.

Very few other buildings remain. In the area within the great gate is to be seen part of the abbot's lodgings, built on strong vaults, three stories high, consisting of some large and handsome rooms.

This abbey was founded by William the Lion in 1178, and dedicated to our celebrated primate Thomas à Becket. The founder was buried here, but there are no remains of his tomb, or of any other, excepting that of a monk of the name of Alexander Nicol. The monks were of the Tyronensian order, and were first brought from Kelso, whose abbot declared those of this place on the first institution to be free from his jurisdiction. The last abbot was the famous Cardinal Beaton, at the same time archbishop of St. Andrew's, and, before his death, as great and absolute here as Wolsey was in England. On the Reformation, John Hamilton was commendatory abbot. In 1608 it was erected into a barony, in favour of his son James, then was conveyed to the Earl of Dyfart, and finally bought by Patrick Maule of Panmure, with the patronage of thirty-four pounds.

The revenues were very great: in the year 1562, they were reckoned two thousand five hundred and fifty-three pounds Scots, besides the vast contributions of corn from the tenants, who paid their rents in kind. The ordinance for the yearly provision of the house in 1530, will serve to give some idea of the great charity and hospitality of the place. There was an order for buying,

800 weathers,	82 chalders of malt,
180 oxen,	30 of wheat,
11 barrels of salmon,	40 of meal,
1200 dried cod-fish.	

All which appears additional to the produce of their lands, or what their tenants brought in. This profusion of stores would seem very extraordinary, when the number of monks did not exceed twenty five: but the ordinance acquaints us, that the appointments of that year exceeded those of 1528, notwithstanding in the last the king had been there twice, and the archbishop thrice. In the chartulary of the house, these visits are complained of as an intolerable burden, and with reason, for besides loading the abbey with vast expence, it deprived them of the means of exerting their usual hospitality towards the poor.

King John, the English monarch, granted this monastery most uncommon privileges; for, by charter under his great seal, he exempted it *a teloniis et consuetudine* in every part of England, except London.

In this monastery Robert Bruce convened the nobility of this kingdom, who here framed the spirited letter and remonstrance to Pope John, dated April 6, 1320; in which they trace the origin of the Scots from the greater Scythia, through the Tyrrhenian sea, and the pillars of Hercules into Spain; they inform him that they expelled the ancient Britons, destroyed the Picts, and maintained this kingdom free, through a race of 113 kings of uninterrupted lineal descent. They strongly assert their independency of the English, and disclaim the right that Edward II. pretended to the kingdom. They entreat his Holiness to admonish Edward to desist from his hostilities; and



and heroically acquaint the Pope, that even should Bruce desert their cause, they would choose another leader, (so little notion had they even then of hereditary right,) and never submit even to extremity to the unjust pretensions of the English monarch. "Cui (Roberto) tanquam illi per quem salus in populo facta est, pro nostra libertate tuenda tam jure quam meritis tenemur et volumus in omnibus adhaerere; quem si ab inceptis deflueret Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos aut regnum nostrum volens subijcere, tanquam inimicum nostrum, et sui nostrisque juris subversorem, statim expellere niteremur, et alium regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostrum sufficeret, faceremus. Quia quamdiu centum vivi remanserint, nunquam Anglorum domino aliquatenus volumus subjugari; non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, qui nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit."

There is no immediate answer from the Pope extant; but there is reason to suppose that this very important remonstrance had great weight; for in August of the same year, he sent a bull \* to Edward, to exhort him to make peace with the Scots, in order that the operations against the Infidels in the Holy-land might be pursued without interruption. There is also a letter from his Holiness † to the same prince, to acquaint him, that at the earnest request of Robert, he had suspended the sentence of excommunication, perhaps through fear of losing the whole Scottish nation by too rigorous a procedure.

After dinner continue my journey towards Montrose. I am informed that near the road stands the church of St Vigian, a Gothic building, supported by pillars, with isles on each side, and standing on a pretty green mount, in the midst of a valley. The church returns a fine echo, repeating distinctly an hexameter verse.

Pass through an open country, and observe, that the plantations are vastly mossed, being exposed to the cankering blasts of the eastern winds, which bring with them frequent rains, and great volumes of black fog. Ride by extensive fields of peas and potatoes; the last a novelty till within the last twenty years.

The open country continues as far as Lunan, where the inclosures commence. To the right is the promontory called the Red-head, forming one horn of Lunan bay, open to the east wind. The shore in this part is high, bold, and rocky, and often excavated with vast hollows, extremely worthy the attention of the traveller; no place exhibits a greater variety; some open to the sea, with a narrow mouth; and, internally, instantly rise into lofty and spacious vaults, and so extensively meandering, that no one has, as yet, had the hardiness to explore the end.

Others of these caves shew a magnificent entrance, divided in the middle by a vast column, forming two arches of a height and grandeur that shames the work of art in the noblest of the Gothic cathedrals. The voyager may amuse himself by entering in a boat on one side of the pillar, surrounding it, and returning to the sea on the other. But the most astonishing of all is the cavern, called the Geylit Pot, that almost realises in romantic form a fable in the Persian Tales. The traveller may make a considerable subterraneous voyage, with a picturesque scenery of lofty rock above, and on every side; he may be rowed in this solemn scene till he finds himself suddenly restored to the light of the heavens; he finds himself in a circular chasm, open to the day, with a narrow bottom, and extensive top, widening at the margin to two hundred feet in diameter; on gaining the summit a most unexpected prospect appears; he finds himself at a distance from the sea, amidst corn-fields, enjoys a fine view of the country, and a gentleman's seat, at a small distance from the place out of which he emerged. Such

\* Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii 846.

† Idem, 848.



may be the amusement of the curious in the calms of the summer-season; but when the storm is directed from the east, the view from the edge of this hollow is tremendous; for from the height of above three hundred feet, they may look down on the furious waves, whitened with foam, and swelling in their long confinement.

The cliffs of this shore are not without their singularities: peninsulated rocks, of stupendous height, jut frequently from their front, precipitous on all sides, and washed by a great depth of water: the isthmus that joins them to the land is extremely narrow, impassable for any more than two or three persons a-breast; but the tops of the rocks spread into verdant areas, containing vestiges of rude fortifications, in ancient and barbarous times the retreat of the neighbouring inhabitants from the too powerful invader.

On the south side of Lunan water is Red-castle, once a residence of William the Lion. After crossing that water, the country becomes inclosed, and divided into fields of about eight or ten Scotch acres in size, fenced with walls or banks, planted with French furze, or with white-thorn. A great spirit of husbandry appears in these parts, especially in the parish of Craig, which I now enter. The improvements were originally begun by two brothers, Messrs. Scotts, of Rossie and Duninald, who about forty years ago made their experiment on an estate of eight or nine hundred a year value; and at present they or their heirs find the reward of industry by receiving from it three thousand pounds per annum. The principal manure is lime, but every species of good husbandry is practised here, and the produce is correspondent; all kinds of grain yield six from one; the grass-land is set from twenty-five to thirty shillings an acre. The improvements made of a farm on five hundred a year, held by Mr. Patrick Scott, must not be forgotten, as he has the merit of making land not worth five shillings per acre, at present worth twenty. There need no stronger proof of the improvements in husbandry, and the fertility of the land in this neighbourhood, than to mention the annual exports of bear, meal, and malt, from the port of Montrose, which in favourable seasons amount to twenty thousand bolls.

On the south side of this parish (which is a promontory between Lunan bay and the South Esk) is a great body of bluish limestone, I may say, at present tantalizing the honest farmer, who by reason of the dearth of coal is forbidden the use of it; a fatal duty of three shillings and three-pence a ton on all coal, commencing at the Red-head, to the infinite prejudice and discouragement of rural economy in these parts. The thoughtless imposition of a tax, before the use of lime was scarcely known in these parts, is now severely felt, and obliges the farmers to neglect the cheap manure Providence intended for them; and at great expence to import their lime from the Earl of Elgin's works on the Firth of Forth, which costs them about seventeen pence per boll. Nature hath denied them coal, peat, and wood; so that at present they cannot burn their lime with the imported fuel at less than twenty-pence the boll.

Reach the village of Ferryden, opposite to Montrose, and, crossing over the strait or entrance to the harbour, arrive there late at night.

Montrose, or more properly Mon-ross, derives its name either from Moin ross, the fenny promontory\*, or from Mant er osc, the mouth of the stream†, is seated partly on an isthmus, partly on a peninsula, bounded on one side by the German ocean, on the other by a large bay, called the basin or back sands. This peninsula is evidently a large beach, formed in old times by the sea, as appears by digging to any depth‡.

\* Irvine's Nomencl. Scot. 158.

† Baxter, Gloss. Ant. Brit. 170.

‡ Mr. Maitland, vol. i. p. 205, supposes that the gravel, thus discovered, to have been the materials of a Roman way, which was continued farther north; and asserts, that there are vestiges of a camp on the neighbouring links or sandy plain, but I received not the least account of any such antiquities.



The end of this forms one side of the entrance to the harbour; a rocky point, called by Adair, Scurdiness, at this time Montrose-ness, lies on the south-side, and certain sands, called the Annot, on the northern. On the first is a square tower, a sort of light-house, to direct the course of vessels in dark nights. The Annot sands, after violent storms from the east, approach nearer to the Ness, but are again removed to their old limits by the floods of the Esk, a circumstance to be attended to by mariners. The tide rushes up this entrance with a great head and vast fury, but the depth of water is considerable, being six fathoms in the middle, about three days before spring-tide. The breadth is scarcely a quarter of a mile, but the basin instantly expands into a beautiful circle of considerable diameter; but unfortunately most of it is dry at low water, except where the Southesk forms its channel, in which vessels of sixty tons will float even at the lowest ebb. Inch-broik lies on the south side of the entrance, and opposite to that is the pier, which ships of any size may reach, that can bear the ground at low water.

Montrose is built on the east side of the basin, and consists chiefly of one large street, of a considerable breadth, terminated at one end by the town-house or Toll-booth; a handsome pile, with elegant and convenient apartments for the assemblies of the magistrates. The houses are of stone, and, like those in Flanders, often with their gable ends towards the streets. The house in which the Marquis of Montrose was born is still to be seen. The town contains about six thousand inhabitants, of which fifteen hundred are Episcopalians, the rest are of the established church, with the usual schisms of Seceders, Glaslites, Non-jurors, &c. Numbers of genteel families, independent of any trade, reside here as a place of agreeable retreat, and numbers keep their carriages; these are principally of the church of England. Their chapel, which was founded in 1722, is very neat, has a painted altar-piece, and a small organ. It is occasionally frequented by the Presbyterians, who shew here a most laudable moderation. It is chiefly in the south and south-west, that religious bigotry reigns, and that usually among the common people. Our bishops, who have visited Scotland, have never failed meeting with a treatment the most polite and respectful, but the introduction of the order is impracticable in a country where the natural as well as religious objections are so strong; for the finances of North Britain can never bear the pomp of religion, even should the people be induced to admit the ceremonial part.

In the times of popery the Dominicans had a convent here, founded by Sir Allan Durward, in the year 1230. The friars were afterwards transported to an hospital near this city, rebuilt by Patrick Panter, but in 1524 were permitted to return to their old seat\*. Maitland says, that their house was called the abbey of Celurca; I suppose from the ancient name of the town which Boethius bestows on it.

The town has increased one-third since the year 1745; at that time there was not a single manufacture, the inhabitants lived either by one another, or by the hiring out of ships, or by the salmon trade. At present the manufactures have risen to a great pitch: for example, that of sail-cloth, or sail-duck, as it is here called is very considerable; in one house eighty-two thousand five hundred and sixty-six pieces have been made since 1755. Each piece is thirty-eight yards long, and numbered from VIII. to I. No. VIII. weighs twenty-four pounds, and every piece, down to No. I., gains three pounds in the piece. The thread for this cloth is spun here, not by the common wheel but by the hands. Women are employed, who have the flax placed round their waists, twist a thread with each hand as they recede from a wheel, turned by a boy at the end of a great room.

\* Keith, 270.



Coarse cloth for shirts for the soldiers is also made here; besides this, coarse linens, which are sent to London or Manchester to be printed; and cottons, for the same purpose, are printed at Perth. Great quantities of fine linen, lawns and cambricks are manufactured in this town, the last from two shillings and six-pence to five shillings a yard. Diapers and Osnaburghs make up the sum of the weaver's employ; which are exported to London, and from thence to the West-Indies.

Much thread is spun here, from two shillings and six-pence to five shillings a pound. It is spun both in town and country, and brought here by the rural spinsters to be cleaned and made into parcels; and much of it is coloured here.

The bleachery is very considerable, and is the property of the town: it is not only used by the manufacturers, but by private families, for the drying of their linen; all paying a certain fee to the person who rents it from the magistrates. The men pride themselves on the beauty of their linen, both wearing and household; and with great reason, as it is the effect of the skill and industry of their spouses, who fully emulate the character of the good wife, so admirably described by the wisest of men.

The salmon fishery of these parts is very considerable; from six hundred to a thousand barrels are annually exported, valued at three pounds each; and about fifteen hundred pounds worth of kitted or pickled fish. Much of the fresh fish is sold into the country, from three halfpence to two-pence-halfpenny a pound. The fishermen begin to take salmons about the second of February, and leave off at Michaelmas. Its importance has been considered in very early times, and the legislature consulted its preservation by most severe penalties\*.

Quantities of white-fish, such as the cod kind, turbot, &c. might be taken on the great sand banks off this coast. The long Fortys extend parallel to it; and beyond that lie Montrose pits†, a great bank with six pits in it of uncommon depths, and singular in their situation. They are from forty to a hundred fathom deep, reckoning from the surface of the water, and possibly may be submarine swallows. These banks swarm with fish, but are shamefully neglected, or left perhaps to foreigners. In the last century about five hundred barks and boats, which during winter were employed in the herring fishery on these coasts, during spring and part of summer turn their thoughts to the capture of cod and ling‡, and after curing, carried their cargoes to Holland, Hamburg, into the Baltic, to England and to France. By some mischance this fishery was lost; and the cargoes to Hollanders and Hamburgers fairly beat the natives out of their trade. In the time of Henry VIII. England was supplied with salt fish from this market: the Habberdyn (Aberdeen) fish was an article in every great larder§.

Incredible numbers of lobsters are taken on this coast, from the village of Ufan. Sixty or seventy thousand are sent annually to London, and sold at the rate of twopence halfpenny a-piece, provided they are five inches round in the body; and if less, two are allowed for one. The attention of the natives to this species of fishery is one reason of the neglect of that of white fish, to the great loss of the whole country, which by this inattention is deprived of a cheap and comfortable diet. Agates of very beautiful kinds are gathered in quantities beneath the cliffs, and sent to the lapidaries in London.

I cannot discover any vestiges of antiquity about this place, except a large mount called the Forthill, on the east side of the town. No marks are left of its ever having been fortified; but the materials might have been applied to other purposes; and there is a tradition that it was in full repair when Edward III. was in Scotland.

\* Vide Tour, 1769.

† Hammond's Chart of the North Sea.

‡ Accoimt current between England and Scotland, p. 26.

§ Northumberland Household Book.



Boethius \* relates, that it was a fortified place at the landing of the Danes, a little before the battle of Luncarty : that those barbarians put the inhabitants to the sword, levelled the walls, and destroyed the castle. This the only remarkable event which I can discover to have happened to the town. In this century it was distinguished by the flight of the Pretender, who, on the 4th of February, 1716, escaped on board of a frigate, which lay in the road, and conveyed him safe to France.

September 1. This day we were honoured with the freedom of the town; and handsomely entertained by the magistrates. I observed that the seal of the diploma was impressed with roses allusive to its present name, which seems a poetical fiction :

Aureolis urbs picta rosis : mons molliter urbi  
Imminet, hinc urbi nomina facta canunt.  
At veteres perhibent quondam dixisse Celurcam,  
Nomine sic prisco et nobilitata novo est.  
Et prisca atque nova insignis virtute, virumque  
Ingeniis, Patriæ qui peperere decus †.

Leave Montrose, and after five miles riding; cross the North-Esk, at North Bridge. This river and that of South-Esk rise in the extreme northern borders of the county, among the Benchichin hills : this, flowing along Glenesk, retains the same name from the source to the sea ; the other is called the White Water for a considerable way from its fountain. Near this bridge is Egglis Madie, Ecclesia Magdalenæ, the seat of the Falconers, barons of Halkerton, whose family took its name from the office of an ancestor, falconer to William the Lion. After passing the river, enter the county of Merns ; or, the shire of Kincardine.

Some derive the first from Merns, a valiant nobleman, who, subduing the country, received it in reward from his prince Kenneth II. Camden with much probability supposes it to retain part of the name of the old inhabitants, the Vernicones of Ptolemy, it being common for the Britons in discourse to change the V into M. The other name is taken from the ancient capital, Kincardine, now an inconsiderable village.

Lie this night at the village of Laurence Kirk. The cultivation of the land in the afternoon's ride appeared less strong than on the South-Esk ; but great efforts are making towards the improvement of the country. Streams of corn seem darting from the hills towards the centre of the valley, and others again radiate from the coasts : I doubt not but in a few years the obscure or heathy parts will entirely vanish, and this whole tract become one glory of cultivation.

September 2. Proceed through a fine rich bottom, called the hollow of the Merns, bounded on one side by the Grampian hills, on the other by a rising ground, that runs almost parallel to them. The Grampians present here a low heathy front ; the hollows and the eastern boundary fertile in corn. Pass near the two seats of Messrs. Carnegie, and Lord Gardinston. Cross the water of Bervie, which falls into the sea a few miles to the east. Near its mouth lies the small town of Inner-bervie, made a royal burgh by David Bruce, who landed there after his long retreat into France. The rock he debarked on is to this day called Craig Davy.

Near the village of Drum-lethie the country grows hilly and heathy. Pass near Glen-bervie, the seat of Sir James Nicholson. Incline now towards the shore, and find an improvement in the country, which continues till I reach

Stone-hive, or Stone-haven, is a small town, but the head of the burgh of the shire : the sheriff's court having been removed from Kincardine to this place by act of parlia-

\* Lib. XI. p. 228.

† Jonston.



ment in the reign of James VI. It is placed at the foot of some high cliffs in a small bay, with a most rocky bottom, in one part opening a little, so that small vessels may find admittance, but that must be at high water. A pier laps over this harbour from the north side, to give them security after their entrance. The town consists of about eight hundred inhabitants. The manufactures are sail cloths and Osnaburghs, which began about seven years ago; and contributed much to make the place more populous. Here is also a considerable one of knit worsted and thread stockings. Women gain four-pence a day by knitting, and six-pence by spinning; the men, a shilling by weaving.

The manufactures of the Merns may be divided thus: the stocking trade employs the natives from the banks of the Dee to this place. From hence to the North-Esk they are wholly occupied in weaving.

Visit the celebrated castle of Dunnoter, built on a lofty and peninsulated rock, jutting into the sea, and divided by a vast chasm, a natural foss, from the main-land. The composition of the rock is what is called Plumb-pudding stone, from the pebbles lodged in the hard cement. Kittiwakes and some other gulls breed on the sides.

The entrance is high, through an arched way. Beyond that is another, with four round holes in front, for the annoying any enemy who might have gained the first gate. The area on the top of this rock is an English acre and a quarter in extent. The buildings on it are numerous, many of them vaulted, but few appeared to have been above a century and a half old, excepting a square tower of a considerable height, and the buildings that defend the approach. The sides of the rock are precipitous, and even that part which impends over the isthmus has been cut, in order to render this fortress still more secure. The cistern is almost filled up; but had been of a great size, not less than twenty-nine feet in diameter.

The view of the cliffs to the south is very picturesque. They project far into the sea, in form of narrow but lofty capes. Their bases are often perforated with great arches, pervious to boats.

This castle was the property of the Keiths, earls Marechals of Scotland, a potent and heroic family: but in the 1715, by one fatal step, the fortune and title became forfeited; and our country lost the services of two most distinguished personages, the late earl, and his brother the general, the ablest officer of the age. According to the Scotch peerage\*, the property of the Keiths in this county came to them, in the reign of David Bruce, by the marriage of Sir William to Margaret, daughter of Sir John Fraser: but I have been informed that this fortress had been the property of an Earl of Crawford, who exchanged it for an estate in Fife, with an Earl Marechal, on condition that he and his dependants should, in case of necessity, be permitted to take refuge there.

About the year 1296 this castle was taken by Sir William Wallace, who, according to his historian, Blind Harry†, burnt four thousand Englishmen in it. I forbear to repeat his account, since he is supposed by the judicious annalist to have been an impostor.

In 1336 it was re-fortified by Edward III., in his progress through Scotland; but as soon as the conqueror quitted that kingdom, the guardian, Sir Andrew Murray, instantly retook it. History leaves us in the dark after this for a very long period. I do not recollect any mention of it till the civil wars of the last century, when it was be-

\* Crawford's 319.

† The title to his poem informs us that it was composed in 1361; but that must be a mistake; for Major, who wrote in 1518, says, that Blind Harry lived when he was a child, composed the life of Wallace, and, like Homer, got his livelihood by reciting his verses at the houses of great men. Major gives but little credit to the poem. See lib. iv. c. 15.

sieged,



sieged, and the church again burnt. The tradition is, that it was defended by the Earl Marechal, against the Marquis of Montrose, by the persuasion of Andrew Cant. The marquis, according to the barbarous custom of the time, set fire to the country around; which, when Andrew saw, he told the noble owner, that the flames of his houses "were a sweet-smelling favour in the nostrils of the Lord;" supposing that his lordship suffered for righteousness' sake. This castle was inhabited till the beginning of the present century, when an agent for the York-building company reduced it to the present ruinous state by pulling down and selling many of the materials. The annotator on Camden mentions the stately rooms in the new buildings, and the library. He also speaks here, of St. Pardie's church, famous for being the burial place of St. Palladius, who in 431 was sent by Pope Cælestine to preach the gospel to the Scots; but it lies about six miles west of Stone-hive, in a deep den, environed on all sides but the south by high mountains.

*peripatetic*  
Wait on Robert Barclay, Esq; at his seat at Urie, about a mile distant from Stone-hive. This gentleman, by the example he sets his neighbours in the fine management of his land, is a most useful and worthy character in his country. He has been long a peripatetic observer of the different modes of agriculture in all parts of Great-Britain: his journeys being on foot, followed by a servant with his baggage, on horseback. He has more than once walked to London, and by way of experiment has gone eighty miles in a day. He has reduced his remarks to practice, much to his honour and emolument. The barren heaths that once surrounded him, are now converted into rich fields of wheat, bear, or oats; and his clover was at this time under a second harvest.

He is likewise a great planter: he fills all his dingles with trees, but avoids planting the eminences, for he says they will not thrive on this eastern coast, except in sheltered bottoms. The few plantations on the upper grounds are stunted, cankered and moss-grown.

Mr. Barclay favoured me with the following account of the progress of his improvements. He first set about them with spirit in the year 1768; since which he has reclaimed about four hundred acres, and continues to finish about a hundred annually, by draining, levelling, clearing away the stones, and liming. These, with the ploughing, seed, &c. amount to the expence of ten pounds an acre. The first crop is commonly oats, and brings in six pounds an acre: the second, white peas, worth sometimes as much, but generally only four pounds: turnips are third crops, and usually worth six pounds; the fourth is barley, of the same value: clover succeeds, worth about four pounds: and lastly wheat, which brings in about seven pounds ten shillings an acre, but oftener more.

As soon as the land is once thoroughly improved, it is thrown into this course: turnips, barley, clover and wheat; sometimes turnips, barley, clover and rye-grass. He sometimes breaks up the last for white peas, and afterwards for wheat: and sometimes fallows from the grass, and manures it for wheat, by folding his sheep.

The land thus improved was originally heath, and even that which was arable, produced most miserable crops of a poor degenerate oat, and was upon the whole not worth two shillings an acre; but in its present improved state is worth twenty, and the tenants live twice as well as before the improvement.

Some of the fields have been fallowed from heath, and sown with wheat, and produced large crops. One field of thirty-four acres, which had been mostly heath, was the first year fallowed, drained, cleared of the stones, limed, &c. and sown with wheat, which produced in the London market two hundred and seventy pounds, clear of all expences. Mr. Barclay has lately erected a mill for fine flour, the only one in the



county, which fully answers; and has served to encourage many of his neighbours to sow wheat where it was never known to be raised before. At present near eight hundred bolls are annually produced within ten miles of the place.

The first turnips for feeding of cattle were raised by this gentleman: and the markets are now plentifully supplied with fresh beef. Before that period fresh meat was hardly known in these parts, during the winter and spring months. Every person killed his cattle for winter provisions at Michaelmas; and this was called laying-in time. Necessity urged this; for so low was the state of farming, that winter fodder for the fattening of cattle was then unknown. So that this country, till within these few years, was in the same condition with that of England above three hundred years ago: in that period beeves, sheep, and hogs were killed at Martinmas, and preserved salted till the spring; when vegetation was renewed, and the half starved cattle recovered their flesh, and were become fit for slaughter: so that the season of fresh meat scarcely lasted half the year. The Hebrides are still in this situation.

The great grand-father of Mr. Barclay was not less eminent for his improvements in affairs spiritual. The celebrated Robert Barclay made Urie his residence, and here composed that apology for the Quakers which will ever remain an evidence of his abilities and his piety. His moderate disposition and cool head gave credit to the sect; for it was the peculiar happiness of George Fox to have united himself with his worthy brother, since George's tenets, as Mosheim expresses, delivered by him in a rude, confused, and-ambiguous manner, were presented in a different form by the masterly hand of Barclay, who dressed them with such sagacity and art, that they assumed the aspect of a regular system. To him then is owing the purification of the opinions of the professors of it at this time. He was the great reformer of quakerism, and his followers may exult in him as in one who would do honour to any religion.

September 3. Leave Urie, and return by the same road as far as Red Mears, where we turn to the north-west, and travel near the foot of the Grampian hills, through a fine open country. Go near the house of captain Falconer, with excellent improvements around; and soon after by Fasque, the seat of Sir Alexander Ramsay, a gentleman distinguished for the fine method of agriculture. Stop at Fetter-cairn, a small village, for the sake of refreshing ourselves and horses.

In this morning's ride, observe a particular neatness in the cottages of the country. They are made either of red clay, or of fods, placed on a stone foundation; the roofs are prettily thatched, and bound by a neat net-work of twisted straw rope, which keeps them extremely tight.

Near Fetter-cairn was the residence of Finella, the daughter of a nobleman of large possessions in this country, infamous for her assassination of Kenneth III., in 994. She artfully insinuated herself into his favour, and inveigling him into her palace (under pretence of revealing some conspiracies, she was really privy to) there caused him to be murdered. The place was beset by his friends, but Finella escaping out of a window, joined the confederates in her wickedness. Such is the relation given by Boethius and Buchanan\*, but the relations of those early times are often doubtful and fabulous.

About two miles from this place, on the road-side, is a cairn, of a stupendous size, and uncommon form, which probably might give name to the parish. The shape is oblong, and the height at least thirty feet. At some distance from the ground the sides are formed into a broad terrace: the cairn rises again considerably above that, and con-

\* Boethius, lib. XI. p. 233. Buchanan, lib. VI. c. 41. Major, p. 94, calls the lady, Comitissa Angustæ.



sifts of great loose stones, mixed with much semi-vitrified or lava like matter. On one side is a large long stone, probably once erect. Along the top is an oval hollow, about six feet deep: its length, within, a hundred and fifty-two; the breadth, in the middle, sixty-six; the length from the outside of the surrounding dike, a hundred and sixty-seven; the breadth, eighty-three. This may be presumed to have been monumental; the northern nations thought no labour too great in paying these funeral honours to their deceased heroes. The tumulus of Haco was the size of a hill\*: whole years, as well as whole armies, were employed in amassing these stupendous testimonies of respect. Three years were consumed in forming one, the common labour of two uterine brethren, Norwegian chieftains†.

Travel over an ill-cultivated flat; cross the North-Esk, at the bridge of Gannachie, a vast arch, cast from rock to rock, built by subscription, by one Miller. Beneath is a vast chasm, near fifty feet deep from the top of the battlements; through this the water runs with great force. A rocky channel, with lofty precipitous sides, fringed with wood, forms most picturesque views for above a quarter of a mile above and below the bridge.

Re-enter the shire of Angus; on whose borders lies the castellated house of Edzel, once the seat of the most ancient branch of the Lindfays, of the castle of Invermark, who acquired it about three hundred years ago by the marriage of an ancestor with the heiress of a Sterling, who built the house, and was Lord of Glenesk, which by this match was conveyed to them. They were remarkable for being chief over a numerous set of small tenants. Not sixty years are past since the Laird kept up the parade of being attended to a church by a band of armed men, who served without pay or maintenance, such duties being formerly esteemed honourable. This castle was deserted by the then owner on account of a murder he had committed on his kinsman, Lord Spynie, in 1607. This affair involved him in difficulties, and he retired on that account, to the house of Auch-mull, about two miles higher on the North Esk as the inscription on the house shews. A little after the Laird of Edzel thought proper to bestow on one Durie, a barren knowl near the house, and by charter constituted him and his family hereditary beaules of the parish, and annexed the perquisite of two bannocks for ringing the bell at the funeral of every farmer, and one for that of every cottager; which remained in the family till very lately when it was purchased by the Earl of Panmure, the present owner of the estate. This is mentioned to shew the affectation of royalty in these Reguli, who made their grants and conferred places with all the dignity of majesty.

After riding two miles on black and heathy hills, ascend one divided into two summits, the higher named the white, the lower the black Catter-thun, from their different colours. Both are Caledonian posts, and the first of most uncommon strength. It is of an oval form, made of a stupendous dike of loose white stones, whose convexity from the base within to that without, is a hundred and twenty-two feet. On the outside, a hollow, made by the disposition of the stones, surrounds the whole. Round the base is a deep ditch, and below that a hundred yards, are the vestiges of another, that went round the hill. The area within the stony mound is flat; the axis or length of the oval is four hundred and thirty-six feet; the transverse diameter, two hundred. Near the east side is the foundation of a rectangular building; and on most parts are the foundations of others, small and circular: all which had once their superstructures, the

\* *Socii Haconis fastuosi funerandi ducis gratiâ, collem spectatz magnitudinis exstruunt*, Worm. Mon. Dan. 33.

† *Ibid.* 39.



shelter of the possessors of the post. There is also a hollow, now almost filled with stones, the well of the place.

The other is called brown, from the colour of the ramparts, which are composed only of earth. It is of a circular form, and consists of various concentric dikes. On one side of this rises a small rill, which running down hill, has formed a deep gully. From the side of the fortress is another rampart, which extends parallel to the rill, and then reverts, forming an additional post or retreat.

It is to be observed, that these posts were chosen by the Caledonians with great judgment: they fixed on the summits of a hill commanding a great view, and perfectly detached, having to the north the Grampian hills, but on that side separated from them by the lofty and rugged banks of the West-water, which gives them additional security \*. Posts of this kind are, as I am informed, very common at the foot of the Grampian hills, intended as places of retreat for the inhabitants on the invasion of an enemy. There is one above Phefdo, in the Merns; another called Barmkine hill, eight miles west of Aberdeen. I have seen a long chain of similar posts in my own country; they are generally situated on high hills, over-looking the lower, or on lesser hills over-looking plains, and seem designed as asylums for the people of the low and defenceless countries.

The literal translation of Catter-thun is Camp-town. These posts are of the same kind with that made by Caractacus, on the borders of North Wales. *Tunc montibus arduis, et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa præstruit* †. It is very probable that the Caledonians occupied these hills before the battle of Mons Grampius, which might have been fought in the plains below, where there was ample room for large armies to act in, and for the armed chariots to perform their careers. In these rude fastnesses the Caledonians might leave their wives and children, as was the custom of the other Britons, and then descend into the bottoms, to repel the invaders of their liberties. It is difficult to fix the spot; but there are not fewer than three Roman camps not remote from this range of hills, which Agricola might have occupied, and before one of them drawn out his forces to have received the enemy. Of these one is at Kiethic, near Brechin; a second near Caerboddo, between Forfar and Panmure; and a third near Kennymoor, called Battledikes ‡. In the neighbourhood of one of these seems to have been the celebrated action; after which he led his army to the confines of the Horesti §, received hostages, and ordering his fleet (then in all likelihood lying in the Tay) to perform the voyage round Britain, retired by slow marches into winter quarters.

Descend, and after travelling three miles reach Brechin, a town consisting of one large and handsome street, and two smaller, seated on the top and side of a hill, washed by the river South-Esk. At the foot of the town is a long row of houses, independent of it, built on ground held in feu from the family of North-Esk. It is a royal burgh, and with four others sends a member to parliament. In respect to trade, it has only a small share in the coarser linen manufacture. It lies at no great distance from the harbour of Montrose; and the tide flows within two miles of the town, to which a canal might be made, which perhaps might create a trade, but would be of certain service in conveying down the corn of the country for exportation.

\* For a full account of the nature of these posts see my Tour in Wales.

† Taciti Annales, lib. xii. c. 33.

‡ These notices of the camps from Maitland.

§ Translators, misled by the sound, imagine these to have been mountaineers; but the word is probably Celtic, and should be rendered, as the ingenious Mr. Aikin has done, the people of Fife-shire.



Brechin was a rich and ancient bishoprick, founded by David I. about the year 1150: at the Reformation its revenues in money and in kind amounted to seven hundred a year; but after that event were reduced to a hundred and fifty, chiefly by the alienation of the lands and tythes by Alexander Campbell, the first protestant bishop, to his chief-tain the Earl of Argyle, being recommended to the fee by his patron, probably for that very end.

The Culdees had a convent here: their abbot Leod was witness to the grant made by King David to his new abbey of Dumfermline. In after-times they gave way to the Mathurines, or Red-friars. The ruins of their house, according to Maitland, are still to be seen in the College-wynde.

Here was likewise an hospital, called *Maison de Dieu*, founded in 1256 by William de Brechin, for the repose of the souls of the Kings William and Alexander; of John Earl of Chester, and Huntingdon his brother; of Henry his father; and Juliana his mother. Albinus, bishop of Brechin, in the reign of Alexander III., was witness to the grant. By the walls, which are yet standing, behind the west end of the chief street, it appears to have been an elegant little building.

The cathedral is a Gothic pile, supported by twelve pillars; is in length a hundred and sixty-six feet, in breadth sixty-one; part is ruinous, and part serves as the parish church. The west end of one of the aisles is entire; its door is Gothic, and the arch consists of many mouldings; the window of neat tracery; the steeple is a handsome tower, a hundred and twenty feet high; the four lower windows in form of long and narrow openings: the belfry windows adorned with that species of opening called the quatrefoil; the top battlemented, out of which rises an hexangular spire.

At a small distance from the aisle stands one of those singular round towers, whose use has so long baffled the conjectures of antiquaries.

These towers, as far as my reading or enquiries have extended, appear to have been peculiar to North Britain and Ireland: in the last frequent; in the former only two at this time exist. That at Brechin stood originally, as all I have seen do, detached from other buildings: it is at present joined near the bottom by a low additional aisle to the church, which takes in about a sixth of its circumference. From this aisle there is an entrance into it of modern date, approachable by a few steps, for the use of the ringers, the parishioners having in time past thought proper to hang their bells in it instead of the steeple. Two handsome bells are placed there, which are got at by means of six ladders, placed on wooden semicircular floors, each resting on the circular abutments within-side of the tower.

The height from the ground to the roof is eighty feet; the inner diameter, within a few feet of the bottom, is eight feet; the thickness of the wall at that part seven feet two inches; so that the whole diameter is fifteen feet two; the circumference very near forty-eight feet; the inner diameter at the top is seven feet eight; the thickness of the walls four feet six; the circumference thirty-eight feet eight inches; which proportion gives the building an inexpressible elegance: the top is roofed with an octagonal spire, twenty-three feet high, which makes the whole one hundred and three. In this spire are four windows, placed alternate on the sides, resting on the top of the tower; near the top of the tower are four others, facing the four cardinal points; near the bottom are two arches, one within another, in relief; on the top of the outmost is a crucifixion; between the mouldings of the outmost and inner are two figures, one of the Virgin Mary, the other of St. John, the cup and lamb: on each corner of the bottom of this arch is a figure of certain beasts; one, for aught I know, may be the Caledonian bear, and the other, with a long snout, the boar: the stone-work within the inner arch has a small slit,



slit, or peep-hole, but without the appearance of there having been a door within any modern period; yet I imagine there might have been one originally, for the filling up consists of larger stones than the rest of this curious rotund. The whole is built with most elegant masonry, which Mr. Gough observed to be composed of sixty courses \*. I am informed by Mr. Gillies, of Brechin, that he has often seen it vibrate in a high wind.

The learned among the antiquaries are greatly divided concerning the use of these buildings, as well as the founders. Some think them Pictish, probably because there is one at Abernethy, the ancient seat of that nation; and others call them Danish, because it was the custom of the Danes to give an alarm † in time of danger from high places. But the manner and simplicity of building in early times of both these nations was such, as to supersede that notion; besides, there are so many specimens left of their architecture, as tend at once to disprove any conjecture of that kind: the Hebrides, Caithness, and Ross-shire, exhibits reliques of their buildings totally different. They could not be designed as belfries, as they are placed near the steeples of churches, infinitely more commodious for that end; nor places of alarm, as they are often erected in situations unfit for that purpose. I must therefore fall into the opinion of the late worthy Peter Collinson ‡, that they were *inclusoria, et arcti inclusorii ergastula*, the prisons of narrow inclosures: that they were used for the confinement of penitents, some perhaps constrained, others voluntary, Dunchad o Braoin being said to have retired to such a prison, where he died A. D. 987. The penitents were placed in the upper story; after undergoing their term of probation, they were suffered to descend to the next; (in all I have seen there are inner abutments for such floors) after that they took a second step; till at length the time of purification being fulfilled, they were released and received again into the bosom of the church.

Mr. Collinson says, that they were built in the tenth or eleventh century. The religious were in those early times the best architects §, and religious architecture the best kind. The pious builders either improved themselves in the art by their pilgrimages, or were foreign monks brought over for the purpose. Ireland being the land of sanctity, *patria sanctorum*, the people of that country might be the original inventors of these towers of mortification. They abound there, and in all probability might be brought into Scotland by some of those holy men who dispersed themselves to all parts of Christendom to reform mankind.

The castle of Brechin was built on an eminence, a little south of the town; but not a relique is left. It underwent a long siege in the year 1303, was gallantly defended against the English under Edward III., and notwithstanding all the efforts of that potent prince, the brave governor, Sir Thomas Maule, ancestor of the present Earl of Panmure, held out this small fortress for twenty days, till he was slain by a stone cast from an engine || on August 20th, when the place was instantly surrendered. James Earl of Panmure built, in 1711, an excellent house on this spot; but in 1715 engaging in the rebellion, had but a short enjoyment of it.

I must not forget to mention the battle of Brechin, fought in consequence of the rebellion raised in 1452 on account of the murder of the Earl of Douglas in Stirling castle. The victory fell to the royalists, under the Earl of Huntly. The malcontents were headed by the Earl of Crawford, who retiring to his castle of Finehaven, in the

\* Archæologia, ii. 83.

† Louthiana, part iii. 18.

‡ Archæologia, i. 307.

§ Mr. Walpole's Anecd. Painting, 4to. i. 114. Mr. Bentham's Ely, 26.

|| Crawford's Peerage, 389. Camden's Remains, 301.



frenzy of disgrace declared, "he would willingly pass seven years in hell to obtain the glory which fell to the share of the rival general \*.

Sept. 4. This morning we were honoured with the freedom of the town; after which we continued our journey five miles to Careston; the seat of Mr. Skene, where we passed the day and evening in a most agreeable manner.

Sept. 5. After a short ride ford the South-Esk, leaving on the right the ruined castle of Finehaven, once the seat of the Lindefays, Earls of Crawford. A Spanish chestnut of vast size was till of late years an ornament to the place: it was of the spreading kind; the circumference near the ground was forty-two feet eight; of the top, thirty-five nine inches; of one of the largest branches, twenty-three feet.

Above the castle is the hill called the castle hill of Finehaven, a great eminence or ridge, with a vast and long hollow in the top. Along the edges are vast masses of stone, strongly cemented by a semi-vitrified substance, or lava. These masses seem of a ton weight; they were procured out of the hill, and placed as a defence to the place, it having been a British post. The form of the hill (which ends abrupt at one end, at the other is joined by an isthmus to the neighbouring land), together with the cavity in the middle, renders it extremely fit for the purpose. The isthmus is secured by a deep ditch cut transversely.

This hill is certainly the effect of a volcano; at the one end of the hollow are two great holes of a funnel shape, the craters of the place through which the matter had been ejected. One is sixty feet in diameter, and above thirty deep; and had been much deeper, but it was from time to time made more shallow by the flinging in of stones, as cattle were sometimes lost in it.

On both sides of the hill are found in digging great quantities of burnt earth, that serve all the purposes of tarras, or the famous *pulvis puteolanus* or *puzzolana*, so frequent in countries that abound with volcanoes, and so useful for all works that are to lie under water.

On descending from this hill find ourselves at Aberlemni. In the church-yard, and on the road side are to be seen some of the curious carved stones, supposed to have been erected in memory of victories over Danes, and other great events that happened in those parts. These, like the round towers, are local monuments; but still more confined, being, as far as I can learn, unknown in Ireland; and indeed limited to the eastern side of North Britain, for I hear of none beyond the firth of Murray, or that of Forth. The greatest is that near Forres, taken notice of in the Tour of 1769; and is also the farthest north of any. Mr. Gordon describes another in the county of Mar, near the hill of Benachie; the next are these under consideration. The first described by that ingenious writer †, is that figure which stands in the church-yard. On one side is the form of a cross, as is common to most, and proves them at least to have been the work of a Christian people.

The next which I saw is on the road, with both sides full of sculpture. On one a neat cross included in a circle; and beneath two exceedingly rude figures of angels, which some have mistaken for characters. On the other side are the figures of certain instruments, to me quite unintelligible; beneath are two men sounding a trumpet, four horsemen, a footman, and several animals, seemingly wild horses pursued by dogs; under them is a centaur, and behind them a man holding some unknown animal ‡. This is the stone mentioned by Boethius to have been put up in memory of a defeat of a party of Danes, belonging to the army of Camus, on this spot. "Quo loco ingens

\* Guthrie, iv. 15.

† Itin. Septentr. 151.

‡ Tab. xviii. fig. 1.



*lapis est erectus. Huic animantium effigies, nonnullis cum characteribus artificiosè, ut tum fiebat, quæ rem gestam posteritati annunciarent, sunt insculptæ\*."*

On a tumulus on the road side is a third, with various sculptures past my comprehension. This is engraven by Mr. Gordon, tab. iv., and mentioned by him p. 158.

Near this is a fourth pillar quite plain, which was probably erected over the grave of some person who was deemed perhaps unworthy the trouble of sculpture. This is as artless as any of the old British monuments, which I apprehend these carved stones succeeded. These were, from their excessive rudeness, the first efforts of the sculptor, imitative of the animal creation; and his success is such as might be expected: but in the ornaments about the crosses, and the running patterns along the sides of some, is a fancy and elegance that does credit to the artists of those early days. Boethius is willing that these engraven pillars should be supposed to have been copied from the Egyptians, and that the figures were hieroglyphic, as expressive of meaning as those found on the cases of mummies, or the sculptured obelisks of Egypt †. The historian's vanity in supposing his countrymen to have been derived from that ancient nation, is destitute of all authority; but his conjecture that the figures we so frequently see on the columns of this country had their signification, and were the records of an unlettered age, is so reasonable as to be readily admitted. It was a method equally common to the most civilized and to the most barbarous nations; common to the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile, and the natives of Mexico ‡. In the northern hemisphere, monuments of this nature seem confined to the tract above mentioned: they cannot be compared, as the learned bishop Nicholson does, to the Runic stones in Denmark and Sweden; for they will be found always attended with Runic inscriptions, by any one who will give himself the trouble of consulting the antiquities of those nations §.

I must take notice of a new-discovered stone of this class, found in the ruins of a chapel in the den of Auldbar, near Careston, by Mr. Skene, who was so obliging as to favour me with the drawing of it. On one side was a cross; in the upper compartment of the other side were two figures of men, in a sort of cloak, sitting on a chair, perhaps religious persons; beneath them is another, tearing asunder the jaws of a certain beast; near him a spear and a harp; below is a person on horseback, a beast like the musimon, which is supposed to have once inhabited Scotland; and lastly, a pair of animals like bullocks, or the hornless cattle of the country, going side by side. This stone was about seven feet long, and had been fixed in a pedestal found with it.

Proceed towards Forfar. About a mile on this side of the town is a moor, noted for a battle between the Picts and the Scots, in the year 831. The Scots, under Alpin, had rather the advantage; by them therefore might the great cairn near the spot be composed which to this day is called Picts Cairnley. The base was once surrounded with a coronet of great upright columns; but only one remains, which is eleven feet high, seven broad, and eighteen feet in girth.

Forfar, the capital of the county, contains about two thousand souls; but, since the great æra of the prosperity of North Britain, has increased above half. The manufactures of linens in this neighbourhood, from four-pence to seven pence a yard, are very considerable, and bring, as is said, near twenty thousand a year.

The castle stood on a small hill near the town, but at present not a fragment is left.

\* Boethius, lib. xi. p. 243.

† Conquest of Mexico, fol. 73. Purchas's Pilgrims, iii. 1068.

§ Wormii Mon. Danic. 474. 485.

† Boethius, lib. ii. p. 20.



The lake lies, or rather did lie, at a small distance from the castle, and, according to tradition, once surrounded the town; there being in several parts, even to this day, marks of the deserted channel: of late years it has been very considerably reduced by draining, to which the vast quantity of fine marle at the bottom was the temptation. This fine manure is found there in strata from three to ten feet thick, and very often is met with beneath the peat in the moors. The land improved with it yields four crops successively, after which it is laid down with barley and clover. The county of Angus is supposed to be benefited, within the six last years, by this practice, by an advance of four thousand a year in the rents. Much of this is owing to an old seaman of this country, Mr. Strachan of Balgayloch, who invented the method of dragging up the marle from the bottom of the waters, in the same manner as the ballast is for ships.

About a mile north of Forfar, lay the cell or priory of Restenot, dependent on the abbey of Jedburgh. This house was placed in a lake, and accessible only by a draw-bridge; here, therefore, the monks of Jedburgh deposited their papers and all their valuable effects\*.

Five miles further is the castle of Glames, a place much celebrated in our history; first for the murder of Malcolm the Second, who fell here by the hands of assassins, in a passage still shewn to strangers. It might at the time be part of the possessions of the family of the famous Macbeth, who tells us, through the mouth of Shakespear,

By Sinel's death I know I am Thane of Glames.

This Sinel being, as Boethius informs us, father to that tyrant. Probably after his death it became forfeited, and added to the property of the crown; for, on the accession of Robert the II., it was bestowed (then a royal palace) on his favourite Sir John Lyon, *propter laudabile et fidele servitium*. The ancient buildings were of great extent, as appears by a drawing from an old print, which the Earl of Strathmore did me the honour to present to me. The whole consisted of two long courts divided by building; in each was a square tower and gateway beneath, and in the third another tower, which constitutes the present house, the rest being totally destroyed. This has received many alterations, by the additions of little round turrets, with grotesque roofs; and by a great round tower in one angle, which was built in 1686, by the restorer of the castle Patrick Lord Glames, in order to contain the curious stair-case, which is spiral; one end of the steps resting on a light hollow pillar, continued to the upper story. Besides the spot of assassination, is shewn the seat of poetry and music, an ancient festivity, where the bards took their place, and sung the heroism of their patron and his ancestors. In early times a chieftain was followed to court by his poets, and his ablest musicians: hence it was, that in the hall of a Celtic prince, a hundred bards have struck up at once in chorus†. And even about a century ago every chieftain kept two bards, each of whom had his disciples, inseparable attendants.

The most spacious rooms are, as usual in old castles, placed in the upper stories, and furnished with all the tawdry and clumsy magnificence of the middle of the last century. The habitable part is below stairs. In one of the apartments is a good portrait of the first Duke of Ormond, in armour, by Sir Peter Lely; the greatest and most virtuous character of his age.

His daughter, Countess of Chesterfield, a celebrated beauty, and the greatest coquet of the gay court of Charles II. beloved by the Duke of York, and not less by George

\* Keith, 140.

† Doctor Macpherson, 219.



Hamilton. She was neglected at first by her husband, who, roused by the attention of others to his fair spouse, became too late enamoured with her charms. At length a mutual jealousy seized the lady and her lover Hamilton; he, in the frenzy of revenge, persuades the Earl to carry her from the scene of gallantry, to pass her Christmas at his seat in Derbyshire \*. She discovers the treachery of her lover, but contrives to inveigle him to visit her in her retreat, through all the real inconveniences of bad roads, dreadful weather, and dark nights, with the additional terrors of imaginary precipices and bogs, which she had painted in her billet, to add to the misery of his journey. A bad cottage is provided for his concealment; a false confidante brings him at midnight into a cold passage, under promise of an interview; he remains there till day approaches; the night began with rain and ended with frost; he was cased with ice, perhaps complaining.

Me tuò longas pereunte noctes,  
Lydia, dormis.

He quits his station in despair, retires to his cabin, is terrified with the news of Lord Chesterfield being at home, is alarmed with the sound of hounds, and the Earl enjoying the pleasures of the chace; peeps out, and find the country beautiful, and neither bog nor precipice; in a word, returns to London the next night, the ridicule of the gay monarch, and his merry court †.

I must not forget another portrait, that more immediately relates to the house of Patrick Lord Glames; who, I am informed, wrote his own memoirs, and relates that he married the daughter of the Earl of Middleton, Lord Commissioner in the time of Charles II.; and such was the simplicity of manners at that time, he brought his lady home mounted behind him, without any other train than a man on foot by the side of his horse.

In the church-yard of Glames is a stone similar to those at Aberlemni. This is supposed to have been erected in memory of the assassination of King Malcolm, and is called his grave-stone. On one front is a cross, on the upper part is some wild beast, and opposite to it a centaur; beneath, in one compartment, is the head of a wolf, these animals denoting the barbarity of the conspirators; in another compartment are two persons shaking hands, in their other hand is a battle-ax: perhaps these two are represented in the act of confederacy. On the opposite front of the stone are represented an eel and another fish. This alludes to the fate of the murderers, who, as soon as they had committed the horrid act, fled. The roads were at that time covered with snow; they lost the path, and went on to the lake of Forfar, which happened at the time to be frozen over, but not sufficiently strong to bear their weight, the ice broke, and they all perished miserably. This fact is confirmed by the weapons lately found in draining the lake, particularly a battle-ax, of a form like those represented in the sculpture. Several brass pots and pans were found there at the same time, perhaps part of the plunder the assassins carried off with them.

Near Glames are two other stones, one with the cross on one front, an angel on one side, and two men with the heads of hogs on the other; probably satirically alluding to the name of Sueno, or the swine, a Danish monarch. Beneath are four animals resembling lions; on the opposite front is a single eel. This is in the park of Glames †.

The other is at the village of Cossens, a mile west of the castle, and is called St. Orland's stone. The cross takes up one front; on the upper part of the other are

\* Breadby-hall, near Burton-upon-Trent.

† Memoires-du Grammont:

† Vide Gordon's Itin. 163.



certain unknown instruments; beneath are horsemen and dogs; under them a sculpture, which in my drawing represents a boat; beneath that a cow, and another animal\*.

I missed seeing Denoon castle, which I am informed lies two miles to the south-west of Glames. According to Mr. Gordon, it is seated on an eminence, environed with steep rocks, and almost inaccessible. On the north are two or three rows of terrasses. It is of a semicircular form, and encompassed with a stupendous wall of stone and earth, twenty-seven feet high, and thirty thick. The circuit three hundred and thirty-five yards. The entrances are on the south-east, and north-west. Within the area are vestiges of buildings, and there is a tradition that there was a spring in the middle. This appears to me to be the same kind of fastness as that of Catter-thun.

Sept. 6. Proceed to Belmont, the seat of the honourable Stuart Mackenzie, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, where I found the most obliging reception. It is seated in the parish of Meikle, where I again enter the county of Perth.

The ground of this parish is very fertile, and much improved of late by the manure of shell-marl. It yields barley, oats, some wheat, and a little rye; and, in general, more grain than the inhabitants, who amount to about twelve hundred, can consume. Much flax is raised, many potatoes planted, and of late artificial grasses begin to find a place here. Improvements in agriculture, and in making good roads, go on most prosperously under the auspices of Lord Privy Seal. The only manufacture in the parish is that of coarse brown linens, which employs about a hundred weavers. But since a great proprietor has thought proper to debar the inhabitants from the use of a large peat moss, it is feared that the manufacturers must remove (as many have already done) for want of that essential article, fuel.

Belmont stands entirely on classical ground; for on its environs lay the last scene of the tragedy of Macbeth. In one place is shewn his tumulus, called Belly Duff, or, I should rather call it, the memorial of his fall; for to tyrants no such respect was paid, and their remains were treated with the utmost indignity among the northern nations. Thus Amlethus, after destroying the cruel Fengo, denies every honour to his body †. And Starcather beautifully describes the obsequies of the wicked:

Cætorum corpora curru  
Excipiant famuli, promptusque cadavera listor -  
Efferat, officiis meritò caritura supremis,  
Et bustis indigna tegi. Non funeris illis  
Pompa rogusve pium tumuli componet honorem:  
Putida spargantur campis, aviumque terenda  
Morsibus, infesto maculent rus undique tabo ‡.

By the final syllable, I should choose to style it a monument to perpetuate the memory of the gallant Macduff. It is a verdant mount, surrounded by two terrasses, with a cope at top, now shaded by broad-leaved laburnums, of great antiquity. The battle, which began beneath the castle of Dunfinane, might have spread as far as this place. Here the great stand might have been made; here Macduff might have summoned the usurper to yield; and here I imagine him uttering his last defiance,

\* Ibid. I had not an opportunity of seeing either of these. Mr. Skene, of Careston, favoured me with a drawing of the last.

† Saxo Gram. lib. iv. p. 55.

‡ Idem, lib. vi. p. 119.

Aviumque terrenda

Morsibus.

Shakespeare puts an idea similar to this in the mouth of Macbeth:

our monuments

Shall be, the maws of kites.



I will not yield  
 To kiss the ground before young Malcolm's feet;  
 And to be baited with the rabble's curse.  
 Though Birnam wood be come to Dunfinane,  
 And thou oppos'd, be of no woman born,  
 Yet I will try the last. Before my body  
 I throw my warlike shield. Lay on, Macduff!  
 And damn'd be he that first cries, "Hold! enough!"

In a field on the other side of the house is another monument to a hero of that day, to the memory of the brave young Seward, who fell, slain on the spot by Macbeth. A stupendous stone marks the place, twelve feet high above ground, and eighteen feet and a half in girth in the thickest place. The quantity below the surface of the earth only two feet eight inches; the weight, on accurate computation, amounts to twenty tons; yet, I have been assured, that no stone of this species is to be found within twenty miles. But the pains that were bestowed on these grateful remembrances of departed merit, may be learned from the filial piety of Harald, the son of Gormon, who employed his whole army, and a vast number of oxen, to draw a stone of prodigious size from the shore of Jutland, to honour the grave of his mother †.

Near the great stone is a small tumulus, called Duff's-know; where some other commander is supposed to have fallen. But Meikle is rich in antiquities, the churchyard is replete with others of a more ornamented kind, abounding with hieroglyphic columns. Mr. Gordon has engraved all I saw, one excepted; however I venture to cause them to be engraved again from the drawings of my servant; for, notwithstanding I allow Mr. Gordon to possess great merit as a writer, yet his sketches are less accurate than I could wish.

The most curious is that whereon is seen, in the upper part of one front, dogs and horsemen, and below represented four wild beasts, resembling lions, devouring a human figure. The country people call all of them Queen Vanora's grave-stones, and relate that she was the wife of King Arthur; I suppose the same lady that we Welsh call Guinever, and Guenhumara; to whose chastity neither historians nor bards ‡ do much credit. The traditions of these parts are not more favourable to her memory. The peasants assert, that, after the defeat of her lover, she was imprisoned in a fort on the hill of Barra, opposite to this place, and that there she died, and was interred in the parish of Meikle. Others again say, that she was torn to pieces by wild beasts, to which this sculpture alludes; if, as Mr. Gordon justly observes, the carvings might not sometimes prove the foundation of the tale.

It is reported that her grave was surrounded by three stones, in form of a triangle, mortised into one another. Some of them have holes and grooves for that purpose, but are now disjointed, and removed to different places.

Another stone, is very curious: on it is engraved a chariot, with the driver and two persons in it; behind is a monster, resembling a hippopotamus, devouring a prostrated human figure. On another stone is the representation of an elephant, or at least an animal with a long proboscis. Whence could the artists of a barbarous age acquire their ideas of centaurs, or of animals proper to the torrid zone?

Sept. 8. Leave Belmont. Pass beneath the famous hill of Dunfinane, on the south side of Strathmore, on whose summit stood the castle, the residence of Macbeth, full in

\* The foundation of all this tale is overthrown lately by the learned and accurate author of the Annals of Scotland; but out of respect to the numberless sublime passages it has furnished the poet with, I suffer it to retain its place here.

† Wormii Mon. Dan. 39.

‡ Jeffery of Monmouth, p. 351. Percy's Reliques, iii. 4.



view of Birnam wood, on the opposite side of the plain. No place could be better adapted for the seat of a jealous tyrant: the sides are steep, and of the most difficult ascent, the summit commanding a view to a great distance in front and rear. At present there are not any remains of this celebrated fortress: its place is now a verdant area, of an oval form, fifty-four yards by thirty, and surrounded by two deep ditches. On the north is a hollow road, cut through the rock, leading up to the entry, which lies on the north-east, facing a deep narrow chafin, between this and the next hill. The hill has been dug into, but nothing was discovered, excepting some very black corn, which probably had undergone the operation of Graddan, or burning. This place was fortified with great labour, for Macbeth depended on its strength and natural steepness as a secure retreat against every enemy. He summoned the Thanes from all parts of the kingdom to assist in the work. All came excepting Macduff, which so enraged the tyrant, that he threatened to put the yoke that was on the oxen then labouring up the steep side of the hill, on the neck of the disobedient Thane\*.

A little to the eastward is a hill called the King's-seat, where tradition says, Macbeth sat as on a watch-tower, for it commands a more comprehensive view than Dunfingane. Here his scout might be placed, who brought him the fatal news of the march of Birnam wood:

As I did stand my watch upon the hill,  
I look'd toward Birnam, and anon, methought  
The wood began to move!

On the plain beneath these hills are several other monuments of antiquity, such as a great stone lying on the ground, ten feet long, called the Long Man's Grave. Here are also several tumuli composed of earth and stones of a pyramidal form, called here Lawes. One of a considerable size, near a gentleman's seat, called Law-town, is supposed to have been that from which Macbeth administered justice to his people. No prince ruled with more equity than he did in the beginning of his reign. He was the first of the Scottish monarchs that formed a code of laws, which were duly observed during his government, but afterwards were neglected or forgotten, as Buchanan says, much to the loss of the kingdom in general.

Continue our ride westward. Pass through Perth. Reach Dupplin, where we continue till next morning.

Sept. 9. Cross the river Earn, at Earn-bridge, near the house of Moncrief; keep on the south side of Strathearn, and breakfast in its eastern extremity, at the village of

Abernethy, seated near the junction of the Earn and the Tay, and once the capital of the Pictish kingdom. The origin of these people has been greatly litigated: some suppose them to have been foreigners imported from Scandinavia†, or out of Saxony; but apparently without any foundation. There is no reason to imagine them to have had any other origin than from the Caledonians, the ancient inhabitants of the country. They were the unconquered part, who, on the death of Severus, recovered from his sons the conquests of the father, who harassed the Romans and southern Britons with frequent excursions, and who, with their kindred Scots, on the retreat of the Romans, forced their confinement, now called Graham's-dike, and with irresistible fury extended their dominions as far as the banks of the Humber.

Two kingdoms had been erected: the one styled that of the Picts, the other that of the Scots. Each of them were new names: the first that mentions the Picts is

\* Buchanan, lib. vii. c. 11.

† Stillingfleet, quoted by Mr. Macpherson, 79.



Eumenius the panegyrist, who wrote in 309, and the first who speaks of the Scots is Ammianus Marcellinus.

The words are of Celtic origin: Pict is derived from *Picteich* \*, or *Pictich*, a plunderer or thief: it was bestowed on them by their southern neighbours, who probably experienced the cruelty of their excursions. The Caledonian offspring accepted the title, as it conveyed, in their idea, an addition of honour instead of infamy; for the northern nations, from the earliest antiquity, held robbery to have been honourable; nor does that opinion seem to be worn out to this day with some of the northern princes.

The kingdom of the Picts was on the eastern parts of North Britain: that of the Scots on the western. The last derived their name from *Scottan*, a small flock †, or from *Scuite*, wanderers ‡. The first perhaps from their making inroads in small parties, the last from their acknowledged way of life, running about seeking whom they might devour. As soon as these two nations had established a power, wars, attended with various success, arose between them: at length the Scots proved victorious; they totally subdued their Pictish neighbours, cut off multitudes, forced numbers to fly abroad for security, overturned their kingdom, incorporated the few which were left, and made their very name to cease.

That the Romans might also give the name of *Picti* to the British nations from the custom of painting their bodies with woad and other dyes is incontestible, notwithstanding it is denied by many of the Scottish authors. They argue from the inconsistency of the Roman writers, some of whom assert that the Britons went naked, others that they were clothed in skins, others with garments called *Brachæ*. That any were so wretched as to be destitute of cloathing in this severe climate is very improbable: no northern nations yet discovered, were ever found in such a state of nature. But, say the former, as the Britons were clothed, why should they give themselves the trouble of adorning their bodies with paintings, since they could neither shew them through vanity to their friends, or as objects of terror to their enemies? It is difficult to trace the cause of customs in such distant periods; but we know at present, from recent authority, that there are two nations, who to this day retain the custom of painting their bodies, and some of them the most concealed parts, which they are as averse to exposing as any European. Both of these people are clothed: those of *Otaheite* have one kind of dress; the new Zealanders another. In distant ages they may leave off the custom of tattowing their skins; and the authority of our modern voyages become as disputable as those of *Cæsar*, *Dion Cassius*, or *Herodian*, are with some later writers. But that the painted bodies of our ancestors might be capable of striking terror into their enemies is very certain; for in an action they freed § themselves from the incumbrances of the looser garments, and part at least of their bodies painted with wild fancy, was left exposed to the view of the astonished foe.

I could not hear that there were the least remains of antiquity at *Abernethy* that could be attributed to its ancient possessors. The Picts have left memorials of their seat at *Inch-tuthel*, and marks of their retreats in time of danger on the summit of many a hill. Above the house of *Moncrief*, on *Mordun* hill, is a fastness, formed by a bulwark of stones, surrounding about two acres of ground, which might have been the citadel of *Abernethy*, the refuge of its inhabitants in time of war, at least of its women, its children ||, and its cattle, while the warriors kept the field to repel the enemy.

\* Henry's History of Britain, i. 193.

† Doctor Macpherson, 108.

‡ Henry's History of Britain, i. 193.

§ Mr. James Macpherson, 215.

|| *Conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent.* Tacitus Vit. Agricola, c. 27.



*round tower* Here is indeed a round tower like that of Brechin ; but I am more willing to give these edifices to the Irish than the Picts. The Scots have sufficient remains of antiquity to forgive this concession : the tower at Abernethy is uncovered ; the height within is seventy-two feet ; the inner diameter eight feet two ; the thickness of the wall at top two feet seven ; at bottom three feet four ; the circumference near the ground forty-seven. Within is, at present, a bell, platforms, and ladders, like that in the capital of Angus.

St. Brigid, a virgin of Caithness, here first dedicated herself to the services of heaven, not with vows frail as human nature, but with a resolute perseverance in the duties of the monastic life : and with her nine others adopted the same course \*. At this place she died in 513, and left such a reputation for piety, " that the most extravagant honours were paid to her memory. The Hebrides paid her divine honours : to her the greatest number of their churches were dedicated : from her they had oracular responses ; by the divinity of St. Brigid, was one of their most solemn oaths : to her they devoted the first day of February, and in the evening of that festival performed many strange ceremonies of a Druidical and most superstitious kind †."

Here were preserved her reliques ; here, in honour of her, was founded a collegiate church ; and this place was a bishoprick, the metropolitan of all Scotland, till it was in 840 translated to St. Andrew's by Kenneth III., after his victory over the Picts ‡. Before which it was a populous city, given by Nectanus, king of the Picts, to God and St. Brigid, till the day of judgment §.

Ascend the Ochil hills, and in less than two miles cross a rivulet, and enter into the shire of Fife ; the nearest or most southerly part of the Roman Caledonia, the Otholinia and the Ross of the Picts ||. The Forth-ever or Over of the Saxons, and the Fife of the present time ; the last from Fífus Duffus, a warrior of the country.

Near the junction of Fife and Strathern, not far from the spot I passed, is Mugdrum cross, an upright pillar, with sculptures on each side, much defaced ; but still may be traced figures of horsemen, and beneath them certain animals. Near this place stood the cross of the famous Macduff, Thane of Fife, of which nothing but the pedestal has been left for above a century past. On it were inscribed certain Macaronic verses, a strange jargon, preserved both by Sibbald ¶ and Gordon \*\*. Mr. Cunningham, who wrote an essay on the cross, translates the lines into a grant of Malcolm Canmore, to the Earl of Fife, of several emoluments and privileges ; among others, he allows it to be a sanctuary to any of Macduff's kindred, within the ninth degree, who shall be acquitted of any man-slaughter, on flying to this cross, and paying nine cows and a heifer ††.

Descend the Ochil hills, and arrive in a pretty valley, called the strath of Eden, bounded on the south by the Lomond hills, and watered by the river Eden. Go through a small town, and after crossing the vale, reach

Falkland ; another small town, made a royal burgh by James II. in 1458. Here stood one of the seats of the Macduffs, Earls of Fife. On the attainder of Murdo Stuart, seventeenth Earl, it became forfeited to the crown in 1424. James V. who grew very fond of the place, enlarged and improved it. The remains evince its former magnificence and elegance, and the fine taste of the princely architect. The gateway is placed between two fine round towers ; on the right hand joins the chapel, whose roof is of wood, handsomely gilt and painted, but in a most ruinous condition. Beneath are

\* Spotwood's Hist. Ch. Scotland, 11, 12. Boethius, lib. x. p. 181.

† Doctor Macpherfon, 239.

‡ Keith's Bishops 2.

§ Camden, 1238. Edit. 1722.

|| Boethius, lib. iv. p. 61. Sibbald, Fife, 1.

¶ Sibbald, Fife, 92, 93.

\*\* Gordon, 164.

†† Camden, 1236.



several apartments. The front next to the court was beautifully adorned with statues, heads in bas-relief, and elegant columns, not reducible to any order, but of fine proportion, with capitals approaching the Ionic scrol. Beneath some of these pillars was inscribed. I. R. M. G. 1537, or Jacobus Rex. Maria de Guise.

This place was also a favourite residence of James VI. on account of the fine park, and plenty of deer. The east side was accidentally burnt in the time of Charles II. and the park ruined during Cromwell's usurpation, when the fine oaks were cut down in order to build the fort at Perth.

In the old castle was cruelly starved, by the villany of his uncle the Duke of Albany, David Duke of Rothsay, son to Robert III. For a time his life was prolonged by the charity of two women; the one supplying him with oaten cakes, conveyed to him through the prison grates: the other, a wet nurse, with milk, conveyed by means of a pipe. Both were detected, and both most barbarously put to death\*. The death of this Prince occasioned a parliamentary enquiry. The murderers were acquitted; and pardoned: certainly the innocent would never have required such security†.

Near the present palace are several houses, marks of the munificence of James VI. who built and bestowed them on his attendants, who acknowledge his bounty by grateful inscriptions on the walls, mostly in this style:

"Al praise to God and thankis to the most excellent monarche of Great Britane of whose princelie liberalitie this is my portioune. Nicol Moncrief. 1610."

Continue our journey along the plain, which is partly arable, partly a heath of uncommon flatness, darkened with prodigious plantations of Scotch pines. In the midst is Melvil, the seat of the Earl of Leven and Melvil; a fine house, with nine windows in front, designed by the famous Sir William Bruce, and executed by Mr. James Smith, and built in 1692.

The noble owner is descended, by the female line, from Alexander Lesly, first of the title; a gallant and most trusted officer, under the great Gustavus Adolphus. To him he gave the defence of Stralsund, when besieged by the Imperialists, whose commander, the impious or the frantic Wallstein, swore he would take the place though it hung in the air from heaven by a chain of adamant‡: but Lesly disappointed his rodomontade. On his return to Scotland he headed the covenanting army, during part of the civil wars, and contributed greatly to the victory of Marston-moor, in 1644. After the death of Charles I. he favoured the loyal party, was imprisoned, and suffered sequestration; so little did the parliament respect his former services. A neat miniature of him is preserved here, and a fine medal given him by Gustavus, for his brave defence of Stralsund.

Gustavus himself, at full length, in a short buff coat. This portrait is an original, brought out of Germany by the General.

George, Earl of Melvil, Lord High Commissioner in 1690, a post he received as a reward for his sufferings in 1683, when he had the honour of being accused of corresponding with the virtuous Lord Russel; was obliged to fly into Holland, and, on refusing to appear on being cited, suffered, till the revolution, the forfeiture of his estate.

David, Earl of Leven, commander of the forces in North-Britain, from 1706 to 1710, a fine half-length, in armour, looking over his shoulder. By Sir John de Medina.

In the garden is a square tower, one of the summer retreats of cardinal Beaton; and near it is Cardan's well, named from the celebrated physician, who in 1552, was sent

\* Vide Sir David Dalrymple's remarks on Hist. Scotland, 278

† Buchanan, lib. x. c. 10.

‡ Hart's Life of Gustavus, i. 99.



for from Milan, to Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was here ill of an asthma. Cardan effected his cure but to preserve him for a most ignominious fate, which the physician, by casting the nativity of his patient, foretold. The prelate was afterwards hanged on a live tree at Stirling, and the following cruel farcafm composed on the occasion :

Vive diu, felix arbor, semperque vireto  
Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.

September 10. Leave Melvil. The country is well improved, inclosed, and fenced with quickset hedges. Pass by Dairfie church, and castellated house. The church is ancient, but of elegant architecture; the tower polygonal, terminating in a spire. It is built at the edge of an eminence, over the river Eden, which washes a beautiful bottom. The view from it of the bridge, the church, and house, are uncommonly pleasing. The estate of Dairfie was once the property of the see of St. Andrew's, but in 1550 was feued out to Lamont of Darsie, to be held by duty paid to this day. It was afterwards sold to archbishop Spotswood.

After passing over a barren moor, have a most extensive view. Beneath on the north is the Eden, discharging itself into a small bay under Gair-bridge, consisting of six arches, built by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's, who died in 1440: beyond is the estuary of the Tay, great part of the county of Angus, terminating with the Red-head, which, with Fifeness in this county, forms the great bay of St. Andrew's. Full in front, at the bottom of a long descent, appears the city, placed at the extremity of a plain at the water's edge. Its numerous towers and spires gives it an air of vast magnificence, and serve to raise the expectation of strangers to the highest pitch. On entering the west port, a well-built street, strait, and of a vast length and breadth, appears; but so grass grown, and such a dreary solitude lay before us, that it formed the perfect idea of having been laid waste by the pestilence.

On a farther advance, the towers and spires, which at a distance afforded such an appearance of grandeur, on the near view shewed themselves to be the awful remains of the magnificent, the pious works of past generations. A foreigner, ignorant of the history of this country, would naturally inquire, what calamity has this city undergone? has it suffered a bombardment from some barbarous enemy? or has it not, like Lisbon, felt the more inevitable fury of a convulsive earthquake? but how great is the horror on reflecting, that this destruction was owing to the more barbarous zeal of a minister; who, by his discourses, first enflamed, and then permitted a furious crowd to overthrow edifices, dedicated to that very Being he pretended to honour by their ruin. The cathedral was the labour of a hundred and sixty years, a building that did honour to the country: yet in June 1559, John Knox effected its demolition in a single day.

If we may credit legend, St. Andrew's owes its origin to a singular accident. St. Regulus, or St. Rule, as he is often called, a Greek of Achaia, was warned by a vision to leave his native country, and visit Albion, an isle placed in the remotest part of the world; and to take with him the arm-bone, three fingers, and three toes of St. Andrew. He obeyed, and setting sail with his companions, after being grievously tempest-tost, was in 370 at length ship-wrecked on the coasts of Otholinia, in the territory of Hergustus, King of the Picts. His majesty no sooner heard of the arrival of the pious strangers, and their precious reliques, than he gave orders for their reception, presented the saint with his own palace, and built it near the church, which to this day bears the name of Regulus.

The place was then styled Mucrofs; or, the land of boars: all round was forest, and the lands bestowed on the saint were called Byrehid. The boars equalled in size the



Erymanthian ; as a proof, two tusks were chained to the altar of St. Andrew, each sixteen inches long, and four thick. But Regulus changed the name to that of Kilrymont : here he established the first christian priests of this country, the Culdees ; a word which some derive from *cultores Dei*, or worshippers of God ; others with more justice, from *Keledei*, or dwellers in cells. These had the power of choosing their own bishop, or overseer, professed for a long time a monastic life, and a pure and uncorrupt religion, and withstood the power of the popes. But David I. siding with his holiness in a dispute between the Culdees and the prior and canons of St. Andrew's, about the right of choosing a bishop, would have engaged the former to admit the last to partake of the powers of election ; but on their refusal entirely divested them of their right. From that time their authority ceased, and probably their order, notwithstanding they are mentioned again in 1298, as opposing the election of Lamberton, and even appealing to the pope ; a sign that the original doctrine of the Culdees was lost, and that these were only secular priests, who founded their pretensions to vote on the ancient usage of their predecessors. The prior and canons after this retained the right of election.

This church was supreme in the kingdom of the Picts, Ungus having granted to God and St. Andrew that it should be the head and mother of all the churches in his dominions \*. This was the prince who first directed that the cross of St. Andrew should become the badge of the country. In 518, after the conquest of the Picts, he removed the episcopal see to St. Andrew's, and the bishop was styled *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*. In 1441 it was erected into an archbishoprick, by Sextus IV., at the intercession of James III. In 1606 the priory was suppressed, and the power of election, in 1617, transferred to eight bishops, the principal of St. Leonard's college, the archdeacon, the vicars of St. Andrew's, Leuchars, and Coupar.

The cathedral was founded in 1161 by bishop Arnold, but many years elapsed till it attained its full magnificence, it not being completed before 1318. Its length, from east to west, was three hundred and seventy feet ; of the transept, three hundred and twenty-two. Of this superb pile nothing remains but part of the east and west ends, and of the south side ; with such success and expedition did sacrilege effect its ruin.

Near the east end is the chapel of St. Regulus, a singular edifice. The tower is a lofty equilateral quadrangle, of twenty feet each side, and a hundred and three high. The body of the chapel remains, but the two side-chapels are ruined. The arches of the windows and doors are round, some even form more than semi-circles ; a proof of the antiquity : but I cannot admit Hergustus, to whom it is attributed, to have been the founder.

The priory was founded by Alexander I. in 1122, and the monks (canons regular of St. Augustine) were brought from Scone in 1140, by Robert bishop of this see. By act of parliament, in the time of James I., the prior had precedence of all abbots and priors, and on the days of festival wore a mitre, and all episcopal ornaments †. Dependent on this priory were those of Lochleven, Portmoak, Monimusk, the isle of May, and Pittenween, each originally a seat of the Culdees.

The revenues of the house were vast, viz. In money, 2237l. 2s. 10½d. 38 chaldrons, 1 boll, 3 firlots of wheat ; 132 ch. 7 bolls of bear ; 114 ch. 3 bolls, 1 peck of meal ; 151 ch. 10 bolls, 1 firlot, 1 peck and a half of oats ; 3 ch. 7 bolls of peas and beans ; 480 acres of land also belonged to it.

Nothing remains of the priory except the walls of the precinct, which shew its vast extent. In one part is a most artless gateway, formed only of seven stones. This inclosure begins near the cathedral, and extends to the shore.

\* Camden, 1233.

† Keith, 237.



The other religious houses were, one of Dominicans, founded in 1274 by bishop Wishart; another of Observantines, founded by bishop Kennedy, and finished by his successor, Patrick Graham, in 1478; and, according to some, the Carmelites had a fourth.

Immediately above the harbour stood the collegiate church of Kirk-heugh, originally founded by Constantine III., who, retiring from the world, became here a Culdee. From its having been first built on a rock, it was styled *Præpositura sanctæ Mariæ de rupe*.

On the east side of the city are the poor remains of the castle, on a rock overlooking the sea. This fortress was founded, in 1401, by bishop Trail, who was buried near the high altar of the cathedral, with this singular epitaph:

Hic fuit ecclesiæ directâ columna, fenestra  
Lucida, Thuribulum redolens, campana sonora.

The entrance of the castle is still to be seen; and the window is shewn out of which it is pretended that cardinal Beaton leaned to glut his eyes with the cruel martyrdom of George Wishart, who was burnt on a spot beneath. This is one of those relations whose verity we should doubt, and heartily wish there was no truth in it\*; and, on enquiry, we may console ourselves that this is founded on puritanical bigotry, and invented out of hatred to a persecutor sufficiently detestable on other accounts. Beaton was the director of the persecution, and the cause of the death of that pious man; and in this castle, in May 1546, he met with the reward of his cruelty. The patience of a fierce age, as the able Dr. Robertson observes, was worn out by this nefarious deed. Private revenge, inflamed and sanctified by a false zeal for religion, quickly found a fit instrument in Norman Lesly, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes. The attempt was as bold as it was successful. The cardinal at that time, perhaps infligated by his fears, was adding new strength to the castle, and, in the opinion of the age, rendering it impregnable. Sixteen persons undertook to surprize it: they entered the gates, which were left open by the workmen, early in the morning, turned out his retinue without confusion, and forced open the door of the cardinal's apartment, which he had barricadoed on the first alarm. The conspirators found him seated in his chair; they transfixed him with their swords, and he expired, crying, "I am a priest! fie! fie! all is gone!" He merited his death, but the manner was indefensible, as is candidly admitted by his enemy, the historian and poet, Sir David Lindsay:

As for this cardinal, I grant,  
He was a man we might well want;  
God will forgive it soon.  
But of a truth the sooth to say,  
Altho' the loon be well away,  
The fact was foully done.

The conspirators were instantly besieged in the castle by the regent, Earl of Arran; and, notwithstanding they had acquired no greater strength than a hundred and fifty men, resisted all his efforts for five months: at length they surrendered, on the regent engaging to procure for them an absolution from the pope, and a pardon from the Scottish parliament.

I shall step (rather out of course) to the church of St. Nicholas, remarkable for the monument of a prelate, whose life and death bears, in some respects, a great similitude

\* Brown's Vulgar Errors.



to that of the cruel Beaton. Archbishop Sharp was originally bred a rigid presbyterian, had the full confidence of the party, and was entrusted with their interests at the time of the Restoration. Tempted by the splendour of the preferments of our church, he apostatized from his own, received in reward the archbishoprick of St Andrew's, and, as is commonly the case with converts, became a violent persecutor of his deserted brethren. His career was stopped in 1679. Nine enthusiasts, some of them men of fortune, instigated by no private revenge, bound themselves by vow to sacrifice him to the sufferings of their sect. They had enquired the Lord's mind anent, i. e. concerning the murder, and the word bore in upon them, "Go and prosper\*." On the third of May they met him in his coach on Magus-moor, four miles from the city, accompanied by his daughter. As soon as he saw himself pursued, he gave up all hopes of life, was taken out of his carriage, and, amidst the cries and entreaties of the lady, most cruelly and butcherly murdered. He died with the intrepidity of a hero, and the piety of a christian, praying for the assassins with his latest breath! The murderers all retired to separate prayer; and one of them, William Daniel, after prayer, told them all that the Lord had said unto him, "Well done, good and faithful servants†."

The monument is very magnificent: in the lower part is represented the manner of his death; in the middle the prelate is placed kneeling, the mitre and crozier falling from him; an angel is substituting, instead of the first, a crown of glory, with the allusive words, *pro mitra*; and above is the bas relief of a falling church, supported by the figure of the archbishop. This piece of flattery is attended with as flattering an epitaph: the disputable parts of his life are fully related; his undoubted charity and deeds of alms omitted.

In the church of St. Salvator is a most beautiful tomb of bishop Kennedy, who died, an honour to his family, in 1466. The Gothic work is uncommonly elegant. Within the tomb were discovered six magnificent maces, which had been concealed here in troublesome times. One was given to each of the other three Scotch universities, and three are preserved here. In the top is represented our Saviour; around are angels, with the instruments of the passion.

With these are shewn some silver arrows, with large silver plates affixed to them, on which are inscribed the arms and names of the noble youth, victors in the annual competitions in the generous art of archery, which were dropt but a few years ago; and golf is now the reigning game. That sport and football were formerly prohibited, as useless and unprofitable to the public; and at all weapon schawings, or reviews of the people, it was ordered that "fute-bal and golfe be utterly cryed down, and that bow-markes be maid at ilk parish-kirk, a pair of buttes and schutting be used. And that ilk men schutte sex sholles at least, under the paine to be raiped upon them that cummis not, at least twa pennyes to be given to them that cummis to the bow-markes ta drinke†."

The town of St. Andrew's was erected into a royal borough by David I., in the year 1140, and their privileges were afterwards confirmed. The charter of Malcolm IV. is preserved in the tolbooth, and appears written on a bit of parchment; but the contents equally valid with what at this time would require whole skins. In this place is to be seen the monitrous ax that, in 1646, took off the heads of Sir Robert Spotswood and other distinguished loyalists, for the wretched preachers had declared that God required their blood. Here are kept the silver keys of the city, which, for form sake, are

\* Remarks on the History of Scotland, by Sir David Dalrymple, 263.

† Ibid.

† Skene's Scottish Acts of Parl. James II. c. 65.



delivered to the King should he visit the place, or to a victorious enemy, in token of submission. It underwent a siege in 1337, at which time it was possessed by the English and other partizans of Baliol; but the loyalists, under the Earls of March and Fife, made themselves masters of it in three weeks, by the help of their battering machines. It surrendered on terms of security to the inhabitants as to life, limbs, and fortune.

The city is greatly reduced in the number of inhabitants; at present it scarcely exceeds two thousand. There is no certainty of the sum when it was the seat of the primate, and in the fulness of its glory. All we know is, that during the period of its splendour there were between sixty and seventy bakers; but at this time nine or ten are sufficient for the place. The circuit of this city is a mile, and contains three principal streets. The trade of St. Andrew's was also once very considerable. I am informed that, during the time of Cromwell's usurpation, sixty or seventy vessels belonged to the port; at present only one of any size. The harbour is artificial, guarded by piers, with a narrow entrance to give shelter to vessels from the violence of a most heavy sea. The manufactures this city might in former times possess are now reduced to one, that of golf-balls, which, trifling as it may seem, maintains several people. The trade is commonly fatal to the artists, for the balls are made by stuffing a great quantity of feathers into a leathern case, by help of an iron rod, with a wooden handle, pressed against the breast, which seldom fails to bring on a consumption.

The celebrated university of this city was founded in 1411 by bishop Wardlaw, and the next year he obtained from Benedict III. the bull of confirmation. It consisted once of three colleges: St. Salvator's, founded in 1458 by bishop Kennedy. This is a handsome building, with a court or quadrangle within: on one side is the church, on another the library; the third contains apartments for students; the fourth is unfinished.

St. Leonard's college was founded by prior Hepburn in 1512. This is now united with the last, and the buildings sold, and converted into private houses.

The new, or St. Mary's college, was established by archbishop Hamilton in 1553; but the house was built by James and David Bethune, or Beaton, who did not live to complete it. This is said to have been the site of a *schola illustris* long before the establishment even of the university, where several eminent clergymen taught, gratis, the sciences and languages. But it was called the new college, because of its late erection into a divinity college by the archbishop.

The university is governed by a chancellor, an office originally designed to be perpetually vested in the archbishops of St. Andrew's; but since the Reformation, he is elected by the two principals, and the professors of both the colleges.

The present chancellor is the Earl of Kinnoull, who, with his characteristic zeal for promoting all good works, has established here premiums, to be distributed among the students, who make the best figure in the annual exercises. The effect is already very apparent, in exciting the ambition of a generous youth to receive these marks of distinction that will honour their latest days.

The rector is the next great officer, to whose care is committed the privileges, discipline, and statutes of the university. The colleges have their rectors, and professors of different sciences, who are indefatigable in their attention to the instruction of the students, and to that essential article their morals. This place possesses several very great advantages respecting the education of youth. The air is pure and salubrious; the place for exercise dry and extensive; the exercises themselves healthy and innocent. The university is fixed in a peninsulated country, remote from all commerce with the world, the haunt of dissipation. From the smallness of the society every student's character is perfectly known. No little irregularity can be committed, but it is



instantly discovered and checked : vice cannot attain a head in the place, for the incorrigible are never permitted to remain the corruptors of the rest.

The students may be boarded in the colleges, or in private houses, or in those of the professors. The price at the colleges is only eight pounds for the sessions, which lasts seven months. The diet is very good, and a master always presides at the table.

The price at the professors, or at private houses, is from ten to twenty-five pounds a quarter. I observed at one of the professor's, young gentlemen from Bath, from Bourdeaux, and from Bern ; a proof of the extensive reputation of the university, notwithstanding the students are far from numerous : there are at present little more than a hundred, who during sessions wear red gowns without sleeves. red gown

Sept. 12. Leave St. Andrew's; ascend a hill, and find the country on the heights very uncultivated, and full of moors. Here first meet with collieries on this side of North Britain. Descend into a tract rich in corn, and enjoy a most extensive and beautiful view of the firth of Forth, the Bodotria of Tacitus. The Bass island, with the shores of Lothian, extending beyond Edinburgh, bound the southern prospect. To the left, a few miles from the coast of Fife, appears the isle of May, about a mile in length, inaccessible on the western side, on the eastern is safe riding for ships in westerly storms. This isle in old times was the property of the monks of Reading, in Yorkshire ; and in it David I. founded a cell, dedicated to all the saints, who were afterwards superseded by Adrian, a holy man, murdered by the Danes in Fife, and buried here. By his intercession the barren had the curse of sterility removed from them ; and great was the resort hither of female pilgrims.

It was afterwards annexed to the priory of St. Andrew's, having been purchased by bishop Lamberton for that purpose, from the religious of Reading, in defiance of all the remonstrances of that tremendous monarch, the conqueror of Scotland. In later times a light-house has been erected on it.

Reach the shore of the fine bay of Largo ; pass by the lands of the same name, bestowed in 1482 by James III. on that gallant seaman, his faithful servant, Sir Andrew Wood, in order to keep his ship in trim. With two ships he attacked and took five English men of war, that infested the firth ; and soon after had equal success against another squadron, sent out by Henry VII. to revenge the disgrace \*. The Scots, during the reigns of James III. and IV., were strong rivals to England in maritime affairs.

Continue my ride along the curvature of this beautiful bay, and meet with the cheerful and frequent succession of towns, chateaux, and of well-managed farms. The country is populous : the trade is coal and salt ; the last made from the sea water. The coal is exported chiefly to Campvere and Rotterdam, and generally oats are brought back in return.

Go through the village of Lundie, In a field not far distant are three vast upright stones ; the largest is sixteen feet high, and its solid contents two hundred and seventy. There are fragments or vestiges of three others ; but their situation is such as baffles any attempt to guess at the form of their original disposition when the whole was entire. Near this place the Danes met with a considerable defeat from the Scots, under the conduct of Macbeth and Banquo : it is therefore probable that these stones are monuments of the victory. Mr. Dougal, of Kirkaldie, who was so obliging as to favour me with their admeasurement, gave himself the trouble of causing the earth about them to be examined, and found, on digging about four feet deep, fragments of human bones.

\* Staggering State, &c. 147.



Breakfast at the town of Levin, on the water of the same name, running from Lochleven, near Kinross. The mouth forms a harbour, where at high water vessels of a hundred tons may enter. Somewhat farther are the piers of Methel, built in the last century by David Earl of Wemys. Go through the villages of Buckhaven, Wemys, and Easter-Wemys; all in the beginning of the last century carrying on a considerable fishery. On an eminence impending over the sea is the house of Wemys, the seat of the ancient family of that name, descended from the old Earls of Fife. The place derives its title from the various caverns in the cliffs beneath. I forgot to mention, that on the shores near St. Andrew's, and on different parts of this coast, is found that beautiful plant, the *palmonaria maritima*, or sea bugloss, one of the most elegant in our island. It is frequent also among the Hebrides; and immediately attracts the eye by its fine glaucous colour, and by the fine red and blue flowers which enliven the dreary beach.

Pass through a tract of collieries, and observe multitudes of circular holes, surrounded with a mound, and filled with water. These coal-heughs, or pits, were once the spiracles or vent-holes in inexperienced days of mining. Many of the beds have been on fire for above two centuries; and there have been formerly instances of eruptions of smoke apparent in the day, of fire in the night. The violence of the conflagration has ceased, but it still continues in a certain degree, as is evident in time of snow, which melts in streams on the surface wherever there are any fissures. George Agricola, the great metallurgist, takes notice of the phenomenon at this place\*.

Buchanan, from this circumstance, fixed on the neighbourhood of Dyfart for the scene of exorcism in his *Franciscanus*, and gives an admirable descriptive view of it under the horror of an eruption:

Campus erat latè incultus, non floribus horti  
 Arrident, non mæsse agri, non frondibus arbos:  
 Vix sterilis siccis vestitur arena myricis:  
 Et pecorum rara in solis vestigia terris:  
 Vicini Deserta vocant. Ibi faxea subter  
 Antra tegunt nigras vulcania semina cautes:  
 Sulphureis passim concepta incendia venis.  
 Fumiferam volvunt nebulam, piceoque vapore  
 Semper anhelat humus: cæcisque inclusa cavernis  
 Flamma furens, dum lactando penetrat sub auras  
 Conatur, totis passim spiracula campis  
 Findit, et ingenti tellurem pandit hiatu:  
 Tæter odor, tristisque habitus faciesque locorum.

A little beyond this once tremendous place is the town of Dyfart, a royal burgh, large, and full of people. Leave on the left the castle of Ravensheugh, seated on a cliff. Pass by Path-head, a place of check-weavers and nailers: a modern creation, for within these sixty years, from being scarcely inhabited, about four hundred families have been collected, by the encouragement of feuing. Adjoining is Kirkaldie, a long town, containing sixteen hundred inhabitants: this is another royal burgh, where I experienced the hospitality and care of Mr. Oswald, its representative, during a short illness that overtook me here.

This, like most other maritime towns of Fife, depends on the coal and salt trade. The country is very populous, but far less than it was before the middle of the last century, when the fisheries were at their height. During winter it possessed a vast herring-fishery; in spring a most profitable one of white fish. One fatal check to population was the victories of Montrose. The natives of this coast were violently seized with the religious

\* De Natura Fossilium, p. 597. Agricola died in 1555.



furor of the times, and took up the cause of the covenant with most distinguished zeal. Infligated by their preachers, they crowded under the banners of the godly, and five thousand fell victims to enthusiastic delusion at the battle of Tippir-moor.

Of late years many of the inhabitants have removed to the south-western parts of this kingdom; yet still such numbers remain, that more provisions are consumed than even this fertile country can supply. There is one class of men on this coast, and I believe in most of the coal countries of North Britain, from whom all power of migrating is taken, be their inclinations for it ever so strong. In this very island is, at this day, to be found a remnant of slavery paralleled only in Poland and Russia; thousands of our fellow-subjects are at this time the property of their landlords, appurtenances to their estates, and transferable with them to any purchasers. Multitudes of colliers and salters are in this situation, who are bound to the spot for their lives; and even strangers who come to settle there are bound by the same cruel custom, unless they previously stipulate to the contrary. Should the poor people remove to another place on a temporary cessation of the works, they are liable to be recalled at will, and constrained to return on severe penalties\*. This, originally founded on vassalage, might have been continued to check the wandering spirit of the nation, and to preserve a body of people together, of whose loss the whole public might otherwise feel the most fatal effects.

During my stay at Kirkaldie I sent my servant, Moses Griffith, to Doctan, about four miles distant, where he drew the column most erroneously figured by Sir Robert Sibbald†. It is at present much defaced by time, but still are to be discerned two rude figures of men on horseback; and on the other sides may be traced a running pattern of ornament. The stone is between six and seven feet high, and mortised at the bottom into another. This is said to have been erected in memory of a victory, near the Leven, over the Danes in 874, under their leaders Hungar and Hubba, by the Scots, commanded by their prince, Constantine II.

Sept. 15. Continue my journey. After proceeding about a mile, pass by the Grange, once the seat of the hero Kirkaldie, a strenuous partizan of Mary Stuart, after her storm of misfortune commenced; before, an honest opposer of her indiscretions. After an intrepid defence of Edinburgh castle, he fell into the hands of the regent Morton, who, fearing his unconquerable spirit, basely suffered him to undergo the most ignominious death.

Leave on the left the ruins of Seafield castle, a square tower, placed near the shore, in former times the seat of the Moutrays. A little farther is Kinghorn, a small town and borough. The castle was one of the seats of the kings of Scotland, till the time of Robert II., who, giving his daughter in marriage to Sir John Lyon, added this town in part of portion. At this place is the ferry between the county of Fife and the port of Leith, a traject of seven miles. Below this town, on the rocks, grows the *ligusticum Scoticum*, or Scotch parsley, the shunis of the Hebrides, where it is often eaten raw as a salad, or boiled instead of greens. This root is esteemed a good carminative; and an infusion of the leaves in whey is used there as a purge for calves.

Opposite to Kinghorn, nearly in the middle of the firth, lies Inch-keith, an island of about a mile in length. It is said to derive its name from the gallant Keith, who so greatly signalized himself by his valour in 1010 in the battle of Barry, in Angus, against the Danes; after which he received in reward the barony of Keith, in Lothian, and this little isle. This seems to be the place that Bede calls Caer-Guidi, there being no other that will suit the situation he gives it in the middle of the Forth‡. His translator renders

\* This disgrace, I believe, is now under consideration of parliament, and will, I hope, be removed.

† Hist. of Fife, p. 34.

‡ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 12.



Caer by the word city; but it should be rendered a fort or post, which will give probability to Bede's account.

In 1549 the English fleet, sent by Edward VI. to assist the lords of the congregation against the queen dowager, landed and began to fortify this island \*, of the importance of which they grew sensible after their neglect of securing the port of Leith, so lately in their power. They left here five companies to cover the workmen, under the command of Cotterel; but their operations were soon interrupted by M. Dese, general of the French auxiliaries, who took the place, after a gallant defence on the part of the English. The Scots kept possession for some years; but at last the fortifications were destroyed by act of parliament, to prevent it from being of any use to the former †. The French gave it the name of *L'isle des chevaux*, from its property of soon fattening horses.

In 1497, by order of council ‡, all venereal patients in the neighbourhood of the capital were transported there, *ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet*. It is remarkable that this disorder, which was thought to have made its appearance in Europe only four years before, should make so quick a progress. The horror of a disease, for which there was at that period no cure known, must have occasioned this attention to stop the contagion; for even half a century after, one of the first monarchs in Europe, Francis I., fell a victim to it.

About a mile from Kinghorn is the precipice fatal to Alexander III. who, in 1285, was killed by a fall from it, as he was riding in the dusk of the evening §. A mile beyond this is the town of Brunt-island; the best harbour on the coast, formed by a rocky isle, eked out with piers, for there are none on this side the country entirely natural. This is dry at low water. The church is square, with a steeple rising in the centre. The old castle built by the Duries commanded both town and harbour. The place has a natural strength, which, with the conveniency of a port opposite to the capital, made it, during the troubles of 1560, a most desirable post. The French, allies of the Queen Regent, fortified it strongly. In 1715 it was surprized, and possessed by the rebels, who here formed the bold design over a body of troops to the opposite shore; which was in part executed under the conduct of Brigadier Macintosh, notwithstanding all the efforts of our men of war.

A little farther is Aberdour, another small town. The Earl of Morton has a pleasant seat here. In old times it belonged to the Viponts ||; in 1126 was transferred to the Mortimers by marriage, and afterwards to the Douglasses. William, Lord of Liddefdale, furnished the Flower of chivalry, in the reign of David II. by charter, conveyed it to James Douglas, ancestor of the present noble owner. The monks of Inch-collin had a grant for a burial place here, from Allan de Mortimer, in the reign of Alexander III. The nuns, usually styled the poor Clares, had a convent at this place.

I had the pleasure of seeing near Aberdour, a most select collection of pictures, made by Captain Stuart, who, with great politeness, obliged me with the sight of them. It is in vain to attempt the description of this elegant cabinet, as I may say, one part or other used to be always on the march. This gentleman indulges his elegant and laudable passion so far as to form out of them *un cabinet portatif*, which is his amusement on the road, in quarters; in short, the companions of all his motions. His house is very small; to get at his library I ascended a ladder, which reminded me of the habitation of Mynhier Biscop, at Rotterdam, the richest repository in Europe under the poorest roof.

\* Lesley, 479.

§ *Annals Scotland*, 183.

† Maitland, ii. 1008.

|| *Sibbald's Fife*, 122.

‡ *Vide Appendix*.



Two or three miles to the west lies Inch-corm, a small island at a little distance from the shore, celebrated for a monastery founded about 1123, by Alexander I. on this singular occasion. In passing the frith of Forth he was overtaken with a violent storm, which drove him to this island, where he met with the most hospitable reception from a poor hermit, then residing here in the chapel of St. Columb, who, for the three days that the King continued there tempest-bound, entertained him with the milk of his cow, and a few shell-fish. His Majesty, from the sense of the danger he had escaped, and in gratitude to the saint, to whom he attributed his safety, vowed some token of respect, and accordingly founded here a monastery of Augustines, and dedicated it to St. Columba \*. Allan de Mortimer, Lord of Aberdour, who attended Edward III. in his Scotch expedition, bestowed half of those lands on the monks of this island, for the privilege of a family burial-place in their church.

The buildings made in consequence of the piety of Alexander were very considerable. There are still to be seen a large square tower belonging to the church, the ruins of the church, and of several other buildings. The wealth of this place in the time of Edward III. proved so strong a temptation to his fleet; then lying in the Forth, as to suppress all the horror of sacrilege, and respect to the sanctity of the inhabitants. The English landed, and spared not even the furniture more immediately consecrated to divine worship. But due vengeance overtook them, for, in a storm which instantly followed, many of them perished; those who escaped, struck with the justice of the judgment, vowed to make ample recompence to the injured saint. The tempest ceased, and they made the promised atonement †.

The Danish monument, figured by Sir Robert Sibbald, lies on the south-east side of the building, on a rising ground. It is of a rigid form, and the surface ornamented with scale-like figures. At each end is the representation of a human head.

Boethius gives this island the name of Emonia, from Y mona, or the isle of Mona.

After leaving this place, see, on the left, Dunibrisfel, the seat of the Earl of Murray. In 1592 this was the scene of the cruel murder of the bonny, or the handsome Earl, whose charms were supposed to have engaged the heart of Anne of Denmark, and to have excited the jealousy of her royal spouse. The former at least was the popular notion of the time :

He was a braw gallant  
And he play'd at the glove :  
And the bonny Earl of Muir,  
Oh ! he was the Queenes love.

Political reasons were given for his arrest ; but more than an arrest seems to have been intended, for the commission was entrusted to his inveterate enemy Huntly, who, with a number of armed men, surrounding the house in a dark night, set it on fire, on Murray's refusal to surrender ; he escaped the flames, but was unfortunately discovered by a spark that fell on his helmet, and was slain, in telling Gordon of Buckie, who had wounded him in the face, "*You have spilt a better face than your awin.*"

Ride through Inverkeithing, a royal burgh ; and, during the time of David I. a royal residence. It was much favoured by William, who, in their first charter, extended its liberties from the water of Doban to that of Leven. The Mowbrays had large possessions here, forfeited in the reign of Robert I. The Franciscans had a convent in this town ; and, according to Sir Robert Sibbald, the Dominicans had another.

Separated from the bay of Inverkeithing by a small headland, is that of St. Margaret ; the place where that illustrious princess, afterwards queen of Malcolm III. landed

\* Boethius, lib. xii. p. 263.

† Ib. lib. xv. p. 319.



with her brother Edgar in 1068, after their flight from England, to avoid the consequences of the jealousy of the Conqueror, on account of the title of the former to the crown. This passage is also called the Queen's ferry, being afterwards her familiar passage to Dumfermline, her usual residence.

The village on this side is called the North-ferry. At this place stood a chapel, served by the monks of Dumfermline, and endowed by Robert I. Near it are the great granite quarries, which help to supply our capital with paving stones, and employ a number of vessels for the conveyance. The granite lies in perpendicular stacks, and above is a reddish earth, filled with micaceous friable nodules.

From Kinghorn to this place the firth contracts itself gradually; but here, by the jutting out of the northern shore, almost instantly forms a strait of two miles in breadth, and beyond as suddenly opens in a large and long expanse. About midway of this strait lies Inchgarvie, with the ruins of a fort. This was a fine station to review the shores I had travelled, and to feast the eye with the whole circumambient view. The prospect on every part is beautiful: a rich country, diversified with the quickest succession of towns, villages, castles, and seats; a vast view up and down the firth from its extremity, not remote from Stirling, to its mouth near May island; an extent of sixty miles. To particularise the objects of this rich scene must be enumerated, the coasts of Lothian and of Fife, the isles of Garvie and Inchcolm, the town of Dumfermline; the south and north ferries, and Burrowstones, smoking at a distance, from its numerous salt-pans and fire-engines: on the south side are Hopetoun house, Dundas castle, and many other gentlemen's seats, with Blackness castle, once an important fortress: on the north side are Rosyth castle, once the seat of the Stuarts, formerly a royal house and the seat of Queen Margaret; Dunbrissel, and, in the distant view, the castle and town of Burnt-island; Leith, with its roads often filled with ships, and a magnificent view of Edinburgh castle on the south assist to complete this various picture.

As I am nearly arrived at the extremity, permit me to take a review of the peninsula of Fife, a county so populous, that, excepting the environs of London, scarce one in South-Britain can vie with it; fertile in soil, abundant in cattle, happy in collieries, in iron, stone, lime, and free-stone, blest in manufactures, the property remarkably well divided, none insultingly powerful, to distress and often to depopulate a country; most of the fortunes of a useful mediocrity. The number of towns is perhaps unparalleled in an equal tract of coast, for the whole shore from Crail to Culross, about forty English miles, is one continued chain of towns and villages. With justice, therefore, does Johnston celebrate the advantages of the country in these lines:

*Oppida sic toto sunt sparsa in littore, ut unum  
Dixeris; inque uno plurima juncta eadem.  
Littore quot curvo Forthæ volvuntur arenæ  
Quotque undis refluxo tunditur ora salo;  
Pene tot hic cernas instratum puppibus æquor,  
Urbibus et crebris pene tot ora hominum.  
Cuncta operis intenta domus sæda otia nescit;  
Sedula cura demi, sedula cura foris.  
Quæ maria et quas non terras animosa juvenus  
Ah! fragili fidens audet adire trabem.  
Auxit opes virtus, virtuti dira pericla  
Juncta, etiam lucro damna fuere suo.  
Quæ fecere viris animos, cultumque dedere  
Magnanimis profunt, damna, pericla, labor.*

After having passed by the Queen's ferry, turn almost due north. See, on the road side, a great stone, called Queen Margaret's, for tradition says, she reposed herself on



it in her way to Dumfermline. In a little time have a fine view of that flourishing town, and the ruins of its cathedral and palace full in front.

Dumfermline lies at the distance of four miles from the firth, is prettily situated on a rising ground, and the country round is beautifully divided by low and well-cultivated hills; the grounds are inclosed, and planted with hedge-row trees. The town wants the advantage of a river, but has a small stream for economic uses, which is conducted through the streets in a flagged channel. At its discharge it joins another rivulet, then arriving at a fall into a wooded dell of a hundred feet in depth, becomes again useful in turning five mills, placed one below the other, with room for as many more. Three of the mills are for corn, the fourth for flax, the fifth for beating iron. This dell winds about the western side of the town, is clothed with trees, and in one part contributes a most picturesque scenery to the walks laid out by Mr. Chalmers, whose seat is on the opposite banks.

This place is very populous. The number of inhabitants are between six and seven thousand; and such have been the improvements in manufactures as to have increased near double its ancient number within the last twelve years. The manufactures are damasks, diapers, checks and ticking, to the amount of forty thousand pounds a year; these employ in town and neighbourhood about a thousand looms. I was informed that the number might be doubled if it was not prevented by the low duty on foreign linens, which encourages a foreign importation. But probably some other branch of British trade might receive its injury in a greater degree, was that importation to be checked.

That the iron business does not flourish more in this place is a matter of surprise. Iron stone abounds. Here are collieries in all parts, even to the very entrance of the town; and the coals of such variety, that in different parts are found, besides the Scotch, those which have the qualities of the Newcastle, and of the Kilkenny. I am informed that, on the Pittencrief estate, are seven seams of coals in the depth of thirty fathom, from the thickness of two to that of eight feet, all of which may be worked with a level without the assistance of any machinery. The price of coal here is from twenty-pence to half-a-crown a ton.

The most remarkable modern building here is the Tolbooth, with a slender square tower, very lofty, and topped with a conic roof. Mr. Chalmers has also made a work of vast expence over the glen on the west end of the town, in order to form a communication with his estate, and to encourage buildings and improvements on that side. To effect which, he filled that part of the glen with earth, after making a drain for the water beneath, which runs through an arched channel three hundred feet long, ten high and twelve wide.

This place has been at times, from very distant periods, the residence of the Scottish monarchs. Malcolm Canmor lived here, in a castle on the top of an insulated hill, in the midst of the glen; but only some poor fragments remain. A palace was afterwards built on the side next the town, which, falling to decay, was re-built by Anne of Denmark, as appears by the following inscription:

*Propylæum et superstructas ædes vetustate et injuriis temporum collapsas dirutasque; a fundamentis in hanc ampliorem formam, restituit et instauravit Anna Regina I rederici Danorum Regis augustissimi filia: anno salutis 1600.*

The ruins are magnificent, and do credit to the restorer. In this palace she brought forth her unfortunate son Charles I. A gateway intervenes between the royal residence and the magnificent abbey,

Begun by Malcolm Canmore, and finished by Alexander I. It was probably first intended for the pious and more useful purpose of a religious infirmary, being styled in



some old manuscripts \* *Monasterium ab monte infirmorum*. David I. changed it into an abby, and brought into it thirteen monks from Canterbury, but at the dissolution it supported twenty-six †. Its endowments were very considerable. At the Reformation the revenue, in money alone, was two thousand five hundred and thirteen pounds Scots. Some of the grants were singular: that of David I. gives it the tythe of all the gold found in Fife and Fotherif, a proof of the precious metal being then discovered in streams flowing from the hills. Another, from the same monarch, invests it with part of the seals taken near Kinghorn; and a third by Malcolm IV., gives them the heads (except the tongues) of certain small whales, called crespais, which might be taken in such part of Scotchwatir (the firth of Forth) where the church stood; and the oil extracted from them was to be applied to its use.

The remains of the abby are considerable, and evince its former splendour. The window of the room near the gateway, called Frater-hall, is very beautiful. The abbot's house is adjacent. In 1303, Edward I. burnt down the whole abby, excepting the church and cells, pleading in excuse of his sacrilege, that it gave a retreat to his enemies. In plain words, because the gallant nobility of the country sometimes held their assemblies here to free themselves from an English yoke.

Part of the church is at present in use. It is supported by three rows of massy pillars, scarcely seventeen feet high, and thirteen and a half in circumference. Two are ribbed spirally, and two marked with zig-zag lines, like those of Durham, which they resemble. The arches are also Saxon, or round. As the church was built by Malcolm Canmor, at the instance of Turgot, bishop of St. Andrew's (once prior of Durham) that might be the reason it was constructed in a similar style ‡. From this time the celebrated Jona lost the honour of being the cemetery of the Scottish monarchs. Malcolm and his queen, and six other kings § lie here; the two first apart, the others under as many flat stones, each nine feet long.

In the church is the tomb of Robert Pitcairn, abbot, or rather commendator of Dumfermline, secretary of state in the beginning of the reign of James VI. in the regency of Lenox. He was of Morton's faction, and was sent to the court of Elizabeth, to solicit the delivery of Mary Stuart into the hands of the King's party ||. He attended James in his confinement, after the Raid of Ruthven, and artfully endeavoured to make friends with each side; but, failing, was imprisoned in Lochleven castle, and died in 1584. His epitaph sets his virtues in a very high light;

Hic situs est heros modica Robertus in urna  
Pitcarnus, patriz spēs columenque suæ:  
Quem virtus, gravitas generoso pectore digna  
Ornabant vera et cum pietate fides.  
Post varios vitæ fluctus jam mole relicta  
Corporis, clypeum pergit in umbra nemus.

September 16. Leave Dumfermline. At a distance is pointed out to me a tumulus, planted with trees, called the penitent-mount, from a vulgar notion, that it was formed by sacks full of sand, brought there from distant places by the frail, by way of penance for their sins. At Clune am struck with the magnificence of the prospect, extending west to Benlomond, and east to Old-Cambus; a view of the whole Forth, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, two most capital objects.

\* Keith, 246.

† Keith's Appendix.

‡ Boethius, lib. xii. p. 260.

§ Edgar, Alexander I., David I., Malcolm IV., Alexander II., and Robert Bruce.

|| Melvil's Memoirs, 212.



Descend towards the shore ; and near it, reach the Lime-kilns, belonging to the Earl of Elgin, the greatest perhaps in the universe ; placed amidst inexhaustible beds of lime-stones, and near immense seams of coal. The kilns are placed in a row ; their openings are beneath a covered way, formed by arches and pillars in front, into a magnificent colonade. They lie beneath the strata of lime-stone, which, when broken, is conveyed into them by variety of rail roads ; and for shipping the lime, either burnt or crude, is a convenient pier. A hundred and twenty men are constantly employed, and a little town built for them. Above twelve thousand pounds has been expended on this useful project, which promises to turn out as much to the emolument of the noble family, which so generously engaged in it, as to the whole eastern coast of North Britain, which either wants this great fertilizer, or fuel to burn the stone they uselessly possess.

*lime-kilns*

By the following account it is pleasing to observe the improving state of agriculture, and of building, in these parts of the kingdom ; for the last also occasions a considerable consumption :

Sold, from Martinmas, 1770, to ditto, 1771.

	£.	s.	d.
57515 bolls of lime shells, or unslaked lime, -	2035	8	6½
2852½ chalders of lime, - - - - -	974	11	9
37814 carts of lime-stone, - - - - -	864	13	8½
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3874	14	0

From Martinmas, 1771, to ditto, 1772,

	£.	s.	d.
65321 bolls of lime-shells*, } - - - - -	3380	7	4½
2271 chalders of lime, } - - - - -	1250	3	11½
52000 carts of lime-stone, - - - - -			
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4630	11	4

Opposite to the Lime-kilns, on a rock projecting into the Forth, is Blacknefs castle, once a place of great importance in preserving a communication between Edinburgh and Sterling ; now a shelter to a few invalids. This fortress is a large pile, defended by towers, both square and round. Irvine † says, that in his time it was a state prison : he adds, that it was of old one of the Roman forts, and that it stood on the beginning of the wall. But Mr. Gordon seems, with more truth, to place its commencement at Gairn, or Caridden, west of this place. Blacknefs was once the port of Linlithgow, had a town near it, and a custom-house ; both which were lost by the new commerce of salt and coals that rose at Burrowstonefs.

After a ride of four miles enter a portion of Perthshire, which just touches on the Firth, at Culrofs ; a small town, remarkable for a magnificent house with thirteen windows in front, built about the 1590, by Edward Lord Kinlofs, father to the Lord Bruce, slain in the noted duel between him and Sir Edward Sackville.

Some poor remains of the Cistercian abbey are still to be seen here, founded by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, in 1217. The church was jointly dedicated to the virgin, and St. Serf, confessor. The revenue, at the dissolution, was seven hundred and sixty-eight

\* A boll is four bushels, of about seventeen English gallons each.

† Nomenclatura, p. 23.

*boll*



pounds Scots, besides the rents paid in kind. The number of monks, exclusive of the abbot, were nine.

*alternate*  
*use*  
Continue my ride, in sight of vast plantations; and, in a short space, enter the little shire of Clackmannan, which, with that of Kinross, alternately elect a member, their mutual representative. The small town of Clackmannan is pleasantly seated on a hill, along the seat of the chief of the Bruces, sloping on every side; and on the summit is the castle, commanding a noble view. The large square tower is called after the name of Robert Bruce; whose great sword and casque is still preserved here. The hill is prettily wooded, and, with the tower, forms a picturesque object. On the western side, cross the little river Devan, and, after a mile's ride, reach the town of Alloa, remarkable for its coal trade. Scotland exports annually, above a hundred and eighteen thousand tons of coal, out of which, I was informed, Alloa alone sends forty thousand. The town and parish is very populous, containing five thousand souls. I found here the most polite reception from Mr. Erskine, representative of the family of Mar, who lives in the castle, now modernized, on one side of the town. The gardens planted in the old style, are very extensive. In the house are some good portraits, particularly one of the celebrated Lucy, Countess of Bedford\*, a full length, in black, with a ruff, and a coronet on her head. She sits with a pensive countenance, her face reclined on one hand, and is, without beauty, an elegant figure. She was sister to John Lord Harrington, and wife to Edward Earl of Bedford, and became, on the death of her brother, possessed of great part of his large fortune. She affected the patronage of wits and poets; and probably possessed part of the qualities they attributed to her, or the philosophic Sir William Temple† would never have condescended to celebrate her fine taste in gardening. She might purchase every perfection from the former; for Donne informs us,

She rained upon him her sweet showers of gold ‡:

on Ben Johnson, haunches of venison §; and they, in gratitude, bestowed on her as many beauties and as many virtues as ought to have put vanity herself out of countenance. She makes the rough Donne declare,

Leaving that busy praise and all appeals,  
To higher courts, senses decree is true  
The mine, the magazine, the commonweale,  
The story of beauty, in Twickham is, and you.  
Who hath seen one, would both; as who had bin  
In Paradise, would seek the Cherubin ||.

In a word; her ideas became too sublime for domestic affairs; she spent her own and part of her husband's great fortunes, and having established her character for taste, departed this life in the year 1628.

Catherine, daughter and heiress of Francis Earl of Rutland, wife of George Villars, Duke of Buckingham, by Vandyck. She is painted sitting with her children, and the head of the duke in an oval above her. She afterwards married the Earl of Artrim. "She was a lady", says the noble historian, "of great wit and spirit; who, by her influence over Charles I., forced him, under pretence of his majesty's service, to gratify her vanity, by creating her husband a marquis ¶."

A remarkable half length of Mary Stuart, on copper, in a gauze cloak, crown on her head, and passion flower in her hand; sickly and pale.

\* Painted by Cornelius Jansen, in 1620, in the 38th year of her age.

† Gardens of Epicurus.

‡ As quoted by Mr. Granger. § Epigram 85th. || Poems, p. 82. ¶ Hist. of Rebellion, ii. 474.



A head of Anne of Denmark. A princess of so spotless a life, that malice could not find a blemish in her; therefore well might Wilson \* say, on her monument a character of virtue may be engraven. When heaven claims her, a living queen cannot escape the same epitaph.

September 17. The Ochil hills begin beyond Alloa to approach very near to the Forth, between which is a narrow arable tract, well cultivated and adorned with woods: In these hills was found, in the beginning of this century, a large body of native silver, beautifully ramified; and of late years, some cobalt ore. The view of Stirling, and the windings of the Forth, now a river, are extremely elegant. Am now again in a portion of Perthshire. Turn half a mile out of the road, to visit the ancient abbey of

Cambus-Kenneth, or rather its remains, nothing being left by the rude hand of reformation, excepting a vast square tower, and an arched door-way, between which is a fine view of Stirling, on its sloping rock. This house was founded by David I. in 1147, for canons-regular of St. Augustine, brought from Aroise near Arras; but the superiors were often called abbots of Stirling. Keith says, that it now belongs to Cowan's hospital, in that town. James III. and his queen were buried in this place.

After a short ride, reach the bridge of Sterling; a little higher up the river, stood the wooden bridge, celebrated for the defeat of the English in 1297, by Wallace. The English were commanded by Earl Warren; who, against his judgment, at the instigation of Hugh de Cressingham, treasurer of Scotland, and a clergyman, crossed the bridge, and was defeated with horrible slaughter, before the army could be formed on the opposite side. Cressingham was slain. So detested was he by the Scots, that they flayed his body, and cut his skin into a thousand pieces, by way of insult on his pride and avarice. The English, on their retreat, burnt the bridge, abandoned their baggage, and fled to Berwick †.

Enter Sterling, a town; says Boethius, which gave name to sterling money, because Osbert, a Saxon prince, after the overthrow of the Scots, established here a mint ‡. It was also anciently called Striveling; as is said, from the frequency of strifes or conflicts in the neighbourhood: and from this old name the present seems to have been formed.

The town contains about four thousand inhabitants; has a manufacture of tartanes and shalloons, and employs about thirty looms in that of carpets. The great street is very broad; in it is the tolbooth, where is kept the standard for the wet measures of Scotland. The other streets narrow and irregular; the west side had been defended by a wall.

I cannot trace the foundation of the castle: if we may credit Boethius, it was a place of strength in the middle of the ninth century. The Romans had a camp and a military way on the west side: it might be their Alauna, but clouds and darkness rest on this part of our history.

Sterling is a miniature resemblance of Edinburgh, built on a rock of the same form with that on which the capital of North-Britain is placed, with a strong fortress on the summit.

The castle is of great strength, impending over a steep precipice. Within side stands the palace, built by James V. a prince that had a strong turn to the arts, as appears by his buildings here and at Falkland. This pile is large, of a square form, ornamented on three sides with pillars, resting on grotesque figures, jutting from the wall. On the top of each pillar, a fanciful statue.

\* Life of James I. 129.

† Annals of Scotland, 252.

‡ Lib. x. p. 204. Sterling money is derived from the merchants of the Easterlings; so Boethius is mistaken.



Two rooms, called the Queen's and the nursery, are large ; the roofs of wood, divided into squares and other forms, well carved.

A closet is shewn, noted for the murder of William Earl of Douglas, in 1452, trepanned here by a safe conduct from James II. This nobleman, too potent for legal execution, had entered into associations injurious to his prince ; who commanded him to rescind the offensive alliance ; and, on refusal, stabbed the earl with his own hand. In revenge, the friends of Douglas instantly burnt the town.

The parliament-house is a vast room, a hundred and twenty feet long ; with a timbered roof. This town, during the reigns of Mary and James VI, was much frequented by the court and the nobility. In September, 1571, a bloody attempt was made here by the queen's party, on the Regent Lenox ; who was surprized at midnight, surrounded by his friends, and in full security. Except the Earl of Morton, none of the numerous nobility made the least resistance, but surrendered themselves quietly to the enemy. Morton defended his house till it was all in flames. This gave the townsmen time to recollect their courage ; they in turn attacked the assailants, who, struck with a panic, gave themselves up to their own prisoners. But the unfortunate Lenox fell a victim to the manes of the archbishop of St. Andrew's. Sir David Spence, to whom he had surrendered, perished in the attempt to save him, being shot by the bullet that flew his noble captive.

*finest view* From the top of the castle is by far the finest view in Scotland : to the east is a vast plain, rich in corn, adorned with woods, and watered with the river Forth, whose meanders are, before it reaches the sea, so frequent and so large, as to form a multitude of most beautiful peninsulas ; for in many parts the windings approximate so close as to leave only a little isthmus of a few yards. In this plain is an old abbey, a view of Alloa Clackmannan, Falkirk, the firth of Forth, and the country as far as Edinburgh ; on the north, lie the Ochil hills, and the moor where the battle of Dumblain was fought ; to the west, the strath of Menteith, as fertile as the eastern plain, and terminated by the Highland mountains ; among which the summit of Ben-lomond is very conspicuous.

Among the houses of the nobility, the most superb was that of the Earl of Mar, begun by the regent, but never finished ; the front is ornamented with the arms of the family, and much sculpture. It is said to have been built from the ruins of Cambuskenneth, and that being reproached with the sacrilege, directed these words, yet extant, to be put over the gate :

Esipy. speik. Furth. I. cair notht.  
Confidir. weil I cair. notht.

Near the castle are Edmonston's walls, cut through a little wood, on the vast steep. Nature hath strangely buttressed it up with stones of immense size, wedged between each other with more of the same kind piled on their tops. Beneath, on the flat, are to be seen the vestiges of the gardens belonging to the palace, called the king's knot ; where, according to the taste of the times, the flowers had been disposed in beds and curious knots, at this time very easily to be traced in the fantastic form of the turf.

Above these walks is the Ladies-hill ; for here sat the fair to see their faithful knights exert their vigour and address in the tilts and tournaments, performed in a hollow between this spot and the castle.

The church or royal chapel was collegiate, founded by pope Alexander VI. at the request of James IV. \* for a dean, subdean, sacristan, chanter, treasurer, chancellor, arch-

\* Keith, 283.



dean, sixteen chaplains, and six singing-boys, which, with the chaplains and a music-master, were appointed by the king. The queen's confessor was the dean, who had episcopal jurisdiction. The whole most richly endowed.

The Carmelites had a house here, founded by James IV. in 1494. Remorse for his father's death seems to have instigated him to attempt these pious atonements. To this place he was wont to retire from all worldly affairs, and to perform the duties of religion with all the austerities of the devoted inhabitants.

Beneath the walls was another, of Dominicans, established in 1233, by Alexander II. In this church was interred, an impostor, who, at the instigation of the Countess of Oxford, assumed the character of Richard II. After his retreat, he found here an honourable support to the day of his death \*.

The hospital for decayed merchants, founded by John Cowan, a merchant of this town, is very richly endowed. Here is another, founded by Robert Spittal, taylor to James IV. for the relief not only of merchants but decayed tradesmen.

This place has experienced its sieges, and other calamities of war. In 1175 it was delivered, by William to the English, (with several other places) as a security for his acknowledgement, that he held the crown of Scotland from the kings of England. An inglorious cession, extorted by his unfortunate captivity. But Richard I. the succeeding monarch, restored them †.

During the wars between the English and Brucean Scots, it often changed masters. In 1299 it was in possession of Edward I. whose affairs in Scotland were at that time so bad, that he was obliged to send his governor an order to surrender. But the year following, he retook it, after a most gallant defence by William Oliphant, who gave it up on terms ill observed by the conqueror.

In 1303, it was again taken by the Scots, under Lord John Sowles: Oliphant resumed the command, and in the next year sustained a second siege. It was battered most furiously by the artillery of the age, which cast stones of two hundred weight against the walls, and made vast breaches. At length, when the garrison was reduced to a very few, the brave governor submitted and was received into mercy.

In the reign of Edward II. it was besieged by Sir Edward Bruce. The governor, Sir Philip Mowbray, made a valiant defence; but, in consequence of the battle of Bannockburne, was reduced to yield to the victorious army. During the wars of Edward III. it was reciprocally taken and re-taken; the last time in 1341. The other great events of this place have slipped my memory. I must make a long stride to its memorable siege in the winter of 1746, when the gallant old officer, General Blakeney, baffled all the efforts of the rebels to reduce this important place.

In the evening, pass through the small town of St. Ninian, and the village of Bannockburne.

Ascend a hill, and pass by the reliques of Torwood, noted for having given shelter to Wallace, after the fatal battle of Falkirk. Some remains of an oak, beneath which the hero is said to have reposed, is still pointed out with great veneration. Over this place passes the Roman military road, which I traced before to the north of Dupplin. At some distance from this, leave, in a valley on the left, the two mounts, called Dunipace, placed on the north bank of the Carron, Car-avon, or the winding river. Night closed on me before I reached this place, so I must speak by quotation from an ingenious essay on the antiquities of Sterlingshire, published in the Edinburgh magazine. The one, says the author, is perfectly round and above fifty feet high. The other, which he seems unwilling to admit to be the work of art, is of an irregular form, and

\* Keith, 271.

† Major, lib. iv. c. 5. p. 135, 136.



composed of gravel. Mr. Gordon conjectures them to have been exploratory mounts; the writer of the essay, that they were sepulchral. The last seems best founded, for, if I recollect, the tops of exploratory hills are truncated or flat.

To the north-east of these, on the same side of the river, at the distance of a few miles, stood the celebrated antiquity called Arthur's oven, which Mr. Gordon supposes to have been a facellum, or little chapel, a repository for the Roman insignia or standards.

This building was circular, upright on the sides, and rounded towards the top, in which was an opening eleven feet six inches in diameter. Beneath this was on one side a square aperture, like a window; under that a door, whose top formed a Roman arch. The height to the round opening at the top was twenty-two feet; the inner diameter of the building at the bottom, nineteen feet six inches; round the inside, Boethius informs us, were stone seats; and on the south side an altar. He also acquaints us that the floor was tessellated, as appeared by the fragments that might be picked up in his time\*. He adds, that there were on some of the stones the sculpture of eagles, nearly defaced by age; and that there had been an inscription on a polished stone, signifying that the building was erected by Vespasian, in honour of the emperor Claudius, and the goddess Victory. This he speaks by tradition; for our Edward, conqueror of Scotland, is charged with carrying it away with him. All the old historians that take notice of this edifice agree that it was the work of the Romans, from the British Nennius to the Scotch Buchanan. How far that may be allowed will be a future consideration: at present I shall only, in opposition to Mr. Maitland, assert what it was not, a mausoleum resembling the sepulchre of Metella†, which is a round tower, totally open at top. A more apt comparison might be found in the Calidarium of the baths of Dioclesian‡, whose vaulted roof, rounded, and with a central aperture, agrees with that of the deplored Scottish antiquity.

Leave at a small distance on the left Camelon, the site of a Roman town, whose streets and walls might be traced in the midst of the ruins in the time of Buchanan§; but, as I was informed, not a relique is to be seen at present worthy of a visit. The sea once flowed up to this town, if the report be true, that fragments of anchors have been found near it; and beds of oyster-shells in various places, at this time remote from the Forth, which is kept embanked from overflowing the flat tract in many parts between this place and Borrowstoness. Buchanan supposes this town to have been the *Caer guidi* of the venerable Bede||; but as that writer expressly says, that it lay in the middle of the Forth, it was probably a fortress on Inch-Keith, as his *Alcluith* is another on the firth of Clyde.

Lie at Falkirk, a large ill-built town, supported by the great fairs for black cattle from the Highlands, it being computed that 24,000 head are annually sold here.

Carron wharf lies upon the river, which falls a few miles below into the Forth, and is not only useful to the great iron works erected near it, but of great service even to Glasgow, considerable quantities of goods destined for that city being landed here. The canal, which is to form a communication between this firth and that of Clyde, begins on the south side of the mouth of the Carron. Its course will be above thirty miles, assisted by thirty-nine locks. Its western termination is to be at Dalmuir-burn-foot, eight miles below Glasgow; but, for the conveniency of that city, it is proposed to form another branch from the great trunk, at a place called the Stocking-bleachfield, between two and three miles distant from the city.

\* Lib. iii. p. 34.

† Antichità di Roma dell' abate Venuti, tom. ii. p. 9. tab. 67.

‡ Idem, tom. i. p. 93. tab. 32.

§ Lib. i. c. 21, iv. c. 36.

|| Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 12.



Sept. 18. Near Callendar house at a small distance east from Falkirk, are some large remains of Antoninus' wall, or, as it is called here, Graham's dike, from the notion that o e Graham, or Grimus\*, first made a breach in it, soon after the retreat of the Romans out of Britain. This vast work was effected by Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain, during the reign of Antoninus Pius, as appears by inscriptions found on stones discovered among the ruins of the chain of forts that defended it. Most of them are in honour of the emperor; one only mentions the lieutenant †. The wall itself was of turf, which in this place was forty feet broad, and the ditch thirteen feet deep. Lollius, after defeating the Britons, and recovering the country, which was, as Tacitus ‡ expresses it, "lost as soon as won," restored to the empire the boundary left by Agricola, and removed the barbarians to a greater distance §. It is probable that Lollius might either place his forts on the same site with those built by Agricola, or make use of the same in case they were not destroyed; but the first is most probable, as fifty-five years had elapsed from the time that Agricola left the island, to the re-conquest of these parts by the legate of Antonine. This wall begins near Kirk-Patrick, on the firth of Clyde, and ends at Caeridden, two miles west of Abercorn, on the firth of Forth, being, according to Mr. Gordon, in length thirty-six miles, eight hundred and eighty-seven paces, and defended, I think, by twelve if not thirteen forts. It is probable that the Romans did not keep possession even of this wall for any length of time; for there are no inscriptions but in honour of that single emperor.

Continue our journey over a naked and barren country. Leave on the right the nunnery of Manwel, founded by Malcolm IV. in 1156. The recluses were of the Cistercian order. Cross the water of Avon, and enter the shire of Linlithgow, and soon after have a beautiful view of the town, the castle, and the lake. This is supposed to be the Lindum of Ptolemy, and to take its name from its situation on a lake, or lin, or llyn, which the word lin or llyn signifies.

The town contains between three and four thousand souls, and carries on a considerable trade in dressing of white leather, which is sent abroad to be manufactured. It also employs many hands in dressing of flax, and in wool-combing; for the last, the wool is brought from the borders. Its port was formerly Blackneis, but since the decline of that place, Burrowstonefs, about two miles distant from Linlithgow.

The castle was founded by Edward I. who resided in it for a whole winter; but in 1307 we find that it was taken and demolished by one Binny, a Scotsman. In the reign of Edward III. the English possessed it again; for there is extant an order for the custody of the hospital to John Swanlund ¶.

I cannot discover by whom it was re-built. It is at present a magnificent edifice, of a square form, finely seated above the lake. James V. and VI. ornamented it greatly. The inside is much embellished with sculpture: over an inner gate are niches, in former times holding the statues of a pope and a cardinal; erected, as tradition says, by James V. in compliment to his holiness for a present of a consecrated sword and helmet ¶. On an outward gate, detached from the building, are the four orders of knighthood, which his Majesty bore, the garter, thistle, holy-ghost, and golden-fleece.

Within the palace is a handsome square: one side is more modern than the others, having been built by James VI., and kept in good repair till 1746, when it was acci-

\* Boethius

† Horsley, Scotland, tab. viii. See also my first volume, where some of the inscriptions are mentioned.

‡ Hist. lib. i. c. 2.

§ Capitolinus.

¶ Calendar of Charters, by Sir Jos. Ayloffe, 1620.

¶ Lessai, Hist. Scot. 353.



dentally burnt by the King's forces. The pediments over the windows are neatly carved, and dated 1619.

The other sides are more ancient : in one is a room ninety-five feet long, thirty feet six inches wide, and thirty-three high. At one end is a gallery, with three arches, perhaps for music. Narrow galleries run quite round the old part, to preserve communications with the rooms ; in one of which the unfortunate Mary Stuart first saw light. Her father, James V., then dying, foretold the miseries that impended over her and the kingdom. " It came," said he, " with a lass, and will be lost with one."

The chapel was built by James V., and takes up one side of the square. The kitchen for the use of the kings and queens is below ground. I heard here of a letter from James VI. to borrow some silver spoons for a feast ; and of another to borrow from the Earl of Mar a pair of silk stockings, to appear in before the English ambassador. Though I cannot authenticate these relations of the simplicity of the times ; yet I have a curious letter from the same monarch, to borrow a thousand marks, in the year 1589, being that of his wedding, telling the lender (John Boisswell, of Balmato), " Ye will rather hurt your self veiry far, than see the dishonour of your prince and native country with the povertie of baith set downe before the face of strangers."

The church would be a handsome building, if not disgraced with a most ruinous floor. I was shewn the place remarkable for the personated apparition that appeared to James IV., while he was meditating the fatal expedition into England ; and which, as honest Lindsay relates, as soon as it had delivered its message, " vanished like a blink of the sun, or a whip of a whirlwind." The tale is told with wonderful simplicity, and would be spoiled in the abridgment : " The King (says the historian \*) came to Lithgow, where he happened to be at the time for the council, very sad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time there came a man clad in a blue gawn in at the kirk-door, and belted about him in a roll of linen-cloth ; a pair of bottrikins on his feet, to the great of his legs, with all other hose and clofe conform thereto ; but he had no thing on his head, but fyde red yellow hair behind, and on his hassits, which wan down to his shoulers ; but his foreherd was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two and fifty years, with a great pyke-staff in his hand, and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring for the King, saying, he desired to speak with him. While at the last he came where the King was sitting in the desk at his prayers ; but when he saw the King, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down grossings on the desk before him, and said to him in this manner, as after follows : ' Sir King, my mother hath sent me to you, desiring you not to pass at this time where thou art purposed ; for if thou does, thou wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee. Further, she bade thee mell with no woman, nor use their counsel, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs ; for if thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.' "

In one of the streets is shewn the gallery from whence Hamilton, of Bothwell-haugh, in 1570, with a blameless revenge shot the regent Murray. Hamilton had embraced the party of his royal mistress, Mary Stuart. The regent bestowed part of his estate on one of his favourites, who, in a winter's night, seized on his house, and turned his wife naked into the open fields †, where before morning she became furiously mad. Love and party rage co-operated so strongly, that he never rested till he executed his purpose. He followed the regent from place to place, till the opportunity of a flow.

\* P. 111.

† Robertson, i. 511.



march through a crowded street rendered his intent successful. He fled to France, and being there solicited to destroy the admiral Coligni, he replied, with a generous repentment, "That notwithstanding his injured affection compelled him to commit one murder, nothing should induce him to prostitute his sword in base assassination."

Proceed along Strathbrock, watered by the Almond. To the right are Bathgate hills, once noted for mines of lead-ore, so rich as to be deemed silver mines. Dine at Kirkliston bridge; near this place in 1298 Edward I. encamped, just before the battle of Falkirk. He had bestowed among his soldiers a donative of wine, a sudden and national quarrel arose between his English and Welsh troops: the last wrecked their revenge on the clergy, and slew eighteen English ecclesiastics. The English horse made great slaughter among my countrymen, who in disgust separated themselves from the army\*. Edward had not fewer than fifteen thousand Welshmen, which he drew from his new conquests with the design of opposing them to the Highlanders†. About a mile farther, after crossing the Almond, enter the shire of Edinburgh.

This river runs into the Forth, about four miles from this place. On the eastern bank of its influx is the village of Cramond, once a Roman station and port. Many medals, inscriptions, and other antiquities‡, have been discovered here. Mr. Gordon says there is one, and Mr. Maitland that there are three Roman roads leading to it; but my time would not permit me to visit the place.

On the right hand, at a small distance from our road, are some rude stones. On one, called the Catstean, a compound of Celtic and Saxon, signifying the stone of battle, is this inscription: "In hoc tumulo Jacet veta F. victi," supposed in memory of a person slain here.

Visit, on the road side, Corstorphine, a collegiate church, in which are two monuments of the Foresters, ancient owners of the place, each recumbent. One preserves the memory of Sir John Forester, who made the church collegiate in 1429, and fixed here a provost, five prebendaries, and two singing-boys. Here is also an inscription to the first provost, Nicholas Bannochtyne, dated 1470, concluding with a request to the reader to "pray for the pope and him." Cross the water of Leith, at Coltsbridge, and soon arrive at Edinburgh.

I shall here take notice of those remarkable places which escaped my notice in my former tour, or at least merited a little further mention than I at that time paid them. I shall begin with the castle that crowns the precipitous summit of this singular city.

That fortress is of great antiquity. The ancient British name was Castell Mynydd Agned. Our long-lost Arthur, if Nennius§ is to be credited, obtained one of his victories in its neighbourhood. His name is still retained in the great rock impending over the city, literally translated from the British, Cader, the seat of Arthur. Maitland, who gives the most probable account of the derivation of the name, attributes it to Edwin, King of Northumberland, who, from the conquests of his predecessors, was in possession of all the tract from the Humber to the firth of Forth. Accordingly we find, in very old writers, that the place was called Edwinsburch, and Edwinsburg||. It continued in the hands of the Saxons, or English, from the invasion of Osta and Ebusa, in the year 452, till the defeat of Egfrid, King of Northumberland, in 685, by the Picts, who then re-possessed themselves of it. The Saxon Kings of Northumberland re-conquered it in the ninth century, and their successors retained it till it was given up to Indulfus, King of Scotland, about the year 956. All the names in this tract are of Saxon origin, and the language now spoken is full of old English words and phrases.

\* Annals Scotland, 257.

† Carte, ii. 264.

‡ Gordon's Itin. 116, 117. Horsely, p. 204.

§ C. 62.

|| Vide Maitland Hist. Edinburgh, 6.



The castle is of great strength ; and, as it was for a long time supposed to be impregnable, was called the Maiden-castle. Edward I., in 1296, made himself master of it in a few days ; but in the reign of his successor it was, in 1313, surprized and taken by Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray. It fell again into the hands of the English, who, in 1341, lost it by a stratagem contrived by Sir William Douglas. He entered the harbour of Leith, with a vessel loaden with provisions, and manned with about two hundred Highlanders. He disguised twelve in the dress of peasants, and placed the rest in ambush amidst the ruins of an abbey. He led the first up to the castle, accompanying twelve horses laden with oats and fuel : he offered these to sale to the porter, who telling him that the garrison stood in great want of them, let Sir William into the gateway. They slew the porter, blockaded the gate, by killing their horses in the midst of it, and assembling their other party by sound of horn, made themselves masters of the place.

The hero Kirkaldie distinguished the year 1573 by a gallant defence of this castle, which he kept, in hopes of mending the fortunes of his unhappy mistress, then imprisoned in England. For three and thirty days he resisted all the efforts of the Scots and the English, excited by courage and emulation. At length, when the walls were battered down, the wells destroyed, and the whole rendered a heap of rubbish, he resolved to perish gloriously in the last intrenchment ; but the garrison, which wanted his heroism, or had not the same reason for despair, mutinied, and forced him to surrender \*.

In 1650 it sustained a siege of above two months against the parliament army, commanded by Cromwell, and surrendered at length on very honourable terms †.

At the Revolution, it was held for some time by the Duke of Gordon for the abdicating prince. When his grace surrendered his charge, he made terms for every one under his command ; but, with uncommon spirit and generosity, submitted his own life and interests to the mercy of the conqueror ‡. After the city was possessed by the rebels in 1745, it underwent a short and impotent siege. The royalists, under the Generals Gueff and Preston, kept quiet possession of it, after a few weak and unavailing hostilities.

Beneath the floor of one of the passages were interred the remains of William Earl of Douglas, and his brother. These noble youths (too powerful for subjects) were inveigled here, on the faith of the royal word, and while they were sitting at table with their prince were seized and hurried to the block. History mentions an uncommon circumstance. A bull's head was served up, a signal in those days of approaching death. The Douglasses grew pale at the sight, accepting the omen §.

In a small room in this fortress Mary Stuart brought into the world James VI., an event of which some uncouth rhymes on the wall inform the stranger.

The regalia of Scotland are said to be preserved here, and a room in which they are kept is pointed out, but made up and inaccessible. According to Maitland, they were acknowledged to have been here in 1707, as appears by a formal instrument preserved by that historian.

The great cannon called Mons-meg, made of iron bars, bound together with iron hoops, was a curiosity preserved in this fortress, till it was transported some years ago to London. It is said to have been brought here from Roxburgh, and that one of the same kind proved fatal to James II., by bursting near the royal person.

\* Robertson, ii. 48.

† Whitelock, 485.

‡ Hist. Gordons, ii. 606.

§ Hist. of the Douglasses, 154.



The city is of far later date than the castle. Walsingham, who wrote about the year 1440, speaks of it as a mean place, and the houses covered only with thatch: yet Froissart, who lived prior to the former, says, it was "*la principal siege du royaume, et aussi par usage le Roy d'Ecoce s'y tenoit, (car il y a bon chastel, & bonne grosse ville, et beau heure \*.)*" But it seems not to have been in any very flourishing condition till the reign of James I., in whose last year (1436) a parliament was first held here. After those meetings were continued, its prosperity increased, and the importance of Perth, before considerable, began to lessen. Till that period, the princes and parliaments of Scotland thought the firth of Forth a proper security against the inroads of the English, who often carried their depredations as far as this city, and often sacked it.

I should mention that, besides the castle, it was also guarded by walls and gates. The first began near the southern base of the castle, and, protecting the town on the south and east, terminated near the North loch, then filled with water, and a sufficient security on that side.

The gates are numerous, but none that are now standing are in any degree remarkable. The Netherbow-port, which stood at the head of the Cannongate street, was built in the reign of James VI., but is now demolished. A figure of it is preserved in Maitland's History of Edinburgh; and a still finer, but scarce, etching of it is sometimes met with, the work of Mr. Alexander Runciman.

To pursue the description of Edinburgh, I shall begin with the great street, which, under several names, is continued almost in a line from the castle to Holyrood-house, being in length a mile and a half, and in some places eighty feet wide, and in the part called the High-street, finely built.

In the street called the Castle-hill is the great reservoir for supplying the city with water. Below this is the lawn-market, where every Wednesday are sold linens, checks, &c.

The weighing-house, which brings in a large revenue to the city, stands at the Bow-head, at the upper end of the lawn-market.

Near that are the Luckenbooths, with the tolbooth, or city prison. The guard-house is a little lower. I think the guard consists in all of seventy-five men, commanded by the provost and three lieutenants, who are styled captains. The men are well clothed and armed. Instead of the halbert, they still retain the ancient weapon, the Lochaber ax.

In the Parliament-close, a small square, is the Parliament-house, where the courts of justice are held. Beneath are the advocates' library, and the register-office. In my former Tour I mentioned certain curiosities preserved in the library; but neglected the notice of others in a small but select private cabinet.

Among others in the cabinet of Mr. John Macgowan, discovered near this city, is an elegant brass image of a beautiful Naiad, with a little satyr in one arm. On her head is a wine-vat, or some such vessel, to denote her an attendant on Bacchus; and beneath one foot, a subverted vase, expressive of her character as a nymph of the fountains. The satyr is given her, not only to shew her relation to the jovial god, but from the opinion that the Naiades were mothers † of that sylvan race.

A vessel resembling a tea-pot, with a handle and spout: it wants a lid, but the orifice is covered with a fixed plate, full of perforations, like those of a watering-pot. Count Caylus has given a figure of a pot of this kind; but is as ignorant as myself of its use.

\* Froissart, lib. ii. p. 145.

† Montfaucon, from the authority of Nonnus. Antiq. Expl. i. part ii. 261.



Some spear-heads, and a brazen celt finely gilt. This embellishment of the last intimates, that the instruments of that sort were not for mechanic uses, but probably the heads of javelins or ensign staffs\*.

*iron whips*  
In the same collection is an iron whip, a most cruel instrument of punishment among the Romans†. The handle is short; the lash, a chain dividing into three parts, with a bullet at the end of each. These bullets were sometimes of lead, sometimes of ‡ copper. Whips of this kind are often seen in paintings of martyrdoms. It is singular, that the Europeans found among the natives of Bengal this classical scourge, or one nearly resembling it: the bullets in the Indian chawbuc, or whip, being affixed to thongs instead of chains.

The great church, divided into four places of worship; and St. Giles's, with its tower terminated by a crown of stone, built by a Milne, ancestor of a celebrated race of architects, grace part of the street below the Parliament-cloze.

The Trone church is remarkable for its fine Ionic front.

Here are four chapels for the use of the protestants of the church of England. The new one, when completed, will be a most elegant building, and the front adorned with a beautiful portico, supported by six Doric pillars, with suitable finishing. Over the altar is an ascension by Mr. Runciman, and here are besides four other paintings by the same gentleman. These, with a fine organ, are comfortable proofs of the moderation that at present reigns in the church of Scotland, which a few years ago would have looked with horror on these innocent decorations, and never have permitted to others what they did not approve. Perhaps the disapprobation still continues; then how far more meritorious is this toleration!

At the bottom of Canon-gate stands the magnificent palace of Holyrood-house, once an abby of canons regular of St. Augustine, founded by David I. in 1128, and dedicated to the holy-cross. This was the richest of the religious houses in North Britain, the annual revenue, at the Reformation, amounting to two thousand nine hundred and twenty-six pounds Scots §, besides numbers of rents in kind. In 1547, it was almost ruined by the Regent Duke of Somerset, who totally uncovered it, and took away with him the lead and bells.

That beautiful piece of Gothic architecture, the chapel, is now a ruin, the roof having fallen in. It was fitted up in a most elegant manner by James VII. At the end was a throne for the sovereign, and on the sides twelve stalls for the knights companions of the thistle; but, in 1688, the whole was demolished by the fury of the mob.

In the apartments belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, who is hereditary house-keeper, are several curious portraits. Among them, a full length of a tall youth, with his hat on a table. It is called that of Henry Darnley, but, by the countenance, I should rather imagine it to be that of Henry Prince of Wales||.

A head of James IV. in black, with ermine; the hair lank and short. From the great resemblance to Henry VII. I am tempted to think it the portrait of James V., who was descended from the daughter of Henry.

Mary Stuart, aged about fifteen; a half length, straight and slender; large brocade sleeves, small ruff, auburn hair.

A head of Cardinal Beaton, black hair, smooth face, a red callot. An ambitious, cruel, and licentious priest; so superior to decency, that he publicly married one of his

\* Borlase, Anti. Cornwall.

† Caylus, vii. 215.

‡ Montfaucon, V. part ii. 245.

§ A Scotch pound is twenty pence; a Scotch mark thirteen pence.

|| Vide Mr. Granger's Biography, i. 313. 2vo. edit.



six natural children to the master of Crawford, owned her for his daughter, and gave with her (in those days) the vast fortune of four thousand marks, Scots.

A stern half length of John Knox, writing.

Lord John Belafys, in a red doublet and slashed sleeves, young and handsome; son of Lord Fauconberg. A person, says the noble historian, of exemplary industry and courage, who raised six regiments for the King's service, and behaved with great spirit in several engagements; at length, being made commander in chief of the forces in Yorkshire, at the battle of Selby, sunk beneath the superior fortune of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and was by him taken prisoner. He received great honours at the Restoration, and lived till the year 1689.

A fine old portrait, a half length in rich armour.

Twenty small heads, in black lead, of the family of Hamilton and its allies. Very neat.

The life of Hercules, in ten small pieces, highly finished, but with a stiff outline, like the manner of Albert Durer. In the back ground are views of Flemish houses, so probably these were the work of a Flemish artist. Perhaps of John de Mabeuse, who was in England in the time of Henry VIII. The set is supposed to have been part of the collection of Sir Peter Lely\*.

Edward Earl of Jersey, a nobleman in great trust with King William; ambassador to France, and secretary of state; in the next reign, lord chamberlain, and appointed lord privy seal on the day of his death, August 11, 1711.

At Lord Dunmore's lodgings is a very fine picture, by Mytens, of Charles I. and his Queen, going to ride, with the sky showering roses on them. The Queen is painted with a love-lock, and with browner hair and complexion, and younger than any of her portraits I have seen. A black stands by them holding a grey horse; and the celebrated dwarf Jeffery Hudson attends, holding a spaniel in a string. Several other dogs are sporting around. The little hero in this piece underwent a life of vast variety. He was born the son of a labourer at Oakham, in 1619; at the age of seven he was not eighteen inches high, at which time he was taken into the family of the Duke of Buckingham, at Burleigh on the hill, and had there the honour of being served up to table in a cold pye, to surprize the court then on a progress. On the marriage of Charles the First, he was promoted to the service of Henrietta; and was even so far trusted as to be sent to France to bring over her Majesty's midwife. In his passage he was taken by a pirate, and carried into Dunkirk. His captivity gave rise to the *Jeoffreidos*, a poem, by Sir William Davenant, on his duel in that port with a turkey-cock. His diminutive size did not prevent his acting in a military capacity, for, during the civil wars, he served as captain of horse. In following the fortunes of his mistress into France, he unluckily engaged in a quarrel with Mr. Crofts, who came into the field armed only with a squirt; a second meeting was appointed, on horseback, when Jeffery killed his antagonist at the first shot. For this he was expelled the court, which sent him to sea, when he was again captive to a Turkish rover, and sold into Barbary. On his release he was made a captain in the royal navy; and on the final retreat of Henrietta, attended her to France, and remained there till the Restoration. In 1682, this little creature was made of that importance as to be supposed to be concerned in the Popish plot, and was committed to the gate-house; where he ended his life, at the age of sixty-three, passed with all the consequential activity of a Lilliputian hero†.

\* Walpole's Anecd. Painting, i. 50.

† Vide Fuller, Wright's Rutlandshire, p. 105, and the more entertaining account in Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. ii. 10.



The precincts of this abbey, including the park (next to be mentioned) and a space as far as Duddingston, is still a place of refuge to the unfortunate debtor; and has its bailey, who keeps courts, and punishes offenders within his jurisdiction.

The college, founded by the citizens of Edinburgh, in 1582, in consequence of a legacy left in 1558, for that useful end, by Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, is a very mean building. It is built on the site of the collegiate church of Kirk-of-field, formerly dedicated to St. Mary, and in popish times supplied with a provost and ten prebends.

The museum is at present totally empty, for such has been the negligence of past times, that scarce a specimen of the noble collection deposited in it by Sir Andrew Balfour, is to be met with, any more than the great additions made to it by Sir Robert Sibbald.

The session, as they term it, of the university of Edinburgh, begins on November 1, and continues six months. Soon after the commencement a general day is appointed for matriculation, if a form can be so called, which is annually repeated by each student, as long as he stays. It was begun in the year 1764, and was looked upon as an innovation, intended both to gain a footing for some authority over the students, and to raise a fund for the public library. The manner was this: a solemn obligation (in Latin) to behave well, to respect the authority and interests of the university, and obey its laws (of which they were allowed to be entirely ignorant) was written in a book, and the students subscribed their names underneath in alphabetical order. A sum, not less than half-a-crown, was at the same time demanded, for the use of the library; in return for which a ticket was given, entitling the bearer to the use of books, upon depositing their value in money by way of security. I never heard of the least cognizance taken of the morals and conduct of any student, though I believe there are a few instances of expulsion for very flagitious crimes. Degrees in physic used to be conferred like those in divinity and law, at the pleasure of the heads, without any necessity of having studied either there or at any other university; but, on the last instance of this kind, in the year 1763, or 64, several students, piqued at a proceeding which put on a footing with themselves persons whom they thought not entitled to academical honours, mutually engaged not to take a degree at Edinburgh. The professors, alarmed at this resolution, gave an assurance, that for the future no degree in physic should be conferred without at least two years studying at the place, and attendance upon all the medical classes. This has been, I believe, rigorously adhered to; moreover the examinations, previous to conferring the degree, are said to be very strict. By a regulation of a later date, degrees are only granted in the summer, twice a year, during the recess from business. The number of medical students are now annually reckoned at about three hundred; a majority of whom, being only designed for the lower branches of the profession, stay but one session. Every one is at liberty to attend what lectures he chooses, and in what order; except that those who mean to graduate, must, during their stay, attend all the truly medical ones. They who have leisure and means properly to complete their medical education, seldom stay less than three sessions, and frequently more. Lectures in botany, and attendance on the infirmary, go forward in the summer; and a good many of the students, especially those who come from a distance, continue at Edinburgh during that season.

This university began to be celebrated for the study of medicine about the year 1720; when a number of gentlemen, natives of this country, and pupils of the illustrious Boerhaave, settled here, and filled the professor's chairs with such abilities, as served to establish Edinburgh for the seat of instruction in the healing art. It was



its peculiar good fortune to have a succession of professors of most distinguished parts, which has preserved its fame with undiminished lustre to the very present time.

Near the college is the Trades-maiden-hospital, a plain, neat building, with eleven windows in front, founded in 1707, by the mechanics of the city, for the maintenance of the daughters of their decayed brethren. Mrs. Mary Erskine (of whom more will be mentioned hereafter) contributed largely towards this design, and had the honour of being entitled joint foundress. It maintains, at present, fifty-two girls.

Somewhat farther are two churches under one roof, called the Grey friers. The convent belonging to it was founded by James I. for the purpose of instructing his people in divinity and philosophy, and was said to have been so magnificent, that the superior, who was sent for from Zurich to preside, at first declined accepting it. In this church I had the satisfaction of hearing divine service performed by the celebrated Dr. Robertson. It began with a hymn; the minister then repeated a prayer to a standing congregation, who do not distract their attention by bows and compliments to each other, like the good people in England. He then gave an excellent comment on a portion of Scripture, which is called the lecture. After this succeeded another hymn, and prayer, the sermon, a third hymn, and the benediction.

Near this church is a pleasing groupe of charitable foundations, the genuine fruits of religion. Immediately behind it is the great workhouse, the receptacle of the poor of the city. When completed, it is to consist of a centre and two wings, but the last are not yet finished. It maintains about six or seven hundred persons of all ages; each of whom contribute by their labour to their support. Besides these are about two hundred out-pensioners, who have sixpence or a shilling a week. Near it are three other buildings dependent on it; one for the reception of lunatics, the second for the sick, the third for a fort of weaving school.

The orphan-hospital was begun in 1733, under the auspices of Mr. Andrew Gairdiner, and other charitable persons. At present it maintains seventy poor children, who weave their own cloaths, and assist in the whole economy of the house. The building is very handsome, and has nine windows in front.

To the west of this is Herriot's-hospital, a magnificent pile of Gothic Grecian architecture, founded by George Herriot, goldsmith and jeweller to Anne of Denmark, who left the vast sum of near forty-four thousand pounds sterling for the building and endowment. It is destined for the support of boys, and maintains at present a hundred and three. Within is a handsome square, with the statue of the founder. In the council-room is his portrait, a half length by Scougal: in his hand are some jewels; for to that branch of his business he owed his fortune, particularly by the profusion bought for the wedding of the princess of Bohemia. He was member of the English parliament; and died, aged 63, in the year 1623.

In the same room is a head of William Aytone, mason, and builder of the hospital.

Behind this is another fine foundation, called Watson's hospital, a building with twenty-one windows in front. The founder owing his rise to the charity of a relation, established this house, for the support of about sixty boys, sons and grandsons of decayed merchants of Edinburgh. They are educated here, and apprenticed out; and, after having served their times with credit, and remained after that three years unmarried, receive fifty pounds to set up with.

The Merchants-maiden-hospital lies north-east of Watson's. It owes its institution to the merchants of Edinburgh, and the same Mrs. Mary Erskine before mentioned, for the maintenance of the girls of distressed burghesses. It supports about sixty, who



appear on Sundays in a dress truly *simplex munditiis*, in dark brown gowns, black silk handkerchiefs, and black silk bonnets.

The private acts of charity are also very considerable. Every Sunday a collection is made for the sick and necessitous. Such a religious respect do the common people pay to this fund, that nothing but extreme distress will induce them to apply for relief. It seems to them a sort of sacrilege to partake unnecessarily of a bounty destined for the miserable; and children will undergo any labour to prevent their parents from becoming burthenfome to this parochial stock.

The New Town is connected to the city by a very beautiful bridge, whose highest arch is ninety-five feet high, and seventy-two feet wide. This bridge is flung over a deep glen, once filled with water, and called the North-loch, but at present drained. To the east and to the north of this bridge, is a motley assemblage of churches, methodist meeting, hospitals, and play-house. The old Trinity collegiate church, founded by Mary of Gueldres, mother to James III. is a Gothic pile. Near it is an hospital, founded on the dissolution of the former: it maintains, in a most comfortable manner, numbers of aged persons of each sex; for besides good diet, they have the luxury of a garden and library.

Leith, the port of Edinburgh, is seated about two miles to the east, is now a considerable town, divided into two parishes, called north and south Leith, separated by a river of the same name. The original name was Inverleith, and is first mentioned in 1329, in a grant of it to the citizens of Edinburgh, under whose jurisdiction it lies. They appoint out of the old magistrates a baron bailiff, who with the assistance of other officers directs the affairs of the place. It was for some time the residence of Mary of Lorraine, queen regent, who followed by her court, gave rise to several handsome buildings still existing. The same princess, when she called in the assistance of the French, fixed their forces here, and caused it to be fortified, on account of the convenient harbour and its vicinity to the capital. Here Mary Stuart landed on her return from France, in 1561, and in two years after destroyed the independency of the place, by mortgaging, for a great sum of money, the superiority of it to the city of Edinburgh\*. When Henry VIII. proposed the match between his son Edward and Mary, he followed his demand in a manner worthy so boisterous a prince. In this rough courtship, as it was humourously styled, he sent the Earl of Hertford with a numerous army to second his demand, who burnt both this place and Edinburgh.

After that it was fortified by the French, and underwent a long siege; the French behaved with spirit, and for a great length of time baffled all the attempts of the English, who supported the lords of the congregation. At length it was yielded on composition, and the fortification razed. In 1571, it was re-fortified by the Earl of Morton; and in a little less than a century afterwards, a citadel was added by general Monk, demolished on the restoration.

The harbour is but indifferent; yet by means of a fine pier large vessels lie here with security. The southern shore of the Forth is shallow and sandy: no part between Leith and Inch-Keith is above ten fathom deep. The north is of a great depth, and has a rocky or foul bottom. Opposite to Kinghorn is a ledge of rocks called the Blae, which at a low ebb are only four fathom from the surface. Yet the water deepens to fifty fathoms within a ship's length. The pier is a beautiful and much frequented walk: and the annual races are on the sands, near low-water mark. It has happened often when the heats have been long, that the horses run belly deep in the flowing tide.

\* Robertson, i. 342.



The disproportion of rain between this and the western side of the kingdom has been strongly exemplified here. Leith lies in a line sixty miles distant from Greenock. Some years ago, when the rope-walks of both places were uncovered, it was observed that the workmen at the last were prevented by the wet from working eighty days more at Greenock, than at Leith, and only forty days more at Glasgow; so sudden is the abatement of rain, and so quick is the change of climate, on receding from west to east.

In my return to Edinburgh, passed by Restalrig, the ancient residence of the Logans. The last possessor was accused (five years after his death) of being concerned in the Gowrie conspiracy; and was cited to appear, but proving contumacious, his estate was forfeited, his bones burnt, and his heirs declared infamous.

On the 21st of this month I visited Hawthornden, the seat of the celebrated historian and poet, Drummond, about seven miles south of Edinburgh. The house and a ruined castle are placed on the brink of a vast precipice of free-stone, with the North-Esk running in a deep den beneath. In the house are preserved the portraits of the poet and his father.

In the front of the rock, just beneath the house, is cut a flight of twenty-seven steps. In the way, a gap, passable by a bridge of boards, interrupts the descent. These steps lead to the entrance of the noted caves, which have been cut with vast labour out of the rock. The descent into the great chambers is by eight steps; but, on the first entrance on right and left, are two rooms; that on the right consists of a gallery, fifteen feet long, with a space at the end (twelve feet by seven) whose sides are cut into rows of square holes, each nine inches deep, and seems to have been the pigeon-house of the place, there being an entrance cut through the rock. On the left hand is another gallery, and through the front of this is a hole, facing the bridge, which seems intended as the means to draw in the boards, and secure the retreat of the inhabitants. In this gallery is a little basin cut in the rock; perhaps a Benitoire.

The grand apartment faces the door, and is ninety-one feet long; the beginning is twelve feet wide, the rest only five feet eight; the height six. In a recess of the broader part is a well, some fathoms deep. Above is cut a funnel, which pierces the roof to the day. Near the end of this apartment is a short turning, that leads to another gallery, twenty-three feet by five.

These curious hollows have been supposed by some to have been the works of the Picts; but to me they seem to have been designed as an asylum in troublesome times for some neighbouring inhabitants, in the same manner as Wetherell cells were for the monks of the abbey. It appears by Major\*, that the brave Alexander Ramsay, in 1341, made these caves his residence for a considerable time. To him resorted all the gallant youth of Scotland; and to him parents sent their sons to be initiated in the art of war. From hence he made his excursions to the English borders with his pupils; each inroad was to them a lecture for valour and stratagem.

These alone attract the attention of strangers; but the solemn and picturesque walks cut along the summits, sides, and bottoms of this beautiful den, are much more deserving admiration. The vast mural fence, formed by the red precipices, the mixture of trees, and grotesque figure of many of the rocks, and the smooth sides of Pentland hills, appearing above this wild scenery, are more striking objects to the contemplative mind.

After crossing the river, and clambering up a steep hill, discover on the summit a work of art, not less admirable than those of nature which we had so lately quitted, I

\* De Gestis Scotorum, lib. v. c. 16. p. 236.



mean, the chapel of Rosslyn, Roskelyn\*, or the hill in the glen; a curious piece of Gothic architecture, founded, in 1446, by William St. Clare, prince of Orkney, for a provost, six prebendaries, and two singing-boys. The outside is ornamented with a multitude of pinnacles, and variety of ludicrous sculpture. The inside is sixty-nine feet long, the breadth thirty-four, supported by two rows of clustered pillars, between seven and eight feet high, with an aisle on each side. The arches are obtusely Gothic. These arches are continued across the side aisles, but the center of the church is one continued arch, elegantly divided into compartments, and finely sculptured. The capitals of the pillars are enriched with foliage, and variety of figures; and, amidst a heavenly concert, appears a cherubim blowing the ancient Highland bagpipe. In short, in all parts is a profusion so exquisite, as seems even to have affected with respect the barbarism of Knox's manual reformers, so as to induce them to spare this beautiful and venerable pile.

In a deep den far beneath, amidst wooded eminences, are the ruins of the castle, fixed on a peninsulated rock, accessible by a bridge of stupendous height. This had been the seat of the great name of Sinclair. Of this house was Oliver, favourite of James V. and the innocent cause of the loss of the battle of Solway Moss, by the hatred of the nobility to his preferred command. He lived in poverty to give a fine lesson of the uncertainty of prosperity to the pride of the worthless Arran, minion to James VI. appearing before the insolent favourite, in the garb of adversity, repeating only these words, "I am Oliver Sinclair."

Near this place, the English, under John de Segrave, regent of Scotland, in 1302, received three defeats in one day from the Scots, under John Cummin and Simon Frazer.

In my return, visit St. Catherine's well, noted for the Petroleum swimming on the surface. A little farther, to the left, is a noted camp of an oval form.

On returning into this city, I called at Mr. Braidwood's academy of dumb and deaf. This extraordinary professor had under his care a number of young persons, who had received the Promethian heat, the divine inflatus; but from the unhappy construction of their organs, were (till they had received his instructions) denied the power of utterance. Every idea was locked up, or appeared but in their eyes, or at their finger ends, till their master instructed them in arts unknown to us, who have the faculty of hearing. Apprehension reaches us by the grosser sense. They see our words, and our uttered thoughts become to them visible. Our ideas expressed in speech strike their ears in vain: their eyes receive them as they part from our lips. They conceive by intuition, and speak by imitation. Mr. Braidwood first teaches them the letters and their powers; and the ideas of words written, beginning with the most simple. The art of speaking is taken from the motion of his lips; his words being uttered slowly and distinctly. Their answers are slow and somewhat harsh.

When I entered the room, and found myself surrounded with numbers of human forms so oddly circumstanced, I felt a sort of anxiety, such as I might be supposed to feel had I been environed by another order of beings. I was soon relieved by being introduced to a most angelic young creature, of about the age of thirteen. She honoured me with her new acquired conversation; but I may truly say, that I could scarcely bear the power of her piercing eyes; she looked me through and through. She soon satisfied me that she was an apt scholar. She readily apprehended all I said, and returned me answers with the utmost facility. She read; she wrote well. Her reading was not by rote. She could clothe the same thoughts in a new set of words,

\* A minute account of this chapel, its carvings, &c. are in a little book, printed by Mr. William Auld, 1774.



and never vary from the original sense. I have forgot the book she took up, or the sentences she made a new version of; but the effect was as follows:

## Original passage.

Lord Bacon has divided the whole of human knowledge into history, poetry, and philosophy, which are referred to the three powers of the mind, memory, imagination, and reason\*.

## Version.

A nobleman has parted the total or all of man's study, or understanding, into an account of the life manners, religion, and customs of any people or country; verse or metre; moral or natural knowledge; which are pointed to the three faculties of the soul or spirit; the faculties of remembering what is past, thought or conception, and right judgment.

I left Mr. Braidwood and his pupils with the satisfaction which must result from a reflection on the utility of his art, and the merit of his labours: who, after receiving under his care a Being that seemed to be merely endowed with a human form, could produce the *divina particula auræ*, latent, and, but for his skill, condemned to be ever latent in it; and who could restore a child to its glad parents with a capacity of exerting its rational powers, by expressive sounds of duty, love, and affection.

Before I quit Edinburgh, I must mention that it is the first royal burgh in Scotland; is governed by a provost, who has the addition of lord, four bailies, and a dean of guild: who did me the distinguished honour of conferring on me its freedom, after an elegant entertainment at the house of the Right Honourable John Dalrymple, Lord Provost.

I refer the reader to the Appendix for a list of the manufactures in and about this great city. If the mention of several may be thought too minute, it must be considered, how many even of the necessities of life were wanting in North-Britain, till the rising industry of the age determined that this country should supply its own deficiencies. In the time of James VI. how deplorable was its trade! for, as old Hackluyt sings, it even imported its wheel-barrows and cart-wheels:

And the Scots bene charged knownen at the eye,  
Out of Flanders with li tle mercerie,  
And great plentie of haberdashers ware  
And half her shippes with cart-wheeles bare,  
And with barrowes are laden as with substance:  
Thus most rude are in her chevifance †.

But notwithstanding the present progress that Scotland has made in the useful arts, it must stop at a certain point, proportionate to its wealth and population, which stand thus in respect to England: when the land tax is at two shillings in the pound, Scotland pays 23977l. os. 7d. and England 994960l. os. 4d. that is, less than the proportion of 1 to 41. The landed property of the former is 1,000,000l. per annum; of the latter 16,000,000l. But if the wealth in moveables is added, the difference will be as 1 to 20. In respect to numbers of people, England has 8,000,000; Scotland only 2,000,000.

Sept. 26. Leave Edinburgh. Ride through Dalkeith, and have the pleasure of passing the day with Sir John Dalrymple, at Cranston castle. The country good, full of corn, and decked with numbers of small woods. Dispose of the morning by visiting the castles of Crichton and Borthwick. The first is seated on the edge of a bank, above a grassy glen. Was once the habitation of the chancellor Crichton, joint guardian with the Earl of

\* This was read since, by another young lady; but that which I heard was not less difficult, nor less faithfully translated.

† Coll. Voyages, i. 887.



Callendar, of James II. a powerful and spirited statesman in that turbulent age, and the adviser of the bold but bloody deeds against the too potent Douglasses; facts excusable only by the plea of necessity of state. During the life of Crichton, it was besieged, taken, and levelled to the ground, by William Earl of Douglas, after a siege of nine months\*.

It was rebuilt, and some part, which appears more modern than the rest, with much elegance. The front of one side of the court is very handsome, ornamented with diamond-shaped facets, and the soffits of the staircase beautifully carved; the cases of some of the windows adorned with rosettes, and twisted cordage. The dungeon, called the Masmore, is a deep hole with a narrow mouth. Tradition says, that a person of some rank in the country was lowered into it for irreverently passing this castle, without paying his respects to the great owner.

The parish church had been collegiate; founded in 1449, by the chancellor, with the consent of his son, for a provost, nine prebendaries, and two singing-boys, out of the rents of Crichton and Lockerwort.

About a mile farther is Borthwick castle, seated on a knoll in the midst of a pretty vale, bounded by hills covered with corn and woods; a most picturesque scene. It consists of a vast square tower ninety feet high, with square and round bastions at equal distances from its base. The state rooms are on the first story, once accessible by a draw-bridge. Some of the apartments were very large, the hall forty feet long, and had its music gallery, the roof lofty, and once adorned with paintings. The castle was built by a Lord Borthwick, once a potent family. In the vault lies one of the name, in armour, and a little bonnet, with his lady by him. On the side are numbers of little elegant human figures. The place was once the property of the Earl of Bothwell, who a little before the battle of Carberry-hill, took refuge here with his fair consort†.

Lodge at a good inn at Blackshields; a village, as I was informed, lying in a portion of Haddingtonshire, surrounded by Lothian.

Sept. 27. After crossing a rivulet enter the shire of Berwick. Ascend Soutry-hill, from whence is a fine view of the firth of Forth, the county of Fife, the Bass isle, and the rich county of East Lothian immediately beneath us. This advantageous situation made it a noted beacon, which caused it to be particularly noticed in the old Scotch laws on that account‡. Cross a tedious dreary moor, and descend into Lauderdale; a long narrow bottom, unclosed, and destitute of wood, but abundant in corn. Reach Lauder, a small town, noted for an insolent act of justice done by the nobility on the upstart favourites of James III. Cochran a mason, created Earl of Mar, Hommil a tailor, Leonard a smith, Rogers a musician, and Torrifan a fencing-master, directing all his councils. The nobility assembled here with their vassals, in obedience to his Majesty's summons, in order to repel a foreign invasion; but took this opportunity to free themselves from those wretched ministers. They met in the church to consult the necessary measures, and while they were in debate, Cochran, deputed by the King, knocked at the door, to demand the cause of their assembly. His attendance, and his dress, as described by Lindeſay, are most descriptive of the fellow's arrogance, "who was well accompanied with a band of men of war, to the number of three hundred light axes, all clad in white livery, and black bends thereon, that they might be known for Cochran the Earl of Mar's men. Himself was clad in a riding-pie of black velvet, with a great chain of gold about his neck, to the value of five hundred crowns; and four blowing horns, with both the ends of gold and silk, set with precious stones. His

\* Lives of the Douglasses, 169.

† Critical Enquiry, &c. 3d ed. 289.

‡ Skene's Actes, p. 38. 12th parl James II.



horn was tipped with fine gold at every end, and a precious stone, called a berryll, hanging in the midst. This Cochran had his heumont born before him over-gilt with gold, and so were all the rest of his horns; and all his pallions were of fine canvas of silk, and the cords thereof of fine twined silk, and the chains upon his pallions were double over-gilt with gold \*." He was seized, thus equipped, his chain and his horns torn from him, and, with his comrades, hanged over a bridge (now demolished) in sight of the King and the whole army.

Near the town is Thirlestane castle, a singular old house of the Earl of Lauderdale. The front small, bounded on each side with a great round tower, cap't with slated cones. The inside had been heavily stuccoed by the Duke of Lauderdale, one of the noted cabal in the time of Charles II. His portrait, by Lely, is to be seen here; a much more advantageous one than that by the noble historian, who paints him "infolent, imperious, flattering, dissembling, had courage enough not to fail, where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions †."

After riding two miles through a long tract of coarse sheep-walks, turn out of the great road, and enter the shire of Roxburgh.

Pass by Threepwood, infamous in former days for moss-troopers; descend into a little vale, and see some ruined towers at Colmslie and Hillslap; ascend again, and soon after fall into a pretty valley wooded and watered by the Gala; and at a house of the same name receive every civility from its owner, John Scott, Esq. We have now crossed the water, and are in the county of Selkirk, or the forest of Etrick, which was formerly reserved by the Scottish princes for the pleasure of the chace, and where they had small houses for the reception of their train. One in Gala Shields, the adjoining village, still keeps the name of Hunter's Hall.

This country is supported chiefly by the breed of sheep, which sell from eight to twelve pounds a score. They are generally sold into the south, but sometimes into the Highlands, about the month of March, where they are kept during summer; and, after being improved by the mountain-grass, are returned into the Lowlands the beginning of winter. The usual weight of a wether is from thirteen to eighteen pounds of twenty-two ounces per quarter. The fleece has been of late much improved by the use of oil and butter, instead of tar; and the wool, which once was sold at five shillings and sixpence, now sells for ten shillings per stone of twenty-four pounds.

The sheep inhabit the hills, but the ground is so indifferent that an acre will maintain but one. A sheep farm of fifteen hundred acres is set for eighty pounds. Numbers of cattle are reared here; and much cheese and butter made, but the last very bad in general, and used chiefly for greasing the sheep. The Dorsetshire breed has been introduced here, but, in this northern climate, in two or three years they lose their prolific nature.

I am uncertain whether a custom that prevails a little north of Coldstream, does not extend also to these parts. About Duns, the fair spinsters give much of their leisure time to the spinning of blankets for their wedding portion. On the nuptial night, the whole stock of virgin industry is placed on the bed. A friend of mine has, on such an occasion, counted not fewer than ten, thick and heavy. Was the Penelope who owned them forsaken by her Ulysses, she never could complain, like the Grecian spouse,

*Non ego deserto jacuisssem frigida lecto!*

\* P. 78. folio ed.

† III. 24.



About a mile west of Gala Shields are very evident vestiges of the great ditch called the Catrail, which is twenty-five feet wide, bounded on each side by a great rampart. It has been traced twenty two miles; passes four miles west of Hawick, up Docluch-hill, by Fairnyside-hill and Skelfe-hill, across Ellen water, ascends Carriage-hill, and goes by the Maiden Paps, reaches Pear fell on the Dead-water, on the borders of Northumberland, and from thence may be traced beyond Langholme, pointing towards Cannonsby, on the river Esk. On several parts of its course are strong round forts, well fortified with ditches and ramparts, some even exceeding in strength those of the Romans. Whether it ever reached farther north than Gala has not been discovered, but the tradition is, that it extended from sea to sea. Mr. Gordon, the only antiquary that has explored it, traces it no farther; but has observed the chain of forts towards east Lothian. It is probable, that it was cast up by the inhabitants of the country north-west of it, as a protection against the inroads of invaders; but who they were, or what was the date of the work, are difficulties not to be determined from historical authority.

Sept. 28. Continue my journey for a time along a fertile bottom, and, near the junction (the last in this place,) of the Gala and the Tweed, a fine river, again enter the shire of Roxburgh.

All the country is open, and much of it full of corn. Here the farmers injudiciously cut up the sides of the hills, and spoil their fine sheep-walks to get a little late and bad corn.

At a place called Bridgend stood, till within these few years, a large pier\*, the remaining one of four, which formed here a large bridge over the Tweed. In it was a gateway large enough for a carriage to pass through, and over that a room, twenty-seven feet by fifteen, the residence of the person who took the tolls. This bridge was not formed with arches, but with great planks laid from pier to pier. It is said that it was built by David I. in order to afford a passage to his abby of Melros, which he had newly translated from its ancient site; and also to facilitate the journeys of the devout to the four great pilgrimages of Scotland, viz. Scone, Dundee, Paisley, and Melros.

Cross the new bridge, pass by Darnwick, and soon after by Skinner or Skirmish-hill, noted in 1526 for a fray between the Earl of Angus and the family of the Scotts, under their laird, Scott of Buccleugh. Angus had possession of the person of James V. then in his minority; and used his power with so little moderation, as to make the young prince desirous of being released. The power of the Douglasses was often an overmatch for the regal. Such was the case at present; James therefore was obliged to apply to Buccleugh, a potent borderer, to attempt his deliverance. That Lord, in order to bring His Majesty within the limits of his estate, encouraged all kinds of excesses among his people. This brought the King, attended by Angus, to suppress their depredations. Buccleugh appeared with his powers; a skirmish begun, the Scotts were defeated, and James was for a time obliged to submit to the tyranny of his keeper.

At a small distance lie the elegant remains of the abby of Melros, founded in 1136, by David I., as these jingling lines import:

Anno milleno centeno, ter quoque deno,  
Et sexto Chriti, Melrose, fundata fuiti.

David peopled it with Cisterians, brought from Rivale abby, in Yorkshire, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary. At the Reformation, James Douglas was appointed

\* Communicated to me by a gentleman who remembers the pier, now demolished. Mr. Gordon has engraved what remained in his time, in his 64th plate.

commendator



commendator, who took down much of the building in order to use the materials in building a large house for himself, which is still standing, and dated 1590. Nothing is left of the abbey, excepting a part of the cloister walls, elegantly carved; but the ruins of the church are of most uncommon beauty; part is at present used for divine service, the rest uncovered; but every part does great honour to the architect, whose memory is preserved on the walls in these uncouth lines:

John Murdo sum tym callit was I,  
And horn in Parysse certainly;  
And had in keyping all mason werk,  
Of Santandroy, the hie kirk  
Of Glasgn, Melros, and Paislay,  
Of Nyddysdayl, and of Galway,  
Pray to God and Mary haith,  
And sweet St. John keep this haly kirk from scaith.

The fourth side and the east window are elegant past description; the windows lofty, the tracery light, yet strong. The church had been in form of a cross, and of considerable dimensions; the pillars clustered; their capitals enriched with most beautiful foliage of vine leaves and grapes. A window at the north end of the transept is a most rich rose quatre-foil. The work of the outside is done with uncommon delicacy and cunning. The spires or pinnacles that grace the roof; the brackets and niches that, till 1649, were adorned with statues, are matchless performances. But what the fury of the disciples of Knox had spared, the stupid zeal of covenanting bigots destroyed. In times long prior to these it had felt the rage of impious invaders. In 1322, the baffled Edward II. vented his rage on the abbies of Melros and Dryburgh. Richard II. was not more merciful to it; and in the reign of Henry VIII., in 1544, two of his captains, violating the remains of the Douglasses, felt the speedy resentment of their descendant, Archibald Earl of Angus, in the battle of Ancrum-moor.

The side of the west end of the church, which remains standing, is divided into five chapels, once probably belonging to private families; for (besides Alexander II., who lay below the great altar) it was the place of interment of the Douglasses, and other potent families. James Earl of Douglas, slain at the battle of Otterbourn, was deposited here with all the pomp that either the military or the religious profession could bestow. Here too lies the Lord of Liddesdale, the flower of chivalry, who fell an assassinated victim to the jealousy of William I. Earl of Douglas. His eulogy styles him "terrible and fearefull in arms; meek, milde, and gentle in peace; the scourge of England, and sure buckler and wall of Scotland, whom neither hard successe could make slack, nor prosperous sloathfull."

The situation of this religious house is remarkably pleasant, seated near the Tweed, and shaded with woods, above whose summits soar the venerable ruins, and the tricaped top of Eldon hill. On one of the heads is a Roman camp. I have since been informed of others, with military ways, to be traced in various places.

Pass by Newsted, and Red-abbey-stead, a house belonging once to the knights Templars†. Proceed to Old Melros, now reduced to a single house, on a lofty promontory, peninsulated by the Tweed; a most beautiful scene, the banks lofty and wooded, varied with perpendicular rocks, jutting like buttresses from top to bottom. This was the site of the ancient abbey of Culdees, mentioned by Bede to have existed in 664, in the reign of the Saxon Oswy. This place was as celebrated for the austerities of Drícthelmus, as

\* Life of the Douglasses, 78.

† Mentioned in the Description of the Parish of Melros, p. 7. unnoticed by Keith.



ever Finchal was for those of St. Godric. The first was restored to life after being dead for an entire night. During that space he passed through purgatory and hell, had the beatific vision, and got very near to the confines of heaven. His angelic guide gave him an useful lesson on the efficacy of prayer, alms, fasting, and particularly masses of holy men; infallible means to relieve the souls of friends and relations from the place of torment\*.

The descriptions which Bede has given of the seats of misery and bliss are very poetical. He paints purgatory as a valley of a stupendous length, breadth, and depth: one side filled by furious storms of hail and snow; the other with lambent, inextinguishable flames. In these the souls of the deceased alternately experienced the extremes of heat and cold. Both Shakespeare and Milton make use of the same idea: the first in his beautiful description of the state of the dead in Measure for Measure:

Ay, but to die and go we know not where;  
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;  
This sensible warm motion to become  
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit  
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;  
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,  
And blown with restless violence about  
The pendent world!

Milton's thought is dressed only in different words:

At certain revolutions all the damn'd  
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change  
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce;  
From beds of raging fire to starve in ice  
Their soft ethereal heat.

Cross the Tweed at Dryburgh boat, and re-enter the shire of Berwick. On the northern side, in the deep gloom of wood, are the remains of the abbey of Dryburgh, founded by Hugh Morville, constable of Scotland, in the time of David I., and Beatrix de Campo Bello his wife. There are scarce any reliques of the church, but much of the convent, the refectory, supported by two pillars, several vaults, and other offices; part of the cloister walls, and a fine radiated window of stone-work. These remains are not inelegant, but are unadorned. This was inhabited by Præmonstratensian monks, who styled the Irish abbies of Druin la croix and Woodburn their daughters†. At the Reformation James VI. bestowed Dryburgh on Henry Erskine, second son of the Earl of Mar, whose house as commendator is still inhabited.

Continue the ride through a fine country full of gentle risings, covered with corn, and resembling Picardy. Keep still in sight of the Tweed, whose banks, adorned with hanging woods, and variety of beautiful borders, well merit the apostrophe of the old song:

How sweet are the banks of the Tweed!

Pass opposite to a round tower, called Little Den, placed on a cliff above the river, once a border-house of the Kers. Cross the river at another ferry. Pass by Ruthersford, where Robert III. founded an hospital, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and bestowed it on the abbey of Jedburgh, which was to maintain here a priest to pray for his soul, and those of his ancestors, kings of Scotland‡.

\* Bede, lib. v. c. 12. p. 196.

† Monasticon Hibernicum, 140, 141.

‡ Keith, 292.



Again enter the county of Roxburgh, and soon after see, on a high cliff above the water, a small Roman camp, with two deep fosses on the land side, and not far distant an exploratory mount. The view grows more picturesque; the river, bounded by lofty cliffs, clothed with trees; and on a rising a little beyond appear the great woods of Fleurus, and the house in front, the seat of the Duke of Roxburgh.

Pass beneath the site of the once potent castle of Roxburgh, seated on a vast and lofty knoll, of an oblong form, suddenly rising out of the plain, near the junction of the Tweed and the Tiviot. On the north and west it had been defended by a great foss. The south impends over the Tiviot, some of whose waters were diverted in former times into the castle ditch, by a dam obliquely crossing the stream, and whose remains are still visible. A few fragments of walls are all that exist of this mighty strength, the whole area being filled with trees of considerable age. At the foot was once seated a town of the same name, destroyed by James II. when he undertook the siege of the castle, and probably never rebuilt.

The ancient name of the castle was Marchidun, Marchmont, or the hill on the marches\*. The name of the founder eludes my enquiry. The first mention I find of it is in 1132†, when a treaty was concluded here on the part of King Stephen, by Thurstan, archbishop of York, between him and David I. In 1174, after William the Lion was taken prisoner near the castle of Alnwick, Roxburgh and four others of the strongest in Scotland were delivered to Henry II., as securities for doing homage (on his release) for the crown of Scotland‡. They were restored to the Scots by his successor. In 1296 it was taken by Edward I. § In 1342, the year in which David Bruce returned from France, this fortress was restored to his crown by the valour of Alexander Ramsay, who was appointed governor; an honour he enjoyed but a short time, being surprised by the envious Douglas, and starved to death in the castle of Hermitage||. The Scots lost this fortress in the reign of Edward III., who twice celebrated his birth-day in it¶. It was put into the hands of Lord Henry Percy, after the defeat and captivity of David, at the battle of Nevil's-cross\*\*. But the most distinguished siege was that in 1560, fatal to James II., a wise and gallant prince, who was slain by the bursting of one of his own cannons. A large holly, inclosed with a wall, marks the spot. His queen, Mary of Gueldres, carried on the attack with vigour, took and totally demolished it.

We have seen before the misfortunes that attended the first of this ill-fated name. James I. fell by the hands of assassins at Perth: his successor met at this place, in the height of prosperity, with a violent death. James III. was murdered by his rebellious subjects, after the battle near Bannockbourn. James IV. lost his life in Flodden field. James V. died of a broken heart, on the defeat at Solway; and the fate of his unhappy daughter, Mary Stuart, is unknown to none. In her son, James VI., adversity remitted for a time the persecution of the race; but resumed it with double fury against his successor Charles. His son experienced a long series of misfortunes; and the bigotted James suffered the punishment of his infatuation, and transmitted to his offspring exile and seclusion from the throne of their ancestors.

Pass by an inclosure called the Friery, the site of a house of Franciscans, belonging to Roxburgh. Ford the Tiviot, which gives the name of Tiviot-dale to all the fine country from Melros to this place, notwithstanding it is washed by the Tweed; so that the old song, with propriety, calls its inhabitants

\* Camden. † Holinshed, Hist. Scot. 183.

§ Walsingham.

|| Major, 243.

‡ Lord Lyttleton's Henry II. 8vo. v. 220. Major, 135.

¶ Walsingham, 134. 146.

\*\* Major, 244.



All pleasant men of Tiviotdale,  
Fall by the river Tweed.

Have here a most charming view of Kelso, its ancient church, Mr. Dickson's pretty house, and the elegant bridge of six arches over the Tweed, near its junction with the Tiviot. On crossing it enter that neat place built much after the manner of a Flemish town, with a square and town-house. It contains about twenty-seven hundred souls, has a very considerable market, and great quantities of corn are sold here weekly by sample. The parish church is darksome and inconvenient, being part of that belonging to the abbey; but a new one is building, in an octagonal form, eighty-two feet in diameter, supported by a circle of pillars.

*Gothic*  
The abbey of Tyronensians was a vast pile, and to judge by the remains, of venerable magnificence. The walls are ornamented with false round arches, intersecting each other. Such intersections form a true Gothic arch, and may as probably have given rise to that mode, as the arched shades of avenues. The steeple of the church is a vast tower. This house was founded by David I. when Earl of Cumberland. He first placed it at Selkirk, then removed it to Roxburgh, and finally, when he came to the crown, fixed it here in 1128. Its revenues were in money above two thousand a year Scots. The abbot was allowed to wear a mitre and pontifical robes; to be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and permitted to be present at all general councils.

The environs of Kelso are very fine; the lands consist of gentle risings, inclosed with hedges, and extremely fertile. They have much reason to boast of their prospects. From the Chalkheugh is a fine view of the forks of the rivers, Roxburgh hill, Sir James Douglas's neat seat, and at a distance Fleurs; and from Pinnacle hill is seen a vast extent of country, highly cultivated, watered with long reaches of the Tweed, well wooded on each margin. These borderers ventured on cultivation much earlier than those on the west or east, and have made great progress in every species of rural œconomy. Turnips and cabbages, for the use of cattle, cover many large tracts; and potatoes appear in vast fields. Much wheat is raised in the neighbourhood, part of which is sent up the firth of Forth, and part into England.

The fleeces here are very fine, and sell from twelve to fourteen shillings the stone, of twenty-four pounds; and the picked kind from eighteen to twenty. The wool is sent into Yorkshire, to Linlithgow, or into Aberdeenshire, for the stocking manufacture; and some is woven here into a cloth called plains, and sold into England to be dressed. Here is also a considerable manufacture of white leather, chiefly to supply the capital of Scotland.

From what I can collect, the country is greatly depopulated. In the reign of James VI., or a little before the union, it is said that this county could send out fifteen thousand fighting men; at present it could not raise three thousand. But plundering in those times was the trade of the borderers, which might occasion the multitude of inhabitants.

I cannot leave Kelso without regretting my not arriving there in time to see the races, which had been the preceding week. These are founded, not on the sordid principles of gaming, or dissipation, or fraud, but on the beautiful basis of benevolence, and with the amiable view of conciliating the affections of two nations, where the good and the bad, common to every place, are only divided by a rill scarcely to be distinguished; but prejudice for a time could find no merit but within its own narrow bourn. Some enlarged minds, however, determined to break the fascination of erroneous opinion, to mix with their fellow-subjects, and to instruct both the great vulgar and the small, that the northern and southern borders of the Tweed created in their inhabitants but a mere difference



difference without a distinction, and that virtue and good sense were equally common to both. At these races the stewards are selected from each nation; a Percy and a Douglas may now be seen hand in hand; the example of charity spreads, and may it spread, with all its sweet influences, to the remotest corner of our island!

What pleasing times to those that may be brought in contrast! when every house was made defensible, and each owner garrisoned against his neighbour; when revenge at one time dictated an inroad, and necessity at another; when the mistress of a castle has presented her sons with their spurs to remind them that her larder was empty; and that by a forray they must supply it at the expence of the borderers; when every evening the sheep were taken from the hills, and the cattle from their pasture, to be secured in the lower floor from robbers prowling like wolves for prey; and the disappointed thief found all in safety, from the fears of the cautious owner. The following simple lines give a true picture of the times:

Then Johnie Armstrong to Willie 'gan say,  
Billie, a riding then will we:  
England and us have been long at feud,  
Perhaps we may hit on some bootie.

Then they're come on to Hutton-ha,  
They rade that proper place about;  
But the laird he was the wiser man,  
For he had left na geir without.

These were the exploits of petty robbers; but when princes dictated an inroad, the consequences bore a proportion to their rank. An Armstrong might drive away a few sheep; but when an Henry directs invasion, 192 towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, churches, and basteel-houses are burnt; 403 Scots slain, 816 taken prisoners; 10316 cattle, 12492 sheep, 1296 nags and geldings, 200 goats, 200 bolls of corn, and insight gear without measure, carried off. Such were the successes during four months of the year 1544\*.

Cross the river, turn almost due east, and after a ride of three or four miles find myself at the extremity of the kingdom. I look back to the north, and with a grateful mind acknowledge every benefit I received from the remotest of the Hebrides to the present spot; whether I think of the hospitality of the rich, or the efforts of unblameable poverty, straining every nerve to accommodate me, amidst dreary hills, and ungenial skies. The little accidents of diet, or of lodgings, affect not me: I look farther than the mere differences of living, or of customs; to the good heart, and extensive benevolence, which softens every hardship, and turns into delicacies the grossest fare. My constitution never yet was disposed to apathy; for which I can claim no merit, but am thankful to the author of my frame, since "I feel not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others: those national repugnancies do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch, much more my fellow-subjects, howsoever remotely placed from me. But where I find their actions in balance with my countrymen's, I honour, love, and embrace them in some degree. I was born in the eighth climate, but seem to be framed and constellated unto all: all places, all airs, make unto me one country; I am in England every where, and under every meridian †."

Cross an insignificant rill, called Riding-burn, and enter Northumberland.

\* Hayne's State Papers, 43 to 51.

† Religio Medici, p. 338.



Pass through Carham, a village, on the southern banks of the Tweed. Here was a house of black canons, a cell to that of Kirkham, in Yorkshire. It was burnt in 1296 by the Scots, under Wallace, who gives name to this day to an adjacent field. See a fragment of Wark castle, once the property of the Rosses, originally granted by Henry III. \* to Robert, son of the Baron of Helmsly. It passed afterwards into the family of the Greys, who took their title from the place. After the union of the two kingdoms, by the accession of James I., Lord Grey's estate rose from one thousand to seven or eight thousand pounds a year †; so instantly did these parts experience the benefit.

It was often attacked by the Scots, and in 1296 was taken and burnt by them. The love of a Robert de Ross for a fair Scot occasioned this misfortune. He betrayed it to his northern neighbours, and then joined the famous Wallace ‡. In 1383 it was again burnt by the Scots §; but after the battle of Flodden, the garrison revenged its former disgrace by cutting off numbers of the fugitives.

Leave behind us, on the northern side of the Tweed, Coldstream, the head-quarters of General Monk; from whence he marched to restore monarchy to his distressed country. On the southern side is Cornhill, noted for its fine Roman camp ||, which we passed unwittingly on the left. This town lies in a large detached part of Durham, surrounded by Northumberland.

All this country is open, destitute of trees, and almost even of hedges; for hedges are in their infancy in these parts, as it is not above seven or eight years since they have been introduced. The land is fertile, swells into gentle risings, and is rich in corn. It is miserably depopulated; a few great farm-houses and hamlets appear rarely scattered over the vast tracts. There are few farms of less value than one hundred and fifty pounds a year; they are generally three, four, or five hundred; and I heard of one, possessed by a single family, that even reached twenty-five hundred: in this was a single field of three thousand acres, and which took six hundred bolls of feed-wheat, of six Winchester bushels each. A humour fatal to the commonwealth prevails over many parts of the north, of flinging numbers of small tenements into a large one, in order to save the expence of building; or perhaps to avoid the multiplicity of receipts, lay a whole country into a sheep-walk. These devour poor men's houses, and expel the ancient inhabitants from their fire-sides, to seek their bread in a strange land. I have heard of a character (I have forgot the spot it curses) that is too barbarous and infamous to be overlooked; which has so little feeling as to depopulate a village of two hundred souls, and to level their houses to the ground; to destroy eight or ten farm-houses on an estate of a thousand a year, for the sake of turning almost the whole into a sheep-walk. There he lives, and there may he long live his own tormentor! detesting, detested by, all mankind! Wark and Learmouth, once considerable places, are now scarcely inhabited: the last, formerly a great market-town, is now reduced to a single farm-house. The inhabitants have long since been dispersed, forced to exchange the wholesome, the vigorous, the innocent lives of the rural æconomists, for the sickly short-lived employs of manufacturers in Birmingham, and other great towns, where disease, and often corrupted morals, cause double the consumption of people as would happen, were they permitted to enjoy their ancient seats. The want of labourers begins to be sensibly felt. As a proof, they are retained by the year; and policy dictates to their employers, the affording them good wages: each has his cottage, a piece of land, gratis, and a shilling a day in summer, and ten-pence in winter. I call this good

\* Dugdale's Baron. i. 554.

§ Holinshed, vol. iii. 44.

† Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, 139.

|| Wallis's Northumberland, ii. 461.

‡ Dugdale's Baron. i. 554.



pay in a country which ought to be very cheap; if not, what are the fine effects of the great improvements? The Spectator speaks much of the deserts of the man that raises two ears of corn where one grew before. But who will point out the man who has the soul to make his poor brethren feel the happy effect of his art? I believe, that at present there are numbers who have raised ten for one that were known a few years ago. It would be natural to suppose, that plenty would introduce cheapness; but till the providential plenty of the present year, corn was exactly double the value of what it was fourteen years past. Yet the plenty of money has not been found doubled by the poor manufacturer or labourer. The land-owner in the north has taken full care of himself. A farm of 75l. per annum, twenty years ago, has been lately set for 365l., another of 230l., will be soon set for 1000l. per annum. An estate was bought in 1759, for 6800l., it consisted of 1560 acres, of which 750 have been sold for 8400l. And all these improvements result from the unprincipled and iniquitous notion of making the buyer of the produce pay not only to satisfy the demand of the landlord, but to enable the farmer to make a princely fortune, and to live with a luxury the shame of the times. They have lost the respectable character of the old English yeomanry, by too close an imitation of the extravagant follies of their betters.

The oxen of these parts are very fine; a pair has been sold for sixty-five pounds. The weight of one was a hundred and sixty-eight stones. The mountain sheep are sold for half-a-guinea apiece; the lowland ewes for a guinea; the wethers for a guinea and a half: the best wool from sixteen to eighteen shillings the stone, of twenty-three pounds and a half:—But to pursue our journey:

Observe on the right several very regular terraces cut on the face of a hill. They are most exactly formed, a little raised in the middle, like a fine walk, and about twenty feet broad, and of a very considerable length. In some places were three, in others five flights, placed one above the other, terminating exactly in a line at each end; and most precisely finished. I am told, that such tiers of terraces are not uncommon in these parts, where they are called baulks. Mr Wallis conjectures them to be places for the militia to arrange themselves on in time of war, that they might shew themselves to advantage thus placed rank above rank\*. Mr. Gordon describes several which he saw in Scotland, which he conjectures to have been Roman, and formed for itinerary encampments†; in my opinion a less satisfactory account. It appears more reasonable, that they were designed for what Mr. Wallis imagines, as nothing could more highly gratify the pride of a chieftain's heart, in this warlike country, than to review, at one glance, his vassals placed so advantageously for that purpose.

Reach the village of Palinsburne, and finding neither provision for man or horse, have recourse to the hospitality of John Askew, Esq.; of Palinsburne-Hall, where all our wants were relieved in the amplest manner. From his house we visited Flodden-hill, celebrated in history for the greatest loss the Scots ever sustained. Here in 1313, encamped James IV. in his ill-advised invasion of England. According to the custom of the time, every chieftain had his separate camp, whose vestiges are apparent to this day. Infatuated with the love of Lady Heron, of Ford, a neighbouring castle‡, he wasted his days in inactivity, and suffered the fair Dalilah to visit the Earl of Surry, the general of his enemy, under pretence of receiving from her intelligence of his motions. She betrayed her credulous lover, whose army dwindled by delay, of which clans were always impatient. The enemy unexpectedly appeared before him; he would neither permit a

\* Hist. Northumberland, ii. 70.

† Itinerary, 114, 115.

‡ Lindesay, p. 113. Drummond, 145.



retreat, nor suffer his gallant master of artillery to annoy them in their passage over the Till \*. Surry cut off his passage into Scotland, and brought on the engagement, that the devoted prince so much wished for: it raged chiefly near Brankston. The Scots formed a ring round their monarch, and he fell with many wounds, surrounded by the dead bodies of his faithful nobility. Not a great house in Scotland but lamented the loss of its chieftain or near relation. The body of the king was embalmed, cased and wrapped in lead; and presented with the King's gauntlet to Queen Catherine, then at the palace at Richmond. After excommunication was taken off (on representation that he gave signs of repentance † in his last moments) he was interred in the abbey at Shene. On the dissolution, the body was flung with great indecency into a lumber room, where it continued till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, where Stow says he saw it. Some workmen wantonly cut off the head; which was preserved for some time by one Younge, master glazier to her Majesty, who tired with it, gave it to the sexton of St. Michael's church, Wood-street, to be buried among the vulgar bones of the charnel house ‡. Such posthumous respect do the reliques of princes receive! The Scots pretend that his body was never found, and that which was taken for it by the English, was that of one of his nobility; for many on that fatal day dressed themselves in the same habit. They alledge, that the body found was not surrounded with the penitential chain §; but it is possible, as Mr. Guthrie imagines, that sign of remorse for his parricide was only worn on certain days. His sword and dagger are now in the Heralds office, presented by the victorious earl ||.

October 1st. Pass near Ford castle, now the seat of Sir John Delaval, possessed in the reign of Henry III. by Odonel de Ford; and by the marriage of his daughter to William Heron, passed into that family ¶: from them to the Carrs; from the Carrs to the present owner.

Cross Millefield plain, a flat of five miles extent; observe on one part a circular camp, with a single foss and dike; and opposite to it, a small square entrenchment. At the village of Millefield is said to have been the residence of the Kings of Bernicia after Edwin \*\*. On the right is Copeland castle; a square tower, formerly the seat of the Wallaces, but in our time transferred to the Ogles, by purchase. Cross the Glen, a small river, but honoured with baptizing in its waters a multitude of Northumbrians, who were converted by Paulinus, after King Edwin had embraced the faith: the residence of him and his queen being at that time at Adigefrin, the neighbouring Yeving ††.

Pass by Humbleton hill, where, in 1401, the Scots under Archibald, Earl of Douglas, received a signal defeat by the English, commanded by Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, in which Douglas was taken prisoner. On the hill are some marks of entrenchments, which the Scots flung up before the battle. The face of this hill is also divided by multitudes of terraces, resembling those above described.

Ride through Wooler, a small town. Observe several of the people wear the bonnet, the last remains of the English dress in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. The hills on the right approach very near us, and the country rises on both sides, and forms a mixture of corn-land and sheep-walk. On the west appear the Cheviot hills, smooth and verdant. Among them is laid the scene of the battle of Chevy-chace, in the celebrated ballad of that name. Notwithstanding there is nothing but ballad authority for

\* Lindeſay, i. 6.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, xiii. p. 385.

‡ Stow's London, 4to. 539.

§ Lindeſay, 96. 117, 118.

|| Lambe's *Hist. Flodden*, frontispiece.

¶ Dugdale, Baron. i. 730.

\*\* Camden, ii. 1097. Wallis, ii.

†† Bede, lib. 11. c. 13. p. 95.



it, yet it is highly probably that such an action might have happened between two rival chieftains, jealous of the invasion of their hunting-grounds. The limits of the kingdoms were then unsettled; and even at this time, there are debateable lands amidst these very hills. The poet has used a licence in his description of the fight, and mixed in it some events of the battle of Otterbourne, for neither a Percy nor a Douglass fell in this woful hunting.

Turn three miles to the south-east to visit Chillingham castle, the ancient property of the Greys, afterwards Lords of Werk, now of the Earl of Tankerville. The present building is large, and of no greater antiquity than the time of James I. Here are numbers of portraits, almost entirely misnamed. In the hall is the picture of a toad, said to have been found in the centre of the stone it is painted on; and beneath are these lines:

Heus Stagyrita,  
Tuo si velis quid mirabilis Euripo,  
Huc venito.  
Fluant, resquantque maria, et sit Lunaticus  
Qui suo triviam spoliat honore:  
En tibi novi quid, quod non portat Africa,  
Nec fabulos Nilus arenis,  
Ignem, flammamque puram,  
Aura tamen vitali cassam!  
Cæco e recessu scissi, quod vides, faxi,  
Obstetrices lucem Lithotomi dedere Manus  
Vivo Bufoni.

In the park are between thirty and forty wild cattle, of the same kind with those described at Drumlanrig.

Pass over a dreary country, chiefly a sheep walk, open, and without trees; cross the Till, a small river, and on Hegely moor see the octagonal shaft of Percy's cross, on whose broader sides are carved the arms of the family, crescents and pikes. This was erected in memory of Sir Ralph Percy, who was slain here, in 1463, in battle between the partizans of the house of Lancaster, and Lord Montacute. Lord Hungerford, and the other leaders, fled at the first onset; he, with the spirit of a Percy, kept his ground, and died, consoling himself, that he had "saved the bird in his breast;" meaning, that he had preserved his allegiance to Henry, never reflecting, as the unglozing historians\* of old times remark, that he had abandoned that unhappy prince in his greatest necessity, and submitted to his rival, Edward.

Near this cross get on an ancient military road, micalled the Watling-street, which runs north into Scotland, and south to Corbridge. The northern part is better known by the name of the Devil's dike: but as there is not a single station on it, from the place it unites with the genuine Roman way near Beucly, it may be supposed to have been the works of the Saxons, there being variety of little fortresses near its course.

After a few miles riding, fall into the vale of Whittingham, inclosed with hedges of ancient standing. Leave, on the right, the conic hill of Glanton-Pike, a noted beacon. Again cross the Till, at this place called the Bremish. Ride through Whittingham, a little town, on the Aln, (here a little stream,) and, passing over part of the black and dismal Rimside moor, lie at a neat inn, called the Half-way house.

October 2. Descend into a cultivated narrow vale: reach the small town of Rothbury, seated on the Coquet, which, below the town, runs through a large extent of flat free-stone rock, in a slit about forty feet long and five wide, through which the stream rushes with great violence, and has worn multitudes of those circular basons

\* Hall, in his reign of Edw. IV. p. 3. Holinshed, vol. iii. 666.



called the Giant's-pots. This manor belonged to the Claverings; a name taken from a place in Essex, but their first settlement was in this county. In the reign of King John, one of them, distinguished by the name of Fitz-Roger, obtained a grant of this manor, with the woods belonging; but his majesty reserved to himself the liberty of hunting in them. But the last of the family resigning it to the crown, it was re-granted to the Percies, by Edward III. \*

Cross the Coquet, on a bridge of four arches; ascend a steep hill, and arrive in a woodless, hedgeless, and uncultivated country, which continues for some miles; the inclosures either banks or stone walls. Reach Camhoe, a row of neat houses on an eminence, where the country mends, and trees and hedges appear. Mr. Wallis † says, it signifies the fort on the hill, and that in the reign of Henry III. it belonged to Sir Robert de Camhoe, high-sheriff of the county.

Below it is Wallington; a good house, belonging to Sir Walter Blacket, whose ancestor purchased it from the unfortunate Sir John Fenwick, beheaded in 1696, in whose family it had been from the reign of Henry IV. After a few miles pass by Swinburne castle, crossing a little north of it, the true Watling-street way, which runs into the shire of Roxburgh. At Chollerton, we cross the Erring, a small stream, falling just below into the north Tyne, a beautiful river, with sloping banks, finely cultivated. At a small distance south of Chollerton, cross the site of Adrian's dike, and Severus's wall, opposite to Walwick, the ancient Cilurnum; a station on the west bank of the Tyne. Here was stationed the body of horse, or *ala secunda Astorum*, as appears by a sepulchral stone, figured by Horsely ‡. Several other monumental inscriptions have been found there, preserved by the same author. This wall, which is commonly known by the name of the Picts wall, crosses the island from sea to sea, beginning at Boulness §: on the Solway firth, and ending in a fort at Cousin's-house near the village of Wall's-end, the old Segedunum, near the mouth of the Tyne, a few miles east of Pons Ælii, or Newcastle. The whole length of this vast work was sixty-eight miles and three furlongs ||; the height, in the time of Bede ¶, twelve feet, exclusive perhaps of parapet. The thickness, from seven to nine feet. It was guarded by a multitude of towers, generally within less than a mile distant from each other; all of them sixty-six feet square. Between every two of these towers were four exploratory turrets, only four yards square: as these were within call, centinels were placed in them to give an alarm. Besides these were seventeen stations, at about four miles distance from each other. These are known by names such as Cilurnum, Procolitia, and the like. A military way was made by Severus, at the same time with his wall, and ran from turret to turret, and was regularly paved \*\*.

More to assist my own memory, than to inform the reader, I may be permitted to name, in order of time, the number of walls or defences, formed by the Romans, or repaired by them, in order to keep our northern fellow-subjects within bounds. The first was the chain of forts, made by Agricola, from the firth of Forth to that of Clyde, in the year 81, to protect his conquests from the incursions of the Caledonians; and, as Tacitus expresses it, to remove them, as it were, into another island.

The second was the vallum, or dike, flung up by Adrian, in the year 121. Spartian†† bears witness to this; who informs us, that Adrian visited Britain, reformed many things, and made a wall eighty miles long, to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

\* Dugdale's Baronage, i. 106, 109.

† II. 526.

‡ Northumberland, No. xxiv.

§ Vide Voyage to the Hebrides.

|| Horsely, 121.

¶ Part is yet tolerably entire near Lanecroft abbey in Cumberland.

\*\* Horsely 118.

†† Vit. Adriani, c. xi.



This was made of earth and stones. It terminated on the western side of the kingdom, at Axelodunum, or Brugh, on the Solway fands, and was supposed to have reached no farther than Pons Ælii, or Newcastle, on the eastern. But by an account I very recently \* received from Mr. Robert Harrison of that town, I find it extended on this side as far as the wall of Severus. A broken stone has lately been discovered at Wall's-end, with this inscription :

IIADR  
MUR : COND  
HOC. MARM.  
POS : COSS. D.

The third was also of earth, made in the year 138, by Lollius Urbicus, lieutenant to Antoninus, who recovering the country, once conquered by Agricola, built another turf-wall † on the boundary left by that great general, and removed the Caledonians farther from the Roman province. This is proved not only by Capitolinus, but by the inscriptions from the stations in the course of it.

The fourth in the year 210, by Severus, as above described. Notwithstanding his historian vaunts, that this emperor penetrated to the remotest parts of the island, he seemed to judge it prudent to reduce its limits to the vallum of Adrian.

If we may credit Nennius, Carausius, in 290, repaired the wall of Severus, and fortified it with seven towers. A work seemingly needless, as it was before so well supplied with forts. It seems as if Nennius confounded the wall of Antonine with that of Severus, for immediately after mentioning the last, he speaks of Pengual, and the river Cluth. The first, being Kinniel, near the end of Antonine's wall, on the firth of Forth; and the Cluth, the Clyde, where it terminates on the western coast ‡.

Theodosius, in 367, after driving the crowds of Scotti, Attacotti, and other barbarous invaders out of the Roman province, repaired the boundary, built new forts, and called the parts he had recovered, Valentia, in honour of the Emperor Valens §.

The provincial Britons, after they were relieved from their distresses, by the assistance of a Roman legion, in 426, once more repaired the wall of Antonine with turf ||, being too ignorant to effect it in any other manner. And, finally, by the advice of Gallio, and the help of a legion under his command, the wall of Severus was restored ¶; a poor security to the degenerate Britons after the retreat of the Romans.

Proceed by the village of Wall, and from a rising ground have a fine view of the river, now enlarged by the waters of the South Tyne. Pass by Hermitage, the house of the late Dr. Jurin, the celebrated natural philosopher. In ancient times St. John of Beverley made the adjacent woods his retreat from the world, which gave name to the place. Ford the river; the beautiful bridge, lately finished, having been swept away by the floods. Enter

Hexam, the Hagustald of Bede, and Hextoldestham of the Saxons. Till the 33d of Henry VIII. it was called a county palatine, but at that period was stripped of its power. In ancient times it was a manor belonging to the see of York, whose prelates had here a regality and great powers. Their liberties were affirmed to them by the King's council in parliament, in the 21st of Edward I., and by a clause in the 13th of Edward III. had *jura regalia*, and the right of levying tenths and fifteenths. The

\* August 1775.

† Capitolinus, Vit. Anton. Pii. c. v.

‡ Hist. Br. c. xix. I am indebted to Mr. Harrison of Newcastle for the stricture on Nennius.

§ Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvi. c. 4. lib. xxviii. c. 3.

|| Gildas, c. 12. Bede, lib. i. c. 12.

¶ Gildas, c. 14. Bede, lib. i. c. 12.



parish was also called Hexamshire, having, till the 14 of Queen Elizabeth, been a distinct shire; but in that year was united with the county of Northumberland.

The town is ancient, finely seated on the southern banks, consisting of about five thousand inhabitants, whose chief manufacture is that of shoes and gloves, and it also carries on a considerable trade in tanning. But Hexham, like many other places, must vaunt of the glory of past times: in that of the Romans, it was probably a station, if one may judge from the half-defaced inscriptions on certain stones that antiquaries have discovered worked up in the walls of the vaults of the church\*; the most curious of which is that inscribed with the name of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus. Antiquaries for a time universally agreed, that this place was the Axeldunum of the Notitia; but Mr. Horsely, with much reason, removes it to Burgh, and conjectures that Hexham might have been the Epiacum of Ptolemy†.

Very early in the Saxon time it grew distinguished by its ecclesiastical splendor. Hexham and the adjacent country were part of the crown-lands of the kings of Northumberland, and settled by king Egfrid, as dower on his queen Ethelreda. Wilfrid‡, bishop of York, obtained from the king a grant of it; and here prevailed on him to found a bishoprick, which saw but seven prelates, being overthrown in the Danish wars, about the year 821. But the magnificence of the church and monastery, founded here in 674, by Wilfrid, is spoken of in the highest terms by ancient writers. They celebrate the variety of the buildings, the columns, the ornamental carvings, the oratories, and the crypts; they also relate the pains he was at to obtain artists of the greatest skill from different parts both at home and abroad. They mention the richness of covers for the altars, the gilding of the walls with gold and silver, and the noble library, collected with amazing industry: in few words, say they, there was not such a church to be found on this side of the Alps. As this place suffered greatly by the barbarity of the Danes, there is no vestige of the ancient church. The present building, which, when entire, was large and beautiful, is probably the work of Thomas the second archbishop of York, to which see it had been given by Henry I. The prelate, struck with the desolation of the place, established here in 1113 a convent of canons regular of Augustines. The architecture is mixed; has much Gothic, and a little Saxon, and, in one part, the narrow sharp-arched windows, all which began to be in use about that reign. The tower is large, and in the centre; the church having been in form of a Greek cross; but the west end was quite demolished by the Scots in 1296. The town was also plundered by David II. in 1346, but saved from the flames, as he intended it as a magazine for provisions.

The inside is supported by clustered pillars, with Gothic arches; the gallery above opens with Saxon arches, including in each two of the pointed kind. On the wooden screen before the choir is painted the dance of death; in each piece the meagre monster is seizing a character of every rank. Many other paintings, now much injured by time, adorned this part. Beneath the dance on a molding are twelve square pieces of wood; (originally there were fourteen) on each is elegantly cut in relief and gilt, a certain capital letter, and in every one a pretty cypher of other letters, which may be thus read. "Orate pro anima Domini Thom: S. Prior hujus *ecclesie* qui fecit hoc opus." The letters in italics are to supply the parts, and are conjectural to supply the sense.

\* Horsely, 247. Gordon, 183, 185.

† Horsely, 109. 369.

‡ Eddii Vita S. Wilfridi, in Gale's Collection, iii. 62. See more in that magnificent and accurate work, the History of Ely, p. 21, 22, by the Rev. Mr. Bentham, to whom we are first indebted for this notice from Richard of Hexham's account of it.



The tomb of Alfwald I. king of Northumberland, assassinated in 788, by Sigga one of his nobles, is shewn beneath an arch, at the south end of the north east aisle.

An Umfravil lies recumbent, cross-legg'd, the privilege of Croifaders. On his shield are the arms of the family, who were great benefactors to this abby. Here is also another knight, with the same mark of holy zeal, miscalled the Duke of Somerset, beheaded here in 1643. But the arms of the shield, three gerbes, shew that the deceased was not a Beaufort, who quartered the arms of England and France.

In the choir is a beautiful oratory, of stone below and wood above, most exquisitely carved, now converted into a pew. Near that is the tomb of a Religious, probably a prior. Above, in a shield, are, in Saxon characters, the letters R. I., these being in many parts of the building, are probably the initials of some of the pious benefactors; and about the sides are several most ridiculous figures, the product of the sportive chissel of the sculptor: an ape sitting on a stone with its hand to its mouth; a deformed figure in a close hood with a pendent tassell, and a hare, or some other animal, in his bosom, and other monstrous engravings of no meaning or moment \*. Against a pillar is a ridiculous figure of a barefooted man, with a great club, perhaps a pilgrim.

Here is preserved the famous fridstol, or stool of peace; for whosoever took possession of it was sure of remission †. This place had the privilege of a sanctuary, which was not merely confined to the church, but extended a mile four ways ‡, and the limits each way marked by a cross. Heavy penalties were levied on those who dared to violate this sanctuary, by seizing on any criminal within the prescribed bounds; but if they presumed to take him out of the stool §, the offence was not redeemable by any sum; it was esteemed botolofs, beyond the power of pecuniary amends; and the offenders were left to the utmost severity of the church, and suffered excommunication, in old times the most terrible of punishments.

Part of the monastery still remains habitable. It was granted, on the dissolution to Sir Reginald Carnaby; afterwards passed to the Fenwicks, and lastly to the Blackets. The convent gate is entire, and consists of a fine round arch. This is evidently of a much older date than any of the present remains of the convent. It is of Saxon architecture, and perhaps part of the labours of the great Wilfrid.

The town-house is built over an antient gate; beyond that is an old square tower, of three floors. The lowest has beneath it two dreadful dungeons, which, in this thievish neighbourhood, before the accession, were seldom untenanted.

The little rivulet Hexold, which runs by the town, would not merit mention, if it did not give name to the place.

Oct. 4. Proceed eastward. About three miles from Hexham, cross the Devil, on a bridge of two arches. On an eminence is a square tower, peeping picturesquely above the trees. This was part of the estate of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, now vested in Greenwich Hospital. On the banks of this river was fought, in 1463, the bloody battle of Hexham, between the Lancastrians and Yorkists, in which the first were defeated. The meek Henry fled with so great precipitation as to lose his abacock, or cap set with jewels, which was carried to his rival at York. His faithful consort Margaret betook herself, with the infant prince, to a neighbouring forest, where she

\* Since the publication of my first edition I procured drawings of these figures which I overlooked when I was at Hexham, and took the account of them by misinformation. On sight of the drawings I at once saw that they were no more than what I mention above.

† In the minster at Beverley is a stool of this kind, called by the same name, and destined for the same use.

‡ Stevens's Contin. Dugdale, ii. 135.

§ Richard of Hexham, as quoted by Staveland, Hist. Ch. 173.



was surrounded with robbers, and spoiled of her jewels and rings. The darkness of the night, and a dispute that arose among the banditti about the division of the booty, gave her opportunity of making a second escape; but while she wandered, oppressed with hunger and fatigue, another robber approached with a drawn sword; her spirit now proved her safety. She advanced towards the man, and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, "Here, friend, I commit to you the protection of the son of your King." The man, perhaps a Lancastrian, reduced by necessity to this course of life, was affected with her gallant confidence, devoted himself to her service, and concealed his royal charge till he found opportunity of conveying them beyond the reach of their enemies.

Cross at this place the Watling-street, which runs directly to Eborchester, the ancient Vindomana; pass the Tyne, on a bridge of seven arches, near whose northern end is Corbridge, a small town, but formerly considerable, for Leland says, that in his time were the names of diverse streets, and great tokens of old foundations. Near Corbridge is Colchester, a station on the line of the wall, the old Corstopitum; the Roman way passes through it, and was continued on the other shore by a bridge, whose ruins Leland was informed of by the vicar of the parish. Mr. Horsley acquaints us, that even in his time some vestiges were to be seen\*. A little above is the small stream of Corve†. Leland, p. 212, of the second volume of his *Collectanea*, relates, that King John, when he was at Hexham, caused great search to be made after a treasure, he had heard was hidden here, but to his disappointment found nothing but stones, old brass wire, iron, and lead. Abundance of antiquary treasures have been found here since: among others, an inscription to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; another commemorating a cohort, that made part of the wall; here is also a figure of Victory, holding in her hand, I think, a flag. But the most curious antiquities are the two Greek inscriptions, and the silver plate found in the adjacent grounds. The inscriptions are on two altars. The first is mentioned, in the former part of this journey; and was erected by Pulcher to the goddess Astarte. The other, in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, is adorned on one side with a wreath, on the other, with an ox's head and a knife; and erected, as the inscription imports, by the chief priestess Diodora, to the Tyrian Hercules‡.

The other antiquity, which is also in his Grace's cabinet, is of matchless beauty and rarity: it is a piece of plate, of the weight of a hundred and forty-eight ounces, of an oblong form, twenty inches by fifteen§, with a margin enriched with a running foliage of vine leaves and grapes. The hollow is about an inch beneath. In this is a fine assemblage of deities. Apollo appears first, standing at the door of a temple, with wreathed pillars, with capitals of the leaves of Acanthus. In one hand is his bow, in the other a laurel branch. His feet stand on a sceptre, and near that his lyre rests against one of the columns. Beneath him is a sun-flower, the emblem of Phœbus, and a griffin that poets couple to his chariot.

*Ac si Phœbus adest, et frenis grypha jugalem*

*Riphaeo tripodas repetens distorsit ab axe*

*Tunc sylva, &c.*

CLAUDIAN. vi. Conf. Honorii.

Vesta sits next to him, veiled and clothed with a long robe; her back leans against a round pillar, with a globe on the top, and under her the altar, flaming with eternal fire.

\* Itin. v. 112.

† Ibid.

‡ Horsley, Northumberland, p. 246. *Archæologia*, vol. ii. 92, 98. vol. iii. 324.

§ This description is borrowed from the learned Mr. Roger Gale's account, and the print by Mr. William Shafto.



Ceres stands next, with her hair turned up, and tied behind; over her forehead a leaf, an emblem of vegetation, and in one hand a blunted spear. Her robe and attitude are elegant. The other hand points to her neck, and passes through a pendent fillet, hanging below her breast. Beneath her feet, and that of the succeeding figure, are two ears, perhaps of corn, but so ill executed as to leave the matter in doubt.

Minerva is placed with her back to Ceres. Her figure is by no means equivocal: her helmet, spear, shield, and the head of Medusa on her breast, sufficiently mark the goddess. Her right hand is lifted up, as if pointing to another figure, that of Diana, dressed and armed for the chase. Her lower garment is short, not reaching to her knee; over that flows a mantle, falling to the middle of her legs, and hanging gracefully over one arm. Her legs dressed in buskins:

Talia succincta pinguntur crura Dianæ  
Cum sequitur fortes, fortior ipsa feras.

One hand extends her bow towards Minerva, the other holds an arrow; between them is a tree branching over both of them, with several birds perched on it; among them that of Jove, immediately over the head of Minerva, perhaps to mark her as the daughter of that deity. On the side next to Diana is an altar, with a small globular body on it; probably, as my learned antiquary imagines, *libamina ex farre, melle et oleo*.

One leg of that goddess is placed over a rock, on whose side is an urn, with a copious stream flowing from it. The rock and tree recal into Mr. Gale's mind, the address of Horace, to the same deity:

Montium custos nemorumque virgo.

Between the rock and the altar of eternal fire is a grey-hound, looking up to her, and a dead deer; both belonging to this goddess of the chase.

Mr. Gale imagines it to have been one of the lances, or sacrificing plates, so often mentioned by Virgil, on which were placed the lesser victims:

Dona ferunt, cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.

Continue our ride by the side of the Tyne. Reach Bywell, a small village, seated in a manor of the same name, which Guy de Baliol was invested with by William Rufus\*, and which Hugh de Baliol held afterwards by the service of five knights' fees, and finding thirty soldiers for the defence of Newcastle upon Tyne, as his ancestors had done from their first possession†.

Near the village is a handsome modern house, the seat of Mr. Fenwick. A little farther is a square tower, built by the Nevils, successors to the Baliols, which was forfeited by the rebellion of the Earl of Westmoreland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. At that time it was noted for a manufacture of bits, stirrups, and buckles, for the use of the borderers. At the same time, such was the unhappy situation of the place, that the inhabitants, through fear of the thieves of Tynedale, were obliged nightly, in summer as well as winter, to bring their cattle and sheep into the street, and to keep watch at the end; and when the enemy approached, to make hue-and-cry to rouse the people to save their property‡. As this was a dangerous county to travel through, the tenants of every manor were bound to guard the judge through the precincts, but no farther. Lord chief justice North describes his attendants with long beards, short cloaks,

\* Dugdale's Baron. i. 523.

† Blount's Ancient Tenures, 14.

‡ Wallis, ii. 148.



long basket-hilted broad swords, hanging from broad belts, and mounted on little horses, so that their legs and swords touched the ground at every turning. His lordship also informs us, that the sheriff presented his train with arms, i. e. a dagger, knife, penknife, and fork, all together \*.

A little beyond Bywell are the piers of an old bridge. I have been informed that workmen have remarked, that these piers never had any spring of arches, the superstructure therefore must have been of wood. Two or three miles farther is the village of Ovingham, in which was a cell of three black canons †, belonging to the monastery of Hexham, founded by Umfravil, baron of Prudhow, the ruins of whose castle make a fine object on the opposite bank of the river. This family came into England with the Conqueror, who bestowed on Robert with the Beard the lordship of Riddefdale, to be held for ever by the service of defending the country against thieves and wolves with the same sword with which William entered Northumberland ‡, and the barony of Prudhow, by the service of two knights fees and a half. Odonel de Umfravil, in 1174, supported in this castle a siege against William I. of Scotland, who was obliged to retire from before the place, but probably not without damaging the castle; for we find this same Odonel accused of oppressing and plundering his neighbours in order to repair the roof. It continued in the family till the reign of Henry VI., when on the death of the last it fell by entail to the § Tailboys, a short-lived race; for on the execution of Sir William, after the battle of Hexham, it became forfeited to the crown. The Duke of Northumberland is the present owner; his right is derived from the Percies, who possessed it for some ages (admitting a few interruptions from attainders, to which the name was subject), but from which they had the merit of emerging with singular honour.

Ride for some miles along the rail-roads, in which the coal is conveyed over to the river, and pass by numbers of coal-pits. The whole road from Corbridge is the most beautiful imaginable, on the banks of the river, which runs through a narrow vale, inclosed and highly cultivated. In some parts the borders are composed of meadows or corn fields, flanked by slopes covered with wood. In others the banks rise suddenly above the water, clothed with hanging groves. The country is very populous, and several pretty seats embellish the prospects: the back view to the south soon alters to barren and black moors, which extend far into Durham, and are, as I am informed, almost pathless.

Reach Newburn, a place of note preceding the conquest. In these parts presided Coppi, created by William Earl of Northumberland, after expelling Osulf, a governor, substituted by Morcar, the preceding Earl. Osulf being defeated, and forced into woods and deserted, gathered new forces, obliged Coppi to take refuge in the church, which he set on fire, seized him as he shunned the flames, and cut off his head ||.

In the last century this village was infamous for the defeat of the English, in 1640, by the Scots, who passed through the deep river in the face of our army, drawn on the opposite bank ready to receive them. A panic seized our forces and their commander; with this difference, the troops were ashamed of their flight, and wished to repair their disgrace, and to revenge it on a foe that hardly credited its own success; but the timid general, uninfluenced by the same sense of honour, never afterwards turned his face to the enemy ¶.

\* Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, 139, 140.

† Dugdale's Baron. i. 504.

§ Idem, 508.

¶ Clarendon, i. 144. Whitelock, 35.

† Tanner's Monast. 394.

|| Idem 1st. part of this journey.



At this place quit the river, and after ascending a bank, reach the fine road that extends from Carlisle to Newcastle, almost following the course of the wall.

At a mile's distance from Newcastle pass over the site of Condercum, the modern Benwel, where several inscriptions have been found, preserved in Horsely. The most remarkable is the altar, dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, who is supposed by antiquaries to preside over iron-mines \*. Opposite to this place the Derwent discharges itself into the Tyne.

Reach Newcastle, a vast town, seated on the steep banks of the coaly Tyne, the Vedra of Ptolemy, joined by the bridge to Gateshead, in Durham, and appears as part of it. The lower streets and chares, or alleys, are extremely narrow, dirty, and in general ill-built; consisting often of brew-houses, malt-houses, granaries, warehouses, and cellars. The keelmen chiefly inhabit the suburb of Sandgate and the North-shore, a mutinous race, for which reason the town is always garrisoned. In the upper part are several handsome streets.

The origin of this place is evidently Roman, like that of many of our great towns and cities. This was the Pons Ælii, a station on the line of the wall, where the Romans had a bridge to the opposite shore. No altars or inscriptions are extant to prove the name; a great and populous town has covered the ancient site, and destroyed or absorbed into it every vestige of antiquity. Some part of the wall, which passed through the space now occupied by the present buildings must be excepted; for workmen have in the course of digging the foundations of new houses, struck on parts of it. There is also shewn at Pandon gate the remains of one of the ancient mural towers; and at the Carpenter's tower was another. As old as Pandon gate, is a common proverb in these parts, which shews its reputed antiquity. The wall had passed from the west, through the Vicarage gardens, the Groat market, the north part of St. Nicholas's church, and from thence to Pandon gate.

After the Romans had deserted this island, it is not probable that this station should be entirely desolated; but we know nothing relating to it from that period, for some centuries from that great event, besides a bare name, Monk-chester; which shews that it was possessed by the Saxons, and noted for being the habitation of religious men. These proved the victims to the impious barbarity of some unknown enemy, who extirpated throughout these parts every house of devotion. In all Northumberland there was not a monastery; so that in 1074, when Aldwin, Alfvín, and Remfrid †, made their holy visitation to this place, they scarcely discovered even a church standing, and not a trace of the congenial pietists they expected to find. Their destruction must have been early; for the venerable Bede, who died in 735, takes no notice of the place, though he mentions Jarrow ‡, a convent, on the southern side of the Tyne, not remote from it. The ruin therefore of the place cannot be attributed to the Danes, whose first invasion did not take place till after the death of that historian.

It continued an inhabited place in the year 1080, when Robert Courthose, son to William the Conqueror, returning from his expedition against Scotland, halted here with his army, and then built the present tower, that goes by his name; and changed at the same time that of Monk-chester into Newcastle, whether from the novelty of the building, or in opposition to some ancient fortress, the work of the Romans or Saxons, is not certain. From this time may be dated the importance of the place; for the advantage of living in this border country, under the security of a fortress, soon caused a

\* Horsely, 209.

† Hollinshed, iii. p. 11.

‡ Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 21. p. 210. Vita Cudbereti, c. 35. p. 254.



refort of people. If it is true that David I. (who was possessed of it as Earl of Northumberland) founded here two monasteries and a nunnery \*, it was a place of note before the year 1153, the time of that prince's death.

The walls of Newcastle are pretty entire, with ramparts of earth within, and a foss without. Leland † informs us, that they were begun in the reign of Edward I., and completed in that of Edward III. He ascribes the origin to the misfortune of a rich citizen, who was taken prisoner by the Scots out of the middle of the town. On his redemption, he endeavoured to prevent for the future a similar disaster; for he immediately began to secure his native place by a wall; and, by his example, the rest of the merchants promoted the work; and it appears that in 19 Edward I. they obtained the royal licence for so salutary an end ‡. The circuit of the walls are rather more than two miles; but at present there are very considerable buildings on their outsides. All the principal towers are round: there are generally two machecollated towers between every two, which project a little over the wall.

Robert's tower was of great strength, square, and surrounded with two walls; the height eighty-two feet; the square on the outside sixty-two by fifty-four; the walls thirteen feet thick, with galleries gained out of them: within was a chapel. Not long after the building it was besieged, on the rebellion of Robert Mowbray against William Rufus §, and taken. The town was taken by treachery by the Scots in 1135, or the first year of King Stephen, nor was it restored to the English before 1156, when, at Chester, Malcolm IV. ceded to Henry II. the three northern counties. From that time neither castle nor town underwent any siege, till the memorable one in 1644, when, after a leaguer of two months, it was taken by storm by the Scots, under the Earls of Callendar and Leven.

There were seven gates to the city: that of Pandon, or Pampendon, is most remarkable, leading to the old town of that name, united to Newcastle in 1299. It is said that the Kings of Northumberland had a palace here, and that the house was called Pandon-hall ¶.

This town was frequently the rendezvous of the English barons, when summoned on any expedition against Scotland; and this was also the place of interview between the monarchs of each kingdom for the adjusting of treaties. The Kings of England resided at the Side, an appendage to the castle, since called Lumley-place, being afterwards the habitation of the Lords Lumlies. The kings and nobility of Scotland resided at the Scotch inn; the Earls of Northumberland at a great house of the same name; and the Nevils had another, styled Westmoreland place.

The religious houses were numerous: the most ancient was a nunnery, contemporary with the conquest ¶, to which Agas, mother to Margaret Queen of Scotland, and Christian her sister, retired after the death of Malcolm, at Alnwick \*\*. Near the dissolution, here were ten nuns of the Benedictine order, whose revenues amounted but to thirty-six pounds per annum.

Poor as these sisters were, they were more opulent than the Carmelites, or white friars, founded here by Edward I., whose income amounted but to nine pounds eleven and four-pence, to support a prior, seven friars, and two novices found there at the Reformation ††.

\* Tanner, 391, Keith.

† Leland's Itinerary, v. 115.

‡ Gardner's English Grievances, c. iv.

§ Bourne, 110.

¶ Ib. 131, 138.

¶ Tanner, 391.

\*\* Leland's Collect. ii. 531.

†† Bourne 38.



In the clofe of this houfe was a fraternity, styled the brethren of the penance of Jefus Chrift, or the brethren of the fack, to whom Henry III. gave the place called the Calgarth.

The Dominicans had a houfe founded by Sir Peter Scot, firft mayor of Newcaftle, and his fon, about the middle of the 13th century. At the diffolution here were a prior and twelve friars. The remains of this houfe are engraven by Mr. Grofe.

The Francifcans, or grey friars, had an eftablifhment here, founded by the family of the Carlhols in the time of Henry III. In this place Charles I. was confined after he had put himfelf into the hands of his Scotch fubjects: part is ftill remaining, and with fome additional building, the refidence of Sir Walter Blacket. The famous Duns Scotus, the Doctor Subtilis, was of this houfe. He died of an apoplexy, was too fuddenly buried, and coming to life in his tomb, dafhed out his brains in the laft ftruggle.

The monastery of Auguftines was founded here by a Lord Rofs of Werk, in the reign of Edward I.

When the grievous diftemper of the leprofy raged in thefe kingdoms the piety of our anceftors erected afyla for thofe poor wretches who were driven from the fociety of mankind. Henry I. founded an hospital here for their reception; and fixed a matter, brethren, and fifters; but when this difeafe abated, the houfe was appointed for the poor vifited with the peftilence; a fcourge that heaven in its favour has freed us from. Here were befides four other hospitals, founded for the pious purpofes of redeeming the captive, for the reception of pilgrims or travellers, for the relief of diftreffed clergy, or the interring of the poor. Each of thefe in general the eftablifhment of individuals: our prefent foundations the united charity of the mites of multitudes. How unequal are the merits!

But the more modern charities in this town are very confiderable: firft, the general infirmary for the fick of the counties of Durham, Northumberland, and Newcaftle, which, from its institution to 1771, has difcharged, cured, about thirteen thoufand patients. The fecond is the lying-in hospital, for married women; and another charity for the fupport of thofe who lie-in at their own houfes. Thirdly, a public hospital, for the reception of lunatics. Fourthly, the keelmen's hospital, a fquare building, with cloifters, founded in 1702 by the poor keelmen, who allowed a penny per tide for that purpofe. Befides thefe are numbers of charity-fchools, and hospitals for the reception of the aged of both fexes.

The tower of St. Nicholas's church is very juftly the boaft of the inhabitants. Its height is a hundred and ninety-four feet; round the top are feveral moft elegant pinnacles, from whofe bafe fpring feveral very neat arches, that fupport the lanthorn, an open edifice, ornamented with other pinnacles of uncommon lightnefs. The church was originally founded in the reign of Henry I. The tower, built in the time of Henry VI. by Robert Rhodes; and on the bottom of the belfry is an entreaty to pray for the foul of the founder.

The exchange contains variety of apartments, and alfo the courts of juftice for the town. The front towards the river is enriched with two feries of columns, and is of the architecture of the period of James I. The builder, Robert Trollop, is buried oppofite to it in the church-yard of Gateshead. His ftatue pointing towards the exchange ftood formerly over his grave, with thefe lines under his feet:

Here lies Robert Trollop,  
Who made yon ftones roll-up.  
When death took his foul-up,  
His body filled this hole-up.



Newcastle is divided into four parishes, with two chapels \*, and about a dozen meeting-houses, and is a county containing a small district of ten miles circuit; a privilege bestowed on it by Henry IV., rendering it independent of Northumberland. It first sent members to parliament in the reign of Edward I. †, and was also honoured with the sword of state. It is a corporation, governed by a mayor, sheriff, and twelve aldermen. Their revenues are considerable. An annual allowance is made to the mayor of a thousand pounds, besides a coach, furnished mansion-house, and servants: he has also extra allowances for entertaining the judges on their circuit, who lodge at the mayor's house. The sheriff has also a handsome allowance for a public table. The receipts of the corporation in October 1774 were 20360l. 9s. 8d.; the disbursements 19,445l. It is reckoned that between this town and Gateshead there are thirty thousand inhabitants, exclusive of those who live on each side of the river, adjacent to those places ‡. The exports are very considerable, consisting of coals, lead, glass, salt, bacon, salmon, and grinding-stones. Here are not fewer than sixteen glass-houses, three sugar-houses, great manufactures of steel and iron, besides those of wrought iron at Swalwell, three miles up the river: also another of broad and narrow woollen cloth, which is carried on with great success, and not fewer than thirty thousand firkins of butter are annually sent abroad; and of tallow, forty thousand hundreds.

The great export of this place is coal, for which it has been noted for some centuries. It is not exactly known at what time that species of fuel was first dug: it is probable that it was not very early in general use. That the Romans sometimes made use of it appears in our former volume; but since wood was the fuel of their own country, and Britain was over-run with forests, it was not likely that they would pierce into the bowels of the earth for a less grateful kind. But it was exported to foreign parts long before it was in use in London; for London likewise had its neighbouring forests. We find that in 1234 Henry III. confirms to the good people of Newcastle the charter of his father, King John, granting them the privilege of digging coals in the Castle-moor, and converting them to their own profit, in aid of their fee-farm rent of a hundred a year §; which moor was afterwards granted to them in property by Edward III. The time of the first exportation of coals to London does not appear. In 1307, 35 Edward I., they were considered in the capital as a nuisance; for on the repeated complaints of prelates, nobles, commons of parliament, and inhabitants of London, against the stench and smoke of coals used by brewers, dyers, and other artificers, the King issued out his proclamation against the use of them; which being disregarded, a commission of oyer and terminer was issued to punish the disobedient with fines for the first offence, and for the second, by the destruction of their furnaces ||. In 1379 we find that their use was not only tolerated, but their consumption made beneficial to the state; for in that year a duty of sixpence per ton each quarter of a year was imposed on ships coming from New-castle ¶. In 1421 the trade became so important as to engage the regulations of government, and orders were given about the lengths of the keels, so that the quantity of coal might be ascertained. From that period the commerce advanced continually. The present state may be collected from the following view of the shipping:

\* If Gateshead is included, five parishes and four chapels.

† Willis, iii. 95. ‡ Hutton's Map, 1772.

§ Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, i. 111. 188. Henry III., among other privileges, granted by charter to the merchants of Newcastle and their heirs, that no Jew should stay or dwell in their town. Madox, Hist. Exch. vol. i. edition 1769, p. 259.

|| Stow's Chron. 209. Prynn on Coke's Institute, 182.

¶ Fœdera, vii. 220.



Ships.	Tons.	Chaldr. coals.	Cwt. lead.	
3585	689,090	330,200	123,370	coast trade.
363	49,124	21,690	30,064	foreign parts.
Tot. 3948	738,214	351,890	153,434 *	

There are about twenty-four considerable collieries, which lie at different distances, from five to eighteen miles from the river. The coal is brought down in waggons along rail roads, and discharged from certain covered places called Staiths, built at the edge of the water, into the keels or boats, which have the advantage of the tide flowing five or six miles above the town.

These boats are strong, clumsy, and oval, and carry twenty tons a-piece. About four hundred and fifty are constantly employed: they are sometimes navigated with a square sail, but generally by two very large oars: one on the side, plied by a man and a boy; the other at the stern, by a single man, serving both as oar and rudder. Most of these keels go down to Shields, a port near the mouth of the river, about ten miles from Newcastle, where the large ships lie; for none exceeding between three and four hundred tons can come up as high as the town. I must not omit that the imports of this place are very considerable. It appears that, in 1771,

810 ships,	carrying 77,880 tons,	from foreign parts.
140	18,650	coasting trade.
950	96,530	

were entered at this port; and that the customs for coal amount to 41,000*l.* per annum, besides the 15,000*l.* paid to the Duke of Richmond, at one shilling per chaldron on all sent coastways.

Leave Newcastle, and cross the Tyne in the ferry-boat. Midway have a full view of the ruins of the bridge, and of the destruction made by the dreadful flood of November 1771, which bore down four arches, and twenty-two houses, with six of the inhabitants: one of the houses remained for a time suspended over the water; the shrieks of the devoted inmates were for a long space heard, without the possibility of affording them relief.

This bridge was of stone, and had stood above five hundred years. It consisted first of twelve arches, but by the contraction of the river by the quays on the northern side, was reduced to nine. The houses on the bridge were generally built at distances from each other. About the middle was a handsome tower, with an iron gate, used by the corporation for a temporary prison. At the south end was (formerly) another tower, and a draw-bridge.

By the ancient name of the station on the northern bank, Pons Ælii, it is evident that there had been a bridge here in the time of the Romans; and I am informed that there are still vestiges of a road pointing directly to it from Chester-le-street. I cannot help thinking that part of the Roman bridge remained there till very lately; for, from the observation of workmen upon the old piers, those, as well as the piers of the bridge at Bywell, seem originally to have been formed without any springs for arches. This was a manner of building used by the Romans; witness the bridge built over the Danube by Trajan †, at Severin, twenty Hungarian miles from Belgrade, whose piers I

\* Hutton's Map, 1772.

† Brown's Travels, 3. Montfaucon, Antiq. iv. part 2. p. 185. tab. cxy. Brown, by mistake, attributes it to Adrian.



believe still exist \*. Adrian was probably the founder of the bridge at Newcastle, which was called after his family name Pons *Ælii*, in the same manner as Jerusalem was styled *Ælia Capitolina*, and the games he instituted at Pincum, in *Mœsia*, *Æliana Pincensia*. The coins discovered on pulling down some of the piers, in 1774, confirm my opinion. Several were discovered, but only three or four rescued from the hands of the workmen. All of them are coins posterior to the time of Adrian, probably deposited there in some later repairs. One is a beautiful *Faustina the elder*, after her deification: her forehead is bound with a small tiara; her hair full, twisted, and dressed *a la moderne*; round is inscribed "*Diva Faustina*." On the reverse is *Ceres*, with a torch in one hand, and ears of corn in the other: the inscription, "*Augusta, S. C.*"

The next has the laureated head of *Antoninus Pius*. On the reverse, *Apollo*, with a patera in one hand, a *plædium* in the other; the legend so much defaced as to be illegible.

The third is of *Lucius Verus* (like that of *Faustina*, after consecration). On the reverse is a magnificent funeral pile, and the word, "*Consecratio, S. C.*"

The original superstructure of this bridge was probably of wood, like that over the Danube; and continued, made with the same material, for several centuries. Notice is taken of it in the reign of *Richard I.*, when *Philip Poictiers*, bishop of *Durham*, gave licence to the burgesses of *Gateshead* to give wood to whomsoever they pleased, to be spent about the river *Tyne*; which is supposed to mean in the repairs of the bridge and quay on the part belonging to *Durham*; for one third belongs to the bishop, and two to the town: so that, after it was destroyed in 1248 by a furious fire, the bishop and the town united in the expence of building the stone bridge, of which this calamity was the origin. The prelate (*Walter Kirkham*) had the advantage in this; for, armed with spiritual powers, he issued out indulgencies from all penances to every one that would assist either with money or labour. The town also applied to other bishops for their assistance in promoting so good a work; and they, in consequence, granted their indulgencies: but then the clergy of the north were directed by their archdeacon, to prefer the indulgencies of their own prelate to any other. In the end both parties succeeded, and the money raised was given to *Laurentius*, master of the bridge.

The boundaries of the bridge were strictly preserved. *Edward III.* by writ, 1334, forbids the mayor and sheriffs of *Newcastle* to suffer their ships to lie on the southern side. And several other proofs may be brought of the strict observance of these rights of the bishop. By the calamity of November 17th, 1771, this part of the bridge was

\* *Severin* is a ruined place, a few miles above the remains of *Trajan's bridge*, which are still existing about five English miles below *Demirkapi*, or the *Iron Gate*. This is a narrow passage in the *Danube*. A quarter of an hour's walk from these remains is an old ruined castle on the northern shore; and the next place below it is called *Tcherni-grad*, or *Mauro-castro*. Count *Marigli*, *Topogr. Danub.* tom. ii. p. 22. t. x. mentions, that the river at the place is not quite 1000 yards wide, and that the piers can be seen at low water only; the distance of the two first of them is of seventeen fathoms and a half, and supposing all the others to be equi-distant, there must have been twenty-three in all. The masonry seems to consist of a strong cement and a number of pebbles, faced with bricks; and he observed several ranges of square holes, which probably were practised in the piers for the insertion of oak-timbers to form the bridge upon, which had not the least springs for arches. Captain *de Schad*, in the *Austrian service*, who in the year 1740 navigated down the *Danube*, in the retinue of the ambassador to the *Porte*, and Count *Uhlesfeld*, saw these low piers of *Trajan's bridge*, near *Tchernetz*, probably the same place with the above-mentioned *Tcherni-grad*, and thought them to be of freestone. *Topowitch Enquiries on the Sea*, p. 203 and 241. Nicholas *Ernst Kleeman* a merchant, found these piers still existing in the year 1768; but thinks the work looked more like rocks washed out by the stream than like piers; though he confesses to have seen some masonry upon the northern shore, consisting of brick and freestone, joined by a mortar as hard as the stones themselves. *N. E. Kleeman's Journey through Crim Tartary and Turkey*, 1768—1770.



greatly damaged. An act was therefore passed this year, to enable the present bishop, and his successors, to raise a sum of money by annuities equal to the purpose. Cross the water, and land in the bishoprick of Durham.

Enter Gateshead; a considerable place, built on the steep banks of the southern side of the river, containing about five hundred and fifty houses. Camden supposes it to have been the ancient Gabrosentum, and it retained part of the name in its present Goathead, as if derived from the British Gafr, a goat. Mr. Horsely justly imagines this place to have been too near to Pons Ælii for the Romans to have another station here, therefore removes it to Drumburgh. It appears to me to have been very little altered from the old Saxon name Geats-hevod; or, the head of the road: and that it was so styled from being the head of the Roman military way which those new invaders found there.

It was a place eminent for ecclesiastical antiquity. Bede mentions under the year 653, Uttan, brother of Adda, who had been abbot of a monastery here\*; but no reliques of it now exist. Here are the ruins of a beautiful chapel†, belonging to an hospital dedicated to St. Edmund, where four chaplains were appointed. The founder was Nicholas Farnham, Bishop of Durham, about the year 1247. In the reign of Henry VI. it was granted to the nuns of St. Bartholomew, in Newcastle, and in that of Edward VI. to the mayor and burgessees of Newcastle. Here was besides another hospital, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the beginning of the reign of Henry III. to which Henry de Ferlinton gave a farm, to find a chaplain, and maintain three poor men. This was re-founded by James I. in 1610.

Hugh Pudsey granted to the burgessees of Gateshead liberty of forestage, on paying a small acknowledgement. Edward VI. annexed this place to Newcastle; but his successor Mary restored it again to the church of Durham.

Pass over a barren common, full of coal-pits; then, through a rich country, inclosed and mixed with wood. Descend into a rich hollow; reach the small town of Chester-le-street, the Cuneastre of the Saxons: a small town, with a good church and fine spire. Within are ranged in nice order, a complete series of monuments of the Lumley family, from the founder Liulphus, down to John Lord Lumley, who collected them from old monasteries, or caused them to be made a-new, and obtained, in 1594, a licence from Tobias Matthews, bishop of Durham, for placing them there. Over each is an inscription, with their names or history. The most remarkable is that of Liulphus, an Anglo-Saxon of distinction, who, during the distractions that reigned on the conquest, retired to these parts, and became so great a favourite with Walcher, bishop of Durham, as to raise the envy of his chaplain Leofwin, who villainously caused Liulphus to be murdered, by one Gilbert, in his house near Durham. The bishop lay under suspicion of conniving at the horrid deed. The friends of Liulphus rose to demand justice: they obtained an interview with the bishop at Gateshead; but the prelate, instead of giving the desired satisfaction, took refuge in the church with the two offenders. On which the enraged populace, first sacrificing Gilbert and the bishop, set the church on fire, and gave the deserved punishment to the original contriver of the mischief.

In the Saxon times Chester-le-street was greatly respected, on account of the reliques of St. Cuthbert, deposited here by bishop Earduff, for fear of the Danes, who at that time (about 884) ravaged the country. His shrine became afterwards an object of great devotion. King Athelstan, on his expedition to Scotland, paid it a visit, to obtain by intercession of the saint, success on his arms; bestowed a multitude of gifts on the church, and directed, in case he died in his enterprize, that his body should be interred

\* Lib. iii. c. 21.

† Engraven by Mr. Grose.



there. I must not omit, that at the same time that this place was honoured with the remains of St. Cuthbert, the bishoprick of Lindesfarn was removed here, and endowed with all the lands between the Tyne and the Were, the present county of Durham. It was styled St. Cuthbert's patrimony. The inhabitants had great privileges, and always thought themselves exempt from all military duty, except that of defending the body of their saint. The people of the north claimed this exemption, on account of their being under a continual necessity of defending the marches, and opposing the incursions of the Scots. The same excuse was pleaded by the town of Newcastle for not sending members to parliament. Rymer\* produces a discharge from Henry III. to Robert bishop of Durham, Peter de Brus, and others, of having performed the military service they owed the king, for forty days, along with his son Edward. They, with the rest of this northern tract, asserted that they were Hali-werke folks, that they were enrolled for holy work; that they held their lands to defend the body of the saint; and those in particular in his neighbourhood, were not bound to march beyond the confines of their country. In fact, Chester-le-street was parent of the see of Durham; for when the reliques were removed there, the see, in 995, followed them. Tanner says, that probably a chapter of monks, or rather secular canons, attended the body at this place from its first arrival: but bishop Beke, in 1286, in honour of the saint, made the church collegiate, and established here a dean, and suitable ecclesiastics; and, among other privileges, gives the dean a right of fishing on the Were, and the tythe of fish †.

At a small distance from the town, stands Lumley-castle, the ancient seat of the name. It is a square pile, with a court in the middle, and a square tower at each corner; is modernized into an excellent house, and one of the seats of the Earl of Scarborough. It is said to have been built in the time of Edward I. by Sir Robert de Lumley, and enlarged by his son Sir Marmaduke. Prior to that, the family residence was at Lumley, (from whence it took the name) a village a mile south of the castle, where are remains of a very old hall-house, that boasts a greater antiquity. The former was not properly castellated, till the year 1392, when Sir Ralph (the first Lord Lumley) obtained from Richard II. "*Licentiam castrum suum de Lumley de novo ædificandum, muro de petra et calce batellare et kernellare et castrum illud sic batellatum, et kernellatum tenere, &c.*" This Sir Ralph was a faithful adherent to his unfortunate sovereign, and lost his life in his cause, in the insurrection, in the year 1400, against the usurping Henry. There are no dates, except one on a square tower; I. L. 1570, when, I presume, it was re-built by John Lord Lumley.

The house is a noble repository of portraits of persons eminent in the sixteenth century.

The brave, impetuous, presuming, Robert, Earl of Essex, appears in full length, dressed in black; covered with white embroidery. A romantic nobleman, of parts without discretion; who fell a sacrifice to his own passions, and a vain dependance for safety on those of an aged queen, doting with unseasonable love; and a criminal credulity in the insinuation of his foes.

Sir Thomas More; a half length, dressed in that plainness of apparel which he used, when the dignity of office was laid aside: in a furred robe, with a coarse capuchin cap. He was the most virtuous, and the greatest character of his time; who, by a circumstance that might humiliate human nature, fell a victim for a religious adherence to his own opinion; after being a violent persecutor of others, for firmness to the dictates of their own conscience. To such inconsistencies are the best of mankind liable!

\* *Fœdera*, i. 835.

† *Dugdale*, Mon. ii. part. 11. p. 5.



The gallant, accomplished, poetical Earl of Surrey ; in black, with a sword and dagger, the date 1545. The ornament (says Mr. Walpole) of a boisterous, yet not unpolished court ; a victim to a jealous tyrant, and to family discord. The articles alleged against him, and his conviction, are the shame of the times.

A portrait of a lady in a singular dress of black and gold, with a red and gold petticoat, dated 1560. This is called Elizabeth, third wife of Edward Earl of Lincoln, the fair Geraldine, celebrated so highly by the Earl of Surrey ; but so ill-favoured in this picture, that I must give it to his first wife, Elizabeth Blount. Geraldine was the young wife of his old age. Her portrait at Woburn represents her an object worthy the pen of the amorous Surrey.

Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, son of the great Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. His dress a bonnet, furred cloak, small ruff, and pendant George. This peer followed the fortunes of his father, but was received into mercy, and restored in blood ; was created Earl of Warwick by Queen Elizabeth, and proved a gallant and faithful subject. He died in 1589, and lies under an elegant brass tomb in the chapel at Warwick.

Sir William Peter, or Petre, native of Devonshire, fellow of All-Souls college, and afterwards secretary of state to four princes ; Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary and Elizabeth. His prudence, in maintaining his post in reigns of such different tempers, is evident ; but in that of Mary he attended only to politics ; of Elizabeth, to religion\*.

The first Earl of Bedford, engraven among the illustrious heads.

A half-length of the famous eccentric physician and chymist of the fifteenth century, Philip Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombast de Hohenheim : on the picture is added also the title of Aureolus. The cures he wrought were so very surprising in that age, that he was supposed to have recourse to supernatural aid ; and probably, to give greater authority to his practice, he might insinuate that he joined the arts medical and magical. He is represented as a very handsome man, bald, in a close black gown, with both hands on a great sword, on whose hilt is inscribed the word Azot. This was the name of his familiar spirit, that he kept in prison in the pummel, to consult on emergent occasions. Butler humourously describes this circumstance :

Bombastus kept a devil's bird  
Shut in the pummel of his sword ;  
That taught him all the cunning pranks  
Of past or future mountebanks †.

A head of Sir Anthony Brown, a favourite of Henry VIII. with a bushy beard, bonnet, and order of the garter. He was master of the horse to that prince, and appointed by him one of the executors of his will ; and of the council to his young successor.

Two full lengths of John Lord Lumley : one in rich armour ; a grey beard ; dated 1588, æt. 54. the other in his robes, with a glove and handkerchief in one hand ; a little black skull cap, white beard ; dated 1591. This, I believe, was the performance of Richard Stevens, an able statuary, painter, and medallist, mentioned by Mr. Walpole †.

This illustrious nobleman restored the monuments that are in the neighbouring church, was a patron of learning, and a great collector of books, assisted by his brother-in-law, Humphrey Lhuyd, the famous antiquary. The books were afterwards pur-

\* Prince's Worthies of Devonshire, 498.

† Anecd. Painting, i. 161.

† Hudibras, part ii. c. iii.



chased by James I. and proved the foundation of the royal library. Mr. Granger says, that they are a very valuable part of the British Museum.

His first wife, Jane Fitzallan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel; in black robes, with gloves in her hand. She was a lady of uncommon learning, having translated, from the Greek into Latin, some of the orations of Isocrates, and the Iphigenia of Euripides into English. She compliments her father highly in a dedication to him, prefixed to one of the orations, which begins, "Cicero, Pater honoratissime, illustris." She died before him, and was buried at Cheame in Surrey \*.

The Earl himself, the last of that name; a three-quarters piece. His valour distinguished him in the reign of Henry VIII. when he ran with his squadron close under the walls of Boulogne, and soon reduced it. In the following reign, he opposed the misused powers of the unhappy protector, Somerset; and he declined connection with the great Northumberland. He supported the just rights of Queen Mary; was imprisoned by the former, but on the revolution was employed to arrest the abject fallen duke. He was closely attached to his royal mistress by similitude of religion. In his declining years, he aimed at being a husband to Queen Elizabeth †. Had her majesty deigned to put herself under the power of man, she never would have given the preference to age. On his disappointment, he went abroad; and, on his return, first introduced into England the use of coaches ‡.

A half length of that artful statesman, Robert Earl of Salisbury, minister of the last years of Elizabeth, and the first of James I.

Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Suffex, a full length; young and handsome: his body armed, the rest of his dress white; a staff in his right hand, his left resting on a sword; on a table a hat, with a vast plume. This motto, "amando et fidendo troppo, son ruinato." This nobleman was a considerable character in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth; frequently employed in embassies; in both reigns deputy of Ireland; and in the first, an active persecutor of the protestants. He conformed outwardly to the religion of his new mistress; was appointed by her president of the north, and commanded against, and suppressed, the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, notwithstanding he secretly approved the opinions they armed in favour of. He was the spirited rival of Leicester; but the death of Suffex left the event of their dispute undetermined.

Leicester, his antagonist, is here represented, in a three-quarter piece, dated 1587, with the collar of the garter, and a staff in his hand.

A fine full length of the Duke of Monmouth, with long hair, in armour.

A half length of Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse to Henry VIII. There is vast spirit in his countenance. In his hat is a white feather; his head is bound round with a gold stuff handkerchief. He was beheaded in 1539, as Lord Herbert says §, for being of council with the Marquis of Exeter, a favourer of the dreaded Cardinal Pole, then in exile. During the time of his confinement in the tower he imbibed the sentiments of the reformers, and died avowing their faith ||.

Killegrew, gentleman of the bed-chamber to Charles II. in a red sash, with his dog. A man of wit and humour; and on that account extremely in favour with the king.

A good half length of Mr. Thomas Windham, drowned on the coast of Guinea, aged 42, M. D. L. a robust figure, in green, with a red sash, and gun in his hand.

\* She was dead before December 30th, 1579, as appears by her father's will. Vide Ballard's British Ladies, 86.

† Camden's Annals. Kennet, 383.

‡ Idem.

§ Hist. Henry VIII. 439.

|| Hollinshed, 945.



A three-quarter length, unknown, dated 1596, aged 43, dressed in a striped jacket, blue and white; black cloak and breeches, white ruff, gloves on, collar of the garter.

Here are some illustrious foreigners. A half length, inscribed Fernandes de Toledo, Duke of Alva, in rich armour, with his baton; short black hair, and beard. A great officer, and fortunate till his reign of cruelty. He boasted, that he had caused, during his command in the Low Countries, eighteen thousand people to perish by the executioner. He visited England in the train of his congenial master, Phillip II. I imagine that this portrait was painted when the duke was young; for I have seen one (sent into England by the late Mr. Benjamin Keen) now in possession of the Bishop of Ely, which represents him with a vast flowing white beard.

A three-quarter length of Andrew Doria, the great Geonese admiral, and patriot. He is dressed in black, in a cap, a collar, with the fleece pendent; a truncheon in his hand, and a dagger in his girdle. View of ships through a window.

Garcia Sarmiento Cuna; a full length, in armour; a ruff, red stockings, white shoes, a cross on his breast, a spear in his hand. He was captain of the guard to Phillip II.

A three-quarter length of a man in a scarlet robe; and over his left shoulder a white mantle: a scarlet cap tied in the middle, and open behind; a narrow white ruff; and a collar of the fleece. The scarlet robe is furred with white: on it are several times repeated the words, *Ah! amprins au ra jay!* Oh! had I undertaken it!

In the hall is a tablet, with the whole history of Liulphus, and his progeny, inscribed on a tablet, surrounded with the family arms; and round the room seventeen pictures of his descendants, down to John Lord Lumley, who seemed to have a true veneration for his ancestors. Liulphus appears again in the kitchen, mounted on a horse of full size, and with a battle-ax in his hand. When James I. in one of his progresses, was entertained in this castle, William James, bishop of Durham, a relation of the house, in order to give his majesty an idea of the importance of the family, wearied him with a long detail of their ancestry, to a period even beyond belief. "O mon, says the king, gang na farther, let me digest the knowlege I ha gained; for, by my faul I did na ken that Adam's name was Lumley."

A little to the left, midway between Chester le street and Durham, lies Coken, the seat of Mr. Carr, a most romantic situation, laid out with great judgment; in former times the scene of the savage austerities of St. Godric. Before his arrival, here had been an ancient hermitage, given before the year 1128, by Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham\*, to the monks of Durham, who permitted that holy man to make it his residence; which he did, first with his sister †, and after her death entirely in solitude.

Attracted by the fame of the deceased, who died in 1170, some monks of Durham retired here. Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham, made them an allowance, and granted them by charter many privileges ‡; some call him founder of Finchale, the religious house, whose ruins are still considerable; but Tanner § gives that honour to his son Henry, who, about the year 1196, settled here a prior and monks of the Benedictine order, subordinate to Durham. It maintained, at the dissolution, a prior and eight monks; when it was regranted to the dean and chapter, its value, according to Dugdale, was 122l. 15s. 3d.

Proceed towards Durham. Near the city, on the right, stood Nevil's Cross, erected in memory of the signal victory over David Bruce of Scotland, in 1346. The army of

\* Dugdale's Monast. i. 512, where is Flambard's charter. He died in 1128.

† Gulielm. Neubrigienfis, ii. c. 20.

‡ Dugdale, i. 513.

§ 114.



the English was commanded by the two archbishops and three suffragans, in conjunction with some noble lay-officers. The action was attended with great loss to the Scots; whose king, after shewing the utmost valour, was taken prisoner by an Englishman of the name of Copland.

After admiring the beautiful situation of the city from an adjacent hill, enter Durham; a place of Saxon foundation; the original name was Dun-holme, from Dun, a hill, and holme an isle, formed by a river \*. But it is only a lofty narrow peninsula, washed on each side by the Were, the Viurus of the venerable Bede †. The city is disposed on the side of the hill, and along part of the neighbouring flat, and the buildings in general are very ancient. The approaches to it are extremely picturesque, especially that from the south, through a deep hollow, finely clothed with trees. The banks of the river are covered with woods, through which are cut numbers of walks, contrived with judgment, and happy in the most beautiful and solemn scenery. They impend over the water, and receive a most venerable improvement from the castle and ancient cathedral, which tower far above.

This hill, till about the year 995, was an errant desert, over-run with wood, and uninhabitable. At that period, the religious of Cuneacestre, having, through fear of the Danish pirates, removed the body of St. Cuthbert to Rippon, on their return back, when the danger was over, met with an admonition that determined them to deposit it in this place ‡. The corpse and the body became suddenly immoveable; no force could draw it a step farther. It was revealed to St. Eadmer, that it should be brought to Durham, and, on that resolution, a slight strength removed it to the destined spot. With the assistance of the Earl of Northumberland, the wood was soon cleared away; a church arose in honour of the saint, composed indeed of no better materials than rods. But this seems to have been only a temporary temple, for the whole country flocking in, assisted in building one of stone, which cost three years' labour. A provost and secular canons were established here; these continued till about the year 1083, when William de Carilepho § removed them, placing in their room a prior and monks of the Benedictine order.

The Saxons of these parts, unwilling to submit to the Norman yoke, retired to this as a place of strength, and built a fortress, for a time a great annoyance to the Conqueror. This they called Dunholme. The Dun, or artificial hill, on which the great tower is built, was of their work. On the approach of William, the Saxons quitted their post. He possessed himself of so advantageous a situation, and founded the castle. This afterwards became the residence of the prelates, and, by ancient custom, the keys were, during a vacancy of the see, hung over the tomb of the tutelar St. Cuthbert. The ambitious prelate, Hugh Pudsey, nephew to King Stephen, repaired and rebuilt several parts, which, during his time, had suffered by fire ||. Hatfield, a munificent prelate in the reign of Edward III., restored such parts as he found in ruins, rebuilt the great hall, and that belonging to the constable, and added a great tower for the farther security of the place ¶. To the mild and amiable Tunstall is owing the magnificent gate, the chapel, and some adjacent buildings \*\*; and to Bishop Cosins, the first prelate of the see after the Restoration, the present beauty and magnificence of the place, after the cruel havock made here by the brutal Haselrig.

\* Camden, ii. 946.

† Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 18.

‡ Hist. of the Cathedral of Durham, annexed to Dugdale's St. Paul, p. 64.

§ Stevens's Contin. Dugdale, vol. i. 350.

|| Mr. Allan.

¶ Hist. Cath. Durham, Dugdale, 79.

\*\* Goodwin, 139.



The city, or rather the precincts of the abby and castle, were surrounded with a wall, by Ralph Flambard \*, in the beginning of the reign of Henry I. The admission was through three gateways: Framwell-gate, at the head of a bridge of the same name; Claypath-gate, near the market-place; and the Water-gate, beneath the end of the Prebendaries' Walk. I do not find, that at any time the strength of the place was ever tried by a siege.

The cathedral stands below the castle. It was begun in 1093, by William de Carilepho, bishop of the diocese, who pulled down the old church, built by Aldwin. In this work he was assisted by Malcolm I. of Scotland, and Turgot, the second prior, and his monks; who, at their own expence, and at the same time, made their own cells, and other conveniences for the monastery.

Ralph Flambard, successor to Carilepho, had the honour of completing this superb structure, with exception of certain additions, such as the Galilee †, which was built by bishop Pudsey; the stone roof, which was done by bishop Farnham, in the time of Henry III. Bishop Skirlaw, in the reign of Richard II. built the cloisters; prior Fossor beautified it with several fine windows, and enriched both the church and convent with variety of new works; and prior Walworth finished whatsoever his pious predecessor was prevented by death from bringing to a conclusion ‡.

The revenues of this house at the dissolution are estimated by Dugdale at 1366l. 10s. 5d., by Speed at 1615l. 14s. 10d. The value of the bishoprick, at that time, 2821l. 1s. 5d. clear §. The reader is referred to Willis's History of Cathedrals, i. 222. for the establishment and its revenue after that period.

This magnificent pile is 411 feet long, the breadth near 80, the cross isle 170; over its centre rises a lofty tower, reckoned 223 feet high, ornamented on the outside with Gothic work; at the west end are two low towers, once topt with two spires, covered with lead. In the inside is preserved much of the clumsy, yet venerable magnificence of the early Norman style. The pillars are vast cylinders, twenty-three feet in circumference; some adorned with zig-zag furrows, others with lozenge-shaped, with narrow ribs, or with spiral; the arches round, carved with zig-zag; above are two rows of galleries, each with round arches or openings.

A row of small pilasters run round the sides of the church, with rounded arches intersecting each other. The windows are obtusely pointed.

Between two of the pillars are the mutilated tombs and figures of Ralph and John Lord Nevil. Excepting Richard de Bernardcastre, who in 1370 erected a shrine in honor of Bede, these seem to have been the only laity admitted into this holy ground in the earlier times.

Ralph died in the year 1347, and was the first secular that was buried in this cathedral: his body was conveyed in a chariot drawn by seven horses as far as the churchyard, then carried on the shoulders of knights into the middle of the church; where the abbot of St. Mary's at York, in the absence of the bishop, or illness of the prior, performed the funeral office; at which were offered eight horses, four for war, with four men armed, and four for peace; and three cloths of gold interwoven with flowers. His son John de Nevil redeemed four of the horses, at the price of a hundred marks. But this favour was not done gratis by the holy men of the place. Ralph had presented them with a vestment of red velvet, richly embroidered with gold, silk, great pearls and images of saints, dedicated to St. Cuthbert. His widow also sent to the sacrist a hundred and twenty pounds of silver, for the repairs of the cathedral, and

\* Goodwin, 112.

† Ibid. 114.

‡ Stevens, i. 152.

§ Tanner, 111.

several



several rich vestments for the performance of the sacred offices \*. This was the nobleman who was so instrumental in gaining the victory of Nevil's Cross.

His son John had also his merits with the pietists of this church; for, by the magnificent offerings he made at the funeral of his first wife, and by some elegant and expensive work beneath the shrine of St. Cuthbert, in 1389, he obtained admission for his remains in a spot not remote from his father †. Both their monuments are greatly mutilated; having been defaced by the Scotch prisoners, confined here after the battle of Dunbar.

In the choir is the bishop's throne, elevated to an uncommon height, erected in times of the triumph of superstition: a painful ascent to the present prelate, whose wish is directed more to distinguish himself by benevolence and sincerity, than any exterior trappings, or badges of dignity.

On the sides of the pulpit are the evangelists, finely inlaid.

The chancel and altar-piece is of stone, beautifully cut into open work ‡, and on each side are two stalls, in stone, originally designed for the resting-places of sick votaries.

On one side of the choir is the tomb of bishop Hatfield, who died in 1381, ornamented with as many coats of arms as would serve any German prince. Multitudes of other prelates and priors rested in this church, covered with beautiful tombs and brasses, swept away by the hand of sacrilege in the time of Henry VIII., or of undistinguishing reformation in succeeding reigns, or of fanaticism, in the unhappy times of the last century.

Behind the altar stood the shrine of St. Cuthbert, once the richest in Great Britain: the marks of pilgrims' feet in the worn floor still evince the multitude of votaries; at the dissolution, his body was taken out of the tomb and interred beneath.

Beyond this, at the extreme east end, stood nine altars, dedicated to as many saints; above each is a most elegant window, extremely narrow, lofty, and sharply arched; above these, is a round window, very large and finely radiated with stone work, called St. Catharine's, from its being in the form of the wheel used at her martyrdom. In this part of the church is another fine window, divided into circular portions. All the windows in this isle terminate sharply; and were the work of a later age than that of the body of the church, probably the time of prior Fossor.

The Galilee, or lady's chapel, lies at the west end of the cathedral. Within are three rows of pillars, each consisting of round united columns, the arches round, sculptured on the mouldings with zig zag work §. This place was allotted to the female part of the votaries, who were never permitted to pass a certain line to the east of it, drawn just before the font. Here they might stand to hear divine service, but were confined to this limit on pain of excommunication. Legend assigns as the cause of this aversion in St. Cuthbert to the fair sex, a charge of seduction brought against him by a certain princess, who was instantly punished by being swallowed up by the earth, which, on the intercession of the pacified saint, restored her to the king her father. From that time, not a woman was permitted to enter any church dedicated to this holy man. Mr. Grose || relates, that in the fifteenth century two females, instigated by invincible curiosity, dressing themselves in man's apparel, ventured beyond the prohibitory line, were detected, and suffered certain penances as atonement for their crime.

\* Dugdale's Baron. i. 295.

† Idem, 297.

‡ Designed in Smith's edition of Bede, 264.

§ See the view of it in Smith's edition of Bede, 805.

|| In his account of Durham cathedral, in his third volume.



In the Galilee is the tomb of the venerable Bede. His remains were first deposited at Jarrow, then placed in a golden coffin on the right side of the body of St. Cuthbert; and finally, in 1370, translated by Richard of Barnard-castle to this place.

The tomb of bishop Langley is near that of Bede. This prelate was chancellor of England in the reign of Henry IV. but resigned that high post, on being consecrated bishop of Durham. He obtained the cardinal's hat in 1411, and, after doing many acts of munificence, died in 1437.

In the vestry-room is preserved the rich plate belonging to the cathedral; and here are shewn five most superb vestments for the sacred service: four are of great antiquity, the fifth was given by Charles I.

The cloisters adjacent to the church are 147 feet square, and very neat. The chapter-house opens into them: is a plain building, in form of a theatre; on the sides are pilasters, the arches intersecting each other. At the upper end is a stone chair, in old times the seat of the bishop.

The old Fraternity was converted into a noble library by dean Sudbury, who, not living to complete his design, by will dated 1683, bound his heir Sir John Sudbury, to fulfil his intention. This is likewise the repository of the altars, and other Roman antiquities, discovered in the bishoprick. The dormitory, the loft, the kitchen, and other parts of the ancient abbey, are still existing, and still of use to the present possessors.

The prebendal houses are very pleasantly situated, and have backwards a most beautiful view. After the subversion of monarchy, Cromwell, in 1657, on the petition of the inhabitants of the county\*, converted the houses belonging to the dean and chapter into an university, and assigned certain lands and revenues in the neighbourhood of the city for its support. This short-lived seminary consisted of a provost, two preachers, four professors, four tutors, four school-masters (fellows,) twenty-four scholars, twelve exhibitioners, and eighteen free-school scholars. They had liberty of purchasing lands as far as six thousand pounds a year; had a common seal, and many other privileges. On the accession of Richard, these new academics were not wanting in gratitude to the memory of their maker; for, in their address to the successor, they compared Cromwell to Augustus, and gave him the praises of our fifth Henry, the prudence of our seventh Henry, and the piety of our sixth Edward; and recommended to the "vital beams of the piteous aspect of his son, his new erection, an orphan scarce bound up in its swaddling cloaths." This orphan thrived apace; it endeavoured to confer degrees, and mimic its grown-up sisters of Oxford and Cambridge, who checked its presumptions by petitions to the new Protector. But in less than two years the ill-patched machine of government fell to pieces, and with it this new seminary for knowledge.

There are two handsome bridges to the walks over the Were: from one the prospect is particularly fine, towards the cathedral and castle; and another bounded on each side by wood, with the steeple of Elvet, a place adjoining to Durham, soaring above. There is also a third bridge, which joins the two parts of the town, and is covered with houses.

I had heard on my road many complaints of the ecclesiastical government this county is subject to; but, from the general face of the country, it seems to thrive wonderfully well under it. Notwithstanding the bishops have still great powers and privileges, yet they were stripped of still greater by statute of the 27th of Henry VIII. In the time of the Conqueror it was a maxim, *quicquid rex habet extra comitatum Dunelmensem*,

\* Mr. Allan.



*episcopus habet intra, nisi aliqua sit concessio, aut prescriptio in contrarium.* They had power to levy taxes, make truces with the Scots, to raise defensible men within the bishoprick from sixteen to sixty years of age. They could call a parliament, and create barons to sit and vote in it. He could sit in his purple robes to pronounce sentence of death, whence the saying, *solum Dunelmense judicat stola et ense.* He could coin money, hold courts in his own name, and all writs went in his own name. He claimed and seized for his own use all goods, chattels, and lands of persons convicted of treasons or felonies; could appoint the great officers under him, and do variety of acts emulating the royal authority\*. He was lord paramount in the county, and the great people held most of their lands from the church. Thus the potent Nevils paid four pounds and a stag annually for Raby, and eight other manors. Two of the tenures are singular; I beg leave to present them to the reader in the form I had the honour of receiving them from the present worthy prelate.

"The valuable manor of Sockburn, the seat of the ancient family of the Conyers, in the county palatine of Durham, is held by the Blackett family, of the bishop of Durham, by the easy service of presenting a falchion to every bishop upon his first entrance into his diocese, as an emblem of his temporal power. When the present bishop made his first entrance in the month of Sept. 1771, he was met upon the middle of Croft bridge, (where the counties of York and Durham divide,) by Mr. Blackett, as substitute for his brother Sir Edward, who presented his Lordship with the falchion, addressing him in the antient form of words:

"Sir Edward Blackett, Bart. now represents the person of John Conyers, who, in the fields, with this falchion †, slew a monstrous creature, a dragon, a worm, or a flying serpent ‡, that devoured men, women, and children. The then owner of Sockburn, as a reward for his bravery, gave him the manor, with its appurtenances to hold for ever, on condition that he meets the Lord Bishop of Durham with this falchion, on his first entrance into his diocese after his election to that see."

"At Croft Bridge the bishop was also met by the high-sheriff of the county palatine, who is an officer of his own by patent during pleasure, by the members for the county and city of Durham; and by all the principal gentlemen in the county and neighbourhood, to welcome his Lordship into his palatinate, who conducted him to Darlington, where they all dined with him, after which they proceeded to Durham. Before they reached the city, they were met by the dean and chapter, with their congratulatory address; the bishop and the whole company alighted from their carriages to receive them; when the ceremony of the address, and his Lordship's answer was finished, the procession moved on to the city; here they were met by the corpora-

\* These and many more are preserved in *Magna Britannia*, l. 615. See also *Spearman's Inquiry*.

† Legend gives some other particulars of this valiant knight; which Mr. Allan extracted from the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS No 2118. p. 39:

"Sir Jno. Conyers de Sockburn, Knt. whose slew the monstrous venom'd and poison'd wivern, ask, or worme, wch overthrowed and devour'd many people in feight, for the scent of the poyson was so strong that noe person was able to abide it, yet he by the providence of God overthrowed it, and lies buried at Sockburn before the Conquest. But before he did enterprise (having but one childe) he went to the church in complete armour, and offered up his sonne to the Holy Ghost, wch monument is yet to see, and the place where the serpent lay is called Graystone."

‡ On the pommel are three lions of England, guardant. These were first borne by King John, so that this falchion was not made before that time, nor did the owner kill the dragon. The black eagle in a field, gold, was the arms of Morcar, Earl of Northumberland. This too might be the falchion with which the earls were invested, being girt with the sword of the earldom.

The Scots seem to have been intended by these dreadful animals; and the falchion bestowed with an estate, as a reward for some useful service performed by a Conyers against those invaders.



tion; the different companies with their banners, and a great concourse of people; they proceeded immediately to the cathedral, where the bishop was habited upon the tomb of the venerable Bede, in the Galilee, at the west end of the church; from whence he went in procession to the great altar, preceded by the whole choir singing *Te Deum*; after prayers the bishop took the oaths at the altar, and was then enthroned in the usual forms, and attended to the castle by the high-sheriff and other gentlemen of the county. Pollard's lands, in this county, are holden of the bishop by the same kind of service as the manor of Sockburn. At his Lordship's first coming to Aukland, Mr. Johnson met the present bishop at his first arrival there, and, presenting the falchion upon his knee, addressed him in the old form of words, saying, 'My Lord, in behalf of myself, as well as of the several other tenants of Pollard's lands, I do humbly present your Lordship with this falchion, at your first coming here, wherewith, as the tradition goes, Pollard slew of old a great and venomous serpent, which did much harm to man and beast; and by the performance of this service these lands are holden.'

Sept. 6. Leave Durham, and journey through a beautiful country, having near the city views of lands, broken into most delightful and cultivated knowls; and, on the left, of fine hanging woods; the land much inclosed, and the hedges planted. On the right lies Brancepeth castle, originally the seat of the Bulmers, afterwards that of the Nevils, Earls of Westmoreland, forfeited by the rebellion of the last in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The great steeple of Merrington is seen on the left. Turn out of the high road, and pass through the bishop's grounds and park, and enjoy a fine view of the Were, running along a deep bottom, bounded by wooded and well-cultivated banks. On the south side stands

Bishop's-Aukland, a good town, with a large and square market-place. On one side is a handsome gateway, with a tower over it. This is a modern edifice, designed by Sir Thomas Robinson; that built by bishop Skirlaw\* having been long since destroyed. Through this gateway lies Aukland castle, long since the residence of the bishops of Durham. It has lost its castellated form, and now resembles some of the magnificent foreign abbies. It is an irregular pile, built at different times; but no part is left that can boast of any great antiquity. Over a bow-window are the arms of Bishop Tunstall, who died in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. This was originally a manor-house belonging to the see, and was first encastellated† by bishop Beke; who also built a great hall, and adorned it with marble pillars; he founded a fair chapel, and collegiate church, with a dean and prebends, which church is that of St. Andrew's, at a small distance from the town. Excepting the church, there are no relicks of the labours of this prelate; the place having been bestowed by the parliament on their furious partizan Sir Arthur Haselrigg, who, taking a fancy to the place, determined to make it his chief residence. He demolished almost all the buildings he found there, and out of their ruins erected a most magnificent house‡.

On the Restoration, the former bishop, the munificent Cosins, was restored to his diocese. He had a palace ready for his reception, but by an excess of piety declined making use of it, from the consideration that the stones of the ancient chapel had been sacrilegiously applied towards the building of this late habitation of fanaticism. The bishop pulled it down§, and restoring the materials to their ancient use, built the present elegant chapel. The roof is wood, supported by two rows of pillars, each consisting of four round columns, freestone and marble alternate. The shafts of some of

\* Leland, Itin. i. 73.

† Ibid.

‡ Hist. Ch. Durham, Dugdale, 82.

§ Ibid.



the marble are sixteen feet high; the length of the chapel is eighty-four feet, the breadth forty-eight; the outside ornamented with pinnacles. On the floor, a plain stone, with a modest epitaph, informs us that the pious refounder lies beneath, dying in the year 1671.

The principal apartments are an old hall, seventy-five feet by thirty-two, the height thirty-five; and a very handsome dining-parlour, ornamented with portraits of Jacob and the twelve patriarchs. Jacob bows under the weight of years: his sons, with each his scriptural attribute. The figures are animated; the colouring good. I think the painter's name is Xubero, one I do not discover in any list of artists. The pictures were bought by the present, from the executors of the late bishop, and bestowed on the palace. The late generous prelate built a suite of additional apartments; but dying before they were completed, they are now furnished in a most magnificent manner by his successor.

On the old wainscot of a room below stairs are painted the arms of a strange assemblage of potentates, from Queen Elizabeth, with all the European princes, to the Emperors of Abyssinia, Bildelgerid, Cathaye, and Tartaria; sixteen peers of the same reign, knights of the garter, and above them the arms of every bishoprick in England.

The castle is seated in a beautiful park, watered by the little river Gaunlefs, which falls, after a short course, into the Were. The park is well planted, and has abundance of vast alders, that by age have lost the habit of that tree, and assume the appearance of ancient oaks. Nothing can equal the approach through this ground to the castle, which is varied with verdant slopes, rising grounds, woods, and deep precipices, impending over the river. The great deer-house, built by bishop Trevor, is an elegant square building, and no small embellishment to the place. Leland tells us, that in his time there was a fair park, having fallow deer, wild bulles, and kin.

On an eminence on the opposite side of the Were is Bincheffter, the ancient Vinovia, where several Roman coins, altars, and inscriptions have been found. Several of the latter are worked up in the walls of a gentleman's house on the station, but now scarcely legible. An account of them may be seen in Mr. Horsely, p. 295. Urns full of ashes and bones, and figuline lacrymatories, have been also found in the park, where the station probably extended. A military way may be traced from this place as far as Brancespeth-park one way, and the other by Aukland to Peirce-bridge into Yorkshire.

Sept. 7. Proceed for a little way from Aukland on the Roman way: leave on the left, at a mile and a half distance from the town, the church of St. Andrew's Aukland, once collegiate, and well endowed by Antony bishop of Durham. At the dissolution here were found a dean and eleven prebends\*. A house called the deanery still remains. The chief tomb in this church is that of a Pollard; a cross-legged knight, armed in mail to his fingers' ends, with a skirt, formed of stripes, reaching to his knees, a short sword, and conic helm.

Pass through St. Helens-Aukland and West-Aukland, and after a short digression fall in with the old Roman road, which continues to Peirce or Priest-bridge, where was once a chapel, founded by John Baliol, King of Scotland, and dedicated to the Virgin†. The gateway is still standing, in what is called the Chapel-garth. Till Leland's time the bridge consisted of five arches, but he says that of late it was rebuilt with three. The Tees flow beneath in a picturesque channel finely shaded on each side with trees. Near this bridge, in a field called the Tofts, had been a considerable Roman station: urns and coins in abundance have been discovered there. A stone coffin, with

\* Tanner, 116.

† Leland Itin. i. 88.



a skeleton, is mentioned by bishop Gibson; but that I apprehend to be of more modern date. The foundations of houses have been observed; and Mr. Horsely imagines he could trace an aqueduct. He supposes this place to have been the *Magæ* of the *Notitia*. I must observe that the Roman road is continued in a direct line between the roads to Barnard-Castle and Darlington, and is continued over a small brook; and through the inclosure parallel to the Tosts, when it crosses the river about two hundred and sixty paces east of the bridge, and then falls into the turnpike-road to Catterick-bridge. The whole breadth of the road is still to be traced; and the stones it is formed of appear to be strongly cemented with run lime. The Romans had here a wooden bridge: the materials, such as the bodies of oaks, and several stoops, were to be seen till washed away by the great floods of 1771. On crossing the Tees enter Yorkshire.

After a ride of a few miles pass through Aldbrough, now a little village, but once a place of eminence, as its ruins, observed by Camden, evince. In the time of Henry I. Stephen Earl of Albemarle and Holderness had a manor and castle here, the tythes of which he bestowed on the abbey of Albemarle in Normandy\*; and that abbey in the reign of Richard II. granted them to the abbey of Kirkstall†. Henry III. again bestowed the place on Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent. By failure of issue, it fell to the crown in the time of Henry IV., who gave it to his third son, John Duke of Bedford‡.

Pass over a large common, called Gatherley moor, and by the sides of the Double-dike, or Roman-hedge; a vast foss, with banks on each side, extending from the Tees to the Swale. On the right is Diderston hill, whether a tumulus or exploratory, was too distant for me to determine. After descending a hill, pass by Gilling, where Alan Fergaunt, Earl of Bretagne and Richmond, had a capital mansion-house§. This place was infamous for the murder of Oswyn, King of Deira, by his successor Oswy; but his Queen Æanfled obtained permission from her husband to found here a monastery, in order to expiate so horrible a crime. At this time the place was called Ingetling, and was destroyed in the Danish wars||. Reach

Richmond, a good town, seated (in a shire of the same name) partly on a flat, and partly on the side of a hill: on the last is the market-place, a handsome opening, in which is the chapel of the Trinity, and in the middle a large column instead of the old cross. The trade of this place is that of knit woollen stockings, in which men, women, and children are employed, the neighbourhood supplying the wool. The stockings are chiefly exported into Holland. Much wheat is sold here, and sent into the mountainous parts of the country.

There were several religious houses in this place and its neighbourhood. In the town, on the plain on the north side, was a house of grey friars¶, founded in 1258 by Ralph Fitz-Randal, Lord of Middleham, and had at the dissolution fourteen monks. Nothing remains excepting the beautiful tower of its church. Near this was also a nunnery\*\*. About a mile east of Richmond are the fine ruins of St. Agatha, seated at the end of some beautiful meadows, upon the river Swale. It was founded in 1151 by Roaldus, constable of Richmond castle; and at the time of the Reformation maintained seventeen white canons, or Premonstratensian monks. The abbot and religious, in 1253, agreed with Henry Fitz-Ranulph, that he should hold of them in pure and perpetual alms their possessions of Kerperby, on condition he paid them annually one pound of cummin seed, a drug in no small esteem in old times††. Richard Scroope, chancellor

\* Dugdale, Monast. i. 588.

† Idem, 589.

‡ Magna Britannia, vi. 608.

§ Dugdale, Baron. i. 46.

|| Bede, lib. ii. c. 14. 24.

¶ Tanner, 685.

\*\* Idem, 672.

†† Dugdale, Mon. ii. 650. And for the virtues of cummin seed consult Old Gerard's Herbal, 1066.



of England, was a great benefactor to this place; for, besides his manor of Brumpton-upon-Swale, he granted a hundred and fifty pounds a year for the support of ten additional canons, two secular canons, and twenty-two poor men, who were to pray for the repose of his soul, and those of his heirs\*. The ruins are very venerable, and the magnificent arch-work in the inside are fine proofs of the skill of the times in that species of architecture. The arch of the gateway is extremely obtuse; that of the windows greatly pointed.

Near this place was a hospital, dedicated to St. Nicholas. I cannot learn the founder's name, but find it was repaired in the time of Henry VI., who gave the patronage to William Ayscough, one of his judges; who restored the hospital at great expence, and added another chauntry priest to the former†.

Nearer to Richmond, on an eminence above the river, are the poor reliques of St. Martin's, a cell of nine or ten Benedictines, dependent on the abbey of St. Mary, at York. It was founded in 1100 by Wymar, chief steward to the Earl of Richmond‡. Besides these, were various other pious foundations on the Swale, whose waters were sacred with the baptism of ten thousand Saxons near Catterick, in 627, by Paulinus bishop of York§.

It now remains to speak of the fortifications of this ancient town: part had been defended by walls, which took in little more than the market-place, and had three gates: The castle stands on the south-west part of the hill, in a lofty and bold situation, above the Swale, and half environed by it. The remains are the walls of the precinct, some small square towers, and one very large, all built in the Norman style. This fortress was founded by Alan Earl of Bretagne||, nephew to the Conqueror, who commanded the rear of his army at the battle of Hastings, was created by him Earl of Richmond, and received from him the shire of the same name, and a hundred and sixty manors in the county of York alone. This country had been before the property of the brave Edwin, Earl of Mercia. The great tower was built by Conan, grandson of the former, the vault of which is supported by a fine octagonal pillar. The view from the castle is picturesque; beneath is the seat of Mr. York, and beyond, a prospect up the Swale into the mountainous parts of the country, rich in mineral; and on the banks of the river lived Sir John Swale, of Swale-hall, in Swale-dale, fast upon the river Swale.

Cross the river, and after passing over a dreary moor, descend into a valley not more pleasant, being totally inclosed with stone fences. Go through the small towns of Bilsley and Leybourne; and soon after find an agreeable change of country, at the entrance of Wensley-dale, a beautiful and fertile vale, narrow, bounded by high hills, inclosed with hedges, and cultivated far up, in many parts cloathed with woods, surmounted with long ranges of scars, white rocks, smooth and precipitous in front, and perfectly even at their tops. The rapid crystal Ure divides the whole, fertilizing the rich meadows with its stream.

See on the left Middleham castle. The manor was bestowed by Alan Earl of Richmond on his younger brother, Rinebald. His grandson, styled Robert Fitz-Ralph, receiving from Conan Earl of Richmond all Wensley-dale, founded this castle about the year 1190. By the marriage of his daughter and coheir to Robert de Nevil¶, it passed into that family in the year 1269. In this place Edward IV. suffered a short imprisonment, after being surprised by Richard Nevill, the great Earl of Warwick, and committed to the custody of his brother, the archbishop of York, who proving too in-

\* Dugdale, Mon. ii. 650.

|| Dugdale's Baron. i. 46.

† Idem, 479.

¶ Idem, i. 291.

‡ Idem, i. 401 to 404.

§ Bede, lib. ii. c. 14.



dulgent a keeper, soon lost his royal prisoner, by permitting him the pleasure of the chase unguarded. The ruin of his house ensued. On its forfeiture, Richard Duke of York became possessed of it, and here lost his only son Edward. He who had made so many childless, felt in this misfortune the stroke of heaven. It is a vast building; its towers steep, and turrets square. Part was the work of Fitz-Ralph; part of the Lord Nevill, called Darabi\*. The hall, kitchen, and chapel, were built by Beaumont bishop of Durham†. It was inhabited as late as the year 1609, by Sir Henry Lindley, knight‡.

Visit the church of Wensley. On the floor are several carved figures on the stones, probably in memory of certain Scroopes interred there§. Also a figure of Oswald Dykes, in his priestly vestments, with a chalice in his hand. The inscription says that he had been rector of the parish, and died in 1607. I presume by his habit he was only nominal rector. Lord Chancellor Scroope designed to make this church collegiate, and obtained licence for that purpose from Richard II.; but it does not appear that the intent was ever executed.

At a little distance beyond the church is a neat bridge of considerable antiquity, which Leland speaks of as "the fayre bridge of three or four arches, that is on Ure, at Wencelaw, a mile or more above Middleham, made two hundred yer ago and more, by one caulld Alwine, parson of Wincelaw."

Visit Bolton house, a seat of the Duke of Bolton, finished about the year 1678, by Charles Marquis of Winchester. Here are a few portraits of the Scroops, the ancient owners.

A head of Henry Lord Scroope, one of the lords who subscribed the famous letter to the pope, threatening his holiness that if he did not permit the divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine, that they would reject his supremacy.

Helena Clifford, his wife, daughter to the Earl of Cumberland. Here is another head of a daughter of Lord Dacres; third wife, according to Dugdale||, of the same Lord Scroope.

Another Henry, warden of the west marches in the reign of Elizabeth, in whose custody Mary Stuart remained for some time after her flight to her faithless rival.

His wife Margaret, daughter to Henry Earl of Surry. After the disgrace of the Earl of Essex, this lady alone stood firm to him; "for," says Rowland White, "she endures much at her Majesty's hands, because she doth daily doe all the kynd offices of love to the Queen in his behalf. She weares all black, she mournes, and is pensive; and joies in nothing but in a solitary being alone; and it is thought she saies much that few would venter to say but herself¶."

A head of the same lord, inscribed "Lord Harrie Scroope, Baron of Bolton, one of the tilters before Queene Elizabeth, at the first triumphe at the crownacion, æt. 22, 1558\*\*." To these may be added the head of his son, Thomas Lord Scroope; and his son again, Lord Emanuel, created by Charles I. Earl of Sunderland, who died the last of this line.

Cross the Ure, on a bridge of two arches, and have from it a fine view of the river above and below, each bank regularly bounded by trees like an avenue. On the right is Bolton castle, built, says Leland, by Richard Scroope, chancellor of England under Richard II., after eighteen years labour, and at the expence of a thousand marks a year.

\* Leland.

† Willis's Cathedrals, i. 240.

‡ Mr. Grose.

§ Leland, Itin. viii. 17.

¶ Dugdale, Baron. i. 657.

|| Sidney's State Papers, ii. 132. This letter is dated Oct. 11, 1589.

\*\* He was one of the knights challengers on the occasion.



Most of the timber employed was brought from Engleby forest, in Cumberland, drawn by draughts of oxen, successively changed. He also founded here a chauntry for six priests\*. The integrity of the chancellor soon lost him the favour of his master; for on his refusal to put the seals to the exorbitant grants made to some of the worthless favourites, the King demanded them from him; at first he declined obedience, declaring he received them from the parliament, not his Majesty †.

This castle is noted for having been the first place of confinement of Mary Stuart, who was removed from Carlisle to this fortress, under the care of the noble owner. Several of her letters are dated from hence. In the civil wars it underwent a siege by the parliament forces; and was, on Nov. 5, 1645, on conditions, surrendered, with great quantities of stores and ammunition ‡.

The building is square, with a vast square tower at each corner, in which were the principal apartments. Leland observes the singular manner in which the smoke was conveyed from the chimnies of the great hall, by tunnels made in the walls, conveying it within the great piers between the windows. This castle, and the great possessions belonging to it in these parts, are the property of the Duke of Bolton, derived by the marriage of his ancestor, Charles Marquis of Bolton, with Mary, natural daughter of Emanuel Scroope, Earl of Sunderland, last male heir of this ancient house.

Reach Aysgarth §, or Aysgarth-Force, remarkable for the fine arch over the Ure, built in 1539. The scenery above and below is most uncommonly picturesque. The banks on both sides are lofty, rocky, and darkened with trees. Above the bridge two regular precipices cross the river, down which the water falls in two beautiful cascades, which are seen to great advantage from below. The gloom of the pendent trees, the towering steeple of the church above, and the rage of the waters beneath the ivy-bound arch, form all together a most romantic view.

A little lower down are other falls; but the finest is at about half a mile distance, where the river is crossed by a great scar, which opens in the middle, and forms a magnificent flight of steps, which grows wider and wider from top to bottom, the rock on each side forming a regular wall. The river falls from step to step, and at the lowest drops in a rocky channel, filled with circular basins, and interrupted for some space with lesser falls. The eye is finely directed to this beautiful cataract by the scars that bound the river, being lofty, precipitous, and quite of a smooth front, and their summits fringed with hollies and other trees.

Near Aysgarth, or, as the cataracts are called, Aysgarth-Force, was founded the convent of white monks, brought from Savigny, in France, by Akaries Fitz-Bardolf, in 1145. They were subject to Byland, and received from thence in 1150, an abbot and twelve monks, who were afterwards removed to the neighbouring abbey of Jervaux ||, This was called, from the cataracts, Fors, also Wandesley-dale, and de Charitate.

Cross the ridge that divides Wensley-dale from another charming valley, called Bishopdale. All the little inclosures are nearly of the same size and form, and the meadows are laid out with the utmost regularity. It appeared as if in this spot, the plan of the Spartan legislator had taken place; "It resembled the possessions of brethren, who had just been dividing their inheritance among them."

Before I quite these delicious tracts, I must remark, that from Leybourne to their extremity there is scarcely a mile but what is terminated by a little town; and every spot even far up the hills, embellished with small neat houses. Industry and competence

\* Leland. Itin. viii. 18, 19.

† Rapin, i. 459.

‡ Whitelock, 179.

§ I think the old name was Attscarre.

|| Tanner, 658.



seem to reign among these happy regions, and, Highland as they are, seem distinguished by those circumstances from the slothful but honest natives of some of the Scottish Alps. Mittens and knit stockings are their manufactures. The hills produce lead; the vallies cattle, horses; sheep, wool, butter, and cheese.

Ascend a steep a mile in length, and at the top arrive on a large plain, a pass between the hills. After two miles descend into a mere glen, watered by the Wharf; ride through Buckden, and Star-bottom, two villages, and lie at Kettlewel, a small mine town. There are many lead-mines about the place, and some coal; but peat is the general fuel, and oat-cakes, or bannocks, the usual bread.

October 9. Continue our journey along a pleasant vale. Ride beneath Kilnfey-scar, a stupendous rock, ninety-three yards high, more than perpendicular, for it overhangs at top in a manner dreadful to the traveller. The road bad, made of broken limestones uncovered. This vale ends in a vast theatre of wood, and gave me the idea of an American scene. Ascend, and get into a hilly and less pleasing country. Overtake many droves of cattle and horses, which had been at grass the whole summer in the remotest part of Craven, where they were kept from nine shillings to forty per head, according to their size. Reach

Skipton, a good town, seated in a fertile expanded vale. It consists principally of one broad street, the church and castle terminating the upper end. The castle is said to have been originally built by Robert de Romely, Lord of the honour of Skipton. By failure of male issue, it fell to William Fitz Duncan, Earl of Murray, who married the daughter of Romely. William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, by marriage with her daughter, received as portion her grandfather's estates. It fell afterwards by females to other families, such as William de Mandevil, Earl of Essex, to William de Fortibus, and Baldwin de Betun. In the time of Richard I. Avelin, daughter to a second William de Fortibus, a minor, succeeded. She became ward of King Henry III. who, on her coming of age, in 1269, bestowed her and her fortunes on his son Edmund, Earl of Lancaster\*; but on the forfeiture of his son for treason against Edward II. the honour and castle were granted, in 1309, to Robert de Clifford, a Herefordshire Baron, in whose line it continued till the last century. I know of no remarkable event that befel this castle, excepting that it was dismantled by ordinance of parliament, in 1648, because it had received a loyal garrison during the civil wars.

It was restored, and repaired, in 1657-1658, by the famous Anne Clifford, who made it, with five other castles her alternate residence. It is seated on the edge of a deep dingle, prettily wooded, and watered by a canal, that serves to convey limestone to the main trunk of the navigation, which passes near the town. At present the castle seems more calculated for habitation than defence. A gateway, with a round tower at a small distance from it. The towers in the castle are generally round, some polygonal. Over the entrance is an inscription, purporting the time of repair. The hall is worthy the hospitality of the family; has two fire-places, a hatch to the kitchen, and another to the cellar.

The great family picture is a curious performance; and still more valuable on account of the distinguished persons represented. It is tripartite, in form of a skreen. In the centre is the celebrated George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, the hero of the reign of Elizabeth; and his lady, Margaret Russel, daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford. He is dressed in armour, spotted with stars of gold; but much of it is concealed by a vest and skirts reaching to his knees; his helmet and gauntlet, lying on the

\* Dugdale, Baron. i. 65;



floor, are studded in like manner. He was born in the year 1558, and by the death of his father fell under the guardianship of his royal mistress, who placed him under the tuition of Doctor Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. He applied himself to mathematics; but soon after leaving the college he felt the spirit of his warlike ancestors rise within him, and for the rest of his life distinguished himself by deeds of arms honourable to himself\*, and of use to his country, in not fewer than twenty-two voyages against the Geryon of the time, Phillip II. who felt the effects of his prowess, against the invincible armada, against his European dominions, and the more distant ones in America. He was always successful against the enemy, but often suffered great hardships by storms, by diseases, and by famine. The wealth which he acquired was devoted to the service of the state, for he spent not only the acquisitions of his voyages, but much of his paternal fortune in building of ships; and much also he dissipated by his love of horse-races, tournaments, and every expensive diversion. Queen Elizabeth appointed him her champion† in all her tilting matches, from the thirty-third year of her reign; and in all those exercises of tiltings, turnings, and courses of the field, he excelled all the nobility of his time. His magnificent armour worn on those occasions (adorned with roses and *fleurs de lis* ‡) is actually preserved at Appleby castle, where is, besides, a copy of this picture. In the course of the life of soldier, sailor, and courtier, he fell into the licentiousness sometimes incident to the professions: but, as the inscription on the picture imports, the effects of his early education were then felt, for he died penitently, willingly, and christianly.

His lady stands by him in a purple gown, and white petticoat, embroidered with gold. She pathetically extends one hand to two beautiful boys, as if in the action of dissuading her Lord from such dangerous voyages, when more interesting and tender claims urged the presence of a parent. How must he have been affected by his refusal, when he found that he had lost both on his return from two of his expeditions, if the heart of a hero does not too often divest itself of the tender sensations!

The letters of this lady are extant in manuscript, and also her diary; she unfortunately marries without liking, and meets with the same return. She mentions several *minutiæ* that I omit, being only proofs of her attention to accuracy. She complains greatly of the coolness of her Lord, and his neglect of his daughter, Anne Clifford; and endured great poverty, of which she writes in a most moving strain to James I. to several great persons, and to the Earl himself. All her letters are humble, suppliant, and pathetic, yet the Earl was said to have parted with her on account of her high spirit-§.

Above the two principal figures are painted the heads of two sisters of the Earl, Anne, Countess of Warwick, and Elizabeth, Countess of Bath; and two, the sisters of the Countess; Frances, married to Phillip, Lord Wharton; and Margaret, Countess of Derby. Beneath each is a long inscription. The several inscriptions were composed by

\* At an audience the Earl had after one of his expeditions, the Queen, perhaps designedly, dropped one of her gloves. His lordship took it up, and presented it to her: she graciously desired him to keep it as a mark of her esteem. Thus gratifying his ambition with a reward that suited her majesty's avarice. He adorned it with diamonds, and wore it in the front of his high-crowned hat on days of tournaments. This is expressed in the fine print of him, by Robert White.

† Mr. Walpole, in his *miscellaneous Antiquities*, has favoured us with a very entertaining account of investiture. He succeeded the gallant old Knight Sir Henry Lea, in 1590, who with much ceremony resigned the office.

‡ I have seen in the collection of her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of Portland, a book of drawings of all Knights-tilters of his time, dressed in their rich armour. Among others is the Earl of Cumberland, in the very armour I mention.

§ These, and several other anecdotes of the family, I found in certain MSS. letters and diaries of the Countess and her daughter.



Anne Clifford, with the assistance of Judge Hales, who perused and methodized for her the necessary papers and evidences \*.

The two side-leaves shew the portraits of her celebrated daughter, Anne Clifford, afterwards Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery; the most eminent person of her age for intellectual accomplishments, for spirit, magnificence, and deeds of benevolence. Both these paintings are full lengths: the one represents her at the age of thirteen, standing in her study, dressed in white, embroidered with flowers, her head adorned with great pearls. One hand is on a music-book, her lute lies by her. The book informs us of the fashionable course of reading among people of rank in her days. I perceived among them, Eusebius, St. Augustine, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, Godfrey of Boulogne, the French Academy, Camden, Ortelius, Agrippa, on the vanity of occult Sciences, &c. &c. Above are heads of Mr. Samuel Daniel, her tutor, and Mrs. Anne Taylor, her governess; the last appearing, as the inscription says she was, a religious and good woman. This memorial of the instructors of her youth is a most grateful acknowledgement of the benefits she received from them. She was certainly a most happy subject to work on; for, according to her own account, old Mr. John Denham, a great astronomer, in her father's house, used to say, "that the sweet influence of the Pleiades, and the bands of Orion, were powerful both at her conception and birth;" and "when she grew up, Doctor Donne is reported to have said of her, that "she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination to flea-silk" †.

In the other leaf she appears in her middle age, in the state of widowhood, dressed in a black gown, and black veil, and white sleeves, and round her waist is a chain of great pearls; her hair long and brown; her wedding ring on the thumb of her right hand, which is placed on the bible, and Charron's Book of Wisdom. The rest of the books are of piety, excepting one of distillations, and excellent medicines. Such is the figure of the heroic daughter of a hero father, whose spirit dictated this animated answer to the insolent minister of an ungrateful court, who would force into one of her boroughs, a person disagreeable to her:

"I have been bullied by an usurper: I have been neglected by a court; but I will not be dictated to by a subject. - Your man sha'nt stand.

"Anne Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery."

Above her are the heads of her two husbands, Richard Earl of Dorset, who died in 1624; an aimable nobleman, a patron of men of letters, and bounteous to distressed worth. The other is of that brutal simpleton, Philip, Earl of Pembroke, the just subject of Butler's ridicule, whom she married six years after the death of her first lord. Yet she speaks favourably of each, notwithstanding their mental qualifications were so different: "These two Lords, says she, to whom I was by the divine providence married, were in their several kinds worthy noblemen as any in the kingdom; yet it was my misfortune to have crosses and contradictions with them both. Nor did there want malicious ill-willers to blow and foment the coals of dissension between us, so as in both their life-times the marble pillars of Knowle, in Kent, and Wilton, in Wiltshire, were to me but the gay arbours of anguish, inasmuch as a wise man, who knew the inside of my fortune, would often say, that I lived in both these my Lords great families as the river of Roan, or Rodanus, runs through the lake of Geneva, without mingling any part of its streams with that of the lake."

\* Life of Lord Keeper North.

† Bishop Rainbow's discourse at her funeral, in 1657.



But she was released from her second marriage by the death of her husband, in 1650. After which the greatness of her mind burst out in full and uninterrupted lustre. She re-built, or repaired, six of her ancient castles; she restored seven churches, or chapels; founded one hospital, and repaired another. She lived in vast hospitality at all her castles by turns, on the beautiful motive of dispensing her charity in rotation, among the poor of her vast estates. She travelled in a horse-litter; and often took new and bad roads from castle to castle in order to find out cause of laying out money among the indigent, by employing them in the repairs. The opulent also felt the effect of her generosity, for she never suffered any visitors to go away without a present, ingeniously contrived according to their quality\*. After the restoration she was solicited to go to court, but declined the invitation, saying "that if she went, she must have a pair of blinkers such as her horses had, lest she should see such things as would offend her." She often sat in person as sheriffs of the county of Westmoreland; at length died, at the age of eighty-six, in the year 1676, and was interred at Appleby. Her great possessions devolved to John Earl of Thanet, who married Margaret, her eldest daughter, by the Earl of Dorset.

Here are four heads of this illustrious Countess, in the states of childhood, youth, middle, and old age†. My print is taken from one resembling the last in the gallery at Strawberry-Hill, which the Hon. Horace Walpole was so obliging as to permit to be copied‡.

In one of the rooms is a fictitious picture of the fair Rosamond, daughter of Walter de Clifford, and mistress to Henry II. She is dressed in the mode of the reign of Elizabeth; but at her ear is a red rose, an allusion of the painter to her name.

A picture of a young person, with a crown by her. Another of a name inscribed, *vultus index animi*; and a third portrait, half length, of the great Earl of Cumberland, in a white hat, are the most remarkable unnoticed.

I must mention two good octagonal rooms, in one of which is some singular tapestry, expressing the punishment of the vices. Cruauté is represented with head, hands, and feet in the stocks; and Mal-bouche and Vil-parler undergoing the cutting off of their tongues.

On the steeple of the church is an inscription, importing, that it was repaired after it had been ruined in the civil wars, by Lady Clifford Countess of Pembroke, in 1655. Within the church are inscriptions, on plain stones, in memory of the three first Earls of Cumberland. Those on the two first relate little more than their lineage: but the noble historian of the family informs us, that the first Earl was brought up with Henry VIII. and beloved by him. That he was one of the most eminent lords of his time, for nobleness, gallantry, and courtship, but wasted much of his estate. That the second Earl at the beginning was also a great waster of his estate, till he retired into the country, when he grew rich. He was much addicted to the study and practice of alchemy and chemistry, and a great distiller of waters for medicines; was studious in all manner of learning, and had an excellent library both of written-hand books, and printed §.

\* Life of Lord Keeper North, 141.

† She says in her diary, that in 1619, her picture was drawn by Larking. She mentions also some of the amusements of the time, such as Glecko, at which she lost 15l. and Barley-break, at which she played on the bowling-green at Buckhurst.

‡ Mr Walpole shewed me a medal, with the head of the Countess, exactly resembling the picture. On the reverse is religion, represented by a female figure crowned, and standing. In one hand the bible; the left arm embraces a cross taller than herself.

§ Life of Lady Anne Clifford, &c. by herself, MS.



Continue my journey through a pleasant vale, watered by the Aar, or the Gentle River, as the Celtic Ara signifies, expressive of its smooth course\*. Along its side winds the canal, which, when finished, is to convey the manufactures of Leeds to Liverpool. Ride beneath a great aqueduct, at Kildwick, and have soon after a view of the rich valley that runs towards Leeds. Reach Kighly, at the bottom of another rich vale, that joins the former. This place has a considerable manufacture of figured, everlastingings, in imitation of French silks, and of shalloons and callimancoes; and numbers of people get their livelihood by spinning of wool for the stocking-weavers. The ancient family of Kighly take their name from this town. One of them, Henry Kighly, "obtained from Edward I. for this his manour, the privileges of a market and fair, and a free-warren, so that none might enter into those grounds to chace there, or with design to catch any thing pertaining to the said warren, without the permission and leave of the said Henry and his successors"†.

After crossing some very dismal moors, varied with several tedious ascents and descents, reach, at the foot of a very steep hill, the great town of

Halifax, or the Holy-Hair, from a legendary tale not worth mentioning. It is seated in a very deep bottom, and concealed from view on every side, till approached very nearly. The streets are narrow; the houses mostly built and covered with stone, and the streets have been lately paved in the manner of those at Edinburgh. The town extends far in length, but not in breadth. Here is only one church, spacious, supported by two rows of octagonal pillars, and supplied with a handsome organ. The Conqueror bestowed the lordship of Wakefield‡, of which this place is part, on his relation, William Earl of Warren and Surry, who gave the church and manour to the abbot of Lewes; and his successors constantly held courts here from that time to the dissolution§. The parish is of vast extent, contains above one and forty thousand inhabitants, and is supplied with twelve chapels. In the town are several meeting-houses; one, called the chapel, is a neat and elegant building, erected by the independents, and even stuccoed.

Halifax rose on the decline of the woollen trade at Rippon; which was brought from that town in the time of a Mr. John Waterhouse, of this place, who was born in 1443, and lived near a century. In the beginning of his time, here were only thirteen houses, but in 1556 above a hundred and forty householders paid dues to the vicar||; and in 1738, says Mr. Wright, there were not fewer than eleven hundred families. The woollen manufactures flourish here greatly; such as that of the narrow cloth, bath-coatings, shalloons, everlastingings, a sort of coarse broad cloth, with black hair list for Portugal, and with blue for Turkey; sayes, of a deep colour, for Guinea; the last are packed in pieces of twelve yards and a half, wrapped in an oil cloth, painted with negroes, elephants, &c. in order to captivate those poor people; and perhaps one of these bundles and a bottle of rum may be the price of a man in the infamous traffic. Many blood-red clothes are exported to Italy, from whence they are supposed to be sent to Turkey. The blues are sold to Norway. The manufacture is far from being confined to the neighbourhood, for its influence extends as far as Settle, near thirty miles distant, either in the spinning or weaving branches. The great manufacturers give out a stock of wool to the artificers, who return it again in yarn or cloth; but many taking in a larger quantity of work than they can finish, are obliged to advance farther into the coun-

\* Camden, ii. 857, who says, that the Araris, the modern Saone, takes its name for the same reason. The Swiss Aar is very rapid.

† Camden, ii. 859.

‡ Wright's Halifax, 202.

§ Wright, 8.

|| Ibid.



try in search of more hands, which causes the trade to spread from place to place, which has now happily extended its influence; but not always alike, for it is bounded by the kerries at Soyland, and by the bays at Rochdale.

October 2. In passing through the end of Halifax, observe a square spot, about four feet high and thirteen broad, made of neat ashler stone, accessible on one side by four or five steps. On this was placed the Maiden, or instrument for beheading of criminals; a privilege of great antiquity in this place. It seems to have been confined to the limits of the forest of Hardwick, or the eighteen towns and hamlets within its precincts. The time when this custom took place is unknown; whether Earl Warren, Lord of this forest, might have established it among the sanguinary laws then in use against the invaders of the hunting rights, or whether it might not take place after the woollen manufactures at Halifax began to gain strength, is uncertain. The last is very probable; for the wild country around the town was inhabited by a lawless set, whose depredations on the cloth-tenters might soon stifle the efforts of infant industry. For the protection of trade, and for the greater terror of offenders, by speedy execution, this custom seems to have been established, so as at last to receive the force of law, which was, "that if a felon be taken within the liberty of the forest of Hardwick, with goods stolen out, or within the said precincts, either hand-habend, back berand, or confession'd, to the value of thirteen-pence half-penny, he shall, after three market days or meeting-days within the town of Halifax, next after such his apprehension, and being condemned, be taken to the gibbet, and there have his head cut from its body. \*"

The offender had always a fair trial; for as soon as he was taken he was brought to the Lord's bailiff at Halifax: he was then exposed on the three markets (which here were held thrice in a week) placed in a stocks, with the goods stolen on his back, or if the theft was of the cattle-kind, they were placed by him; and this was done both to strike terror into others, and to produce new informations against him †. The bailiff then summoned four freeholders of each town within the forest to form a jury. The felon and prosecutors were brought face to face; the goods, the cow, or horse, or whatsoever was stolen, produced. If he was found guilty, he was remanded to prison, had if week's time allowed for preparation, and then was conveyed to this spot, where his head was struck off, by this machine. I should have premised, that if the criminal, either after apprehension, or in the way to execution, could escape out of the limits of the forest (part being close to the town) the bailiff had no farther power over him: but if he should be caught within the precincts at any time after, he was immediately executed on his former sentence.

This privilege was very freely used during the reign of Elizabeth: the records before that time were lost. Twenty-five suffered in her reign, and at least twelve from 1623 to 1650; after which I believe the privilege was no more exerted.

*Maiden*  
This machine of death is now destroyed; but I saw one of the same kind in a room under the parliament-house at Edinburgh, where it was introduced by the Regent Morton, who took a model of it as he passed through Halifax, and at length suffered by it himself. It is in form of a painter's easel, and about ten feet high: at four feet from the bottom is a cross bar, on which the felon lays his head, which is kept down by another placed above. In the inner edges of the frame are grooves; in these is placed a sharp ax with a vast weight of lead, supported at the very summit with a peg; to that peg is fastened a cord, which the executioner cutting, the ax falls, and does the af-

\* Wright, §4, and Halifax and its gibbet-law, &c. 18.

† Gibbet-Law says, that he is exposed after conviction.



fair effectually, without suffering the unhappy criminal to undergo a repetition of strokes, as has been the case in the common method. I must add, that if the sufferer is condemned for stealing a horse or a cow, the string is tied to the beast, which, on being whipped, pulls out the peg, and becomes the executioner.

On descending a hill, have a fine view of a vale, with the Calder meandering through it. Towards the upper end are two other little vales, whose sides are filled with small houses, and bottoms with fulling-mills. Here are several good houses, the property of wealthy clothiers, with warehouses in a superb and elegant style; the fair ostentation of industrious riches. Dine at a neat alehouse, at the foot of the hill, at the head of the canal, which conveys the manufactures to the Trent. Call here on my old correspondent Mr. Thomas Bolton, and am surprized with his vast collection of natural history, got together to amuse and improve his mind after the fatigues of business.

Cross the Calder at Lowerby bridge; after a steep ascent arrive in a wild and moory country, pass by the village of Loyland; reach Blackstone-edge, so called from the colour of certain great stones that appear on the summit. The view is unbounded; of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Wales. The ancient road down this hill was formerly tremendous; at present a new one winds down the sides for two miles excellently planned. The parish of Halifax reaches to this hill. It is my misfortune that the Rev. Mr. Watson's full account of this parish did not fall into my hands till this sheet was going to the press; for my account would have received from it considerable improvements. A little before our arrival on the top of this hill, enter the county of Lancaster.

Reach Rochdale, a town irregularly built, noted for its manufactory of bays. The church is on an adjacent eminence, to be reached by an ascent of about a hundred and seventeen steps. The Roche, a small stream, runs near the town.

Oct. 11. After six miles ride, pass by Middleton. In a pretty vale, on an eminence, is Alkington, the seat of Ashton Lever, Esq. where I continue the whole day, attracted by his civility, and the elegance of his museum.

Oct. 12. Wearied with the length of my journey, hasten through Manchester and Warrington, and find at home the same satisfactory conclusion as that of my former tour.

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## APPENDIX.—NUMBER I.

### *Concerning the Constitution of the Church of Scotland.*

PRESBYTERIAN government in Scotland took place after the reformation of popery, as being the form of ecclesiastical government most agreeable to the genius and inclinations of the people of Scotland. When James VI. succeeded to the crown of England, it is well known that, during his reign and that of his successors of the family of Stewart, designs were formed of altering the constitution of our civil government, and rendering our kings more absolute. The establishment of episcopacy in Scotland was thought to be one point proper to facilitate the execution of these designs. Episcopacy was accordingly established at length, and continued to be the government of the church till the Revolution, when, such designs subsisting no longer, Presbyterian government was restored to Scotland. It was established by act of parliament in 1690, and was afterwards secured by an express article in the treaty of union between the



two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Among the ministers of Scotland there subsists a perfect equality; that is, no minister, considered as an individual, has an authoritative jurisdiction over another. Jurisdiction is competent for them only when they act in a collective body, or as a court of judicature; and then there is a subordination of one court to another, or inferior and superior courts.

The courts established by law are the four following, viz. Church Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and above all a National or General Assembly.

A Church Session is composed of the minister of the parish and certain discreet laymen, who are chosen and ordained for the exercise of discipline, and are called Elders. The number of these Elders varies according to the extent of the parish. Two of them, together with the Minister, are necessary, in order to their holding a legal meeting. The minister always presides in these meetings, and is called Moderator; but has no other authority but what belongs to the Præses of any other court. The Church Session is appointed for inspecting the morals of the parishioners, and managing the funds that are appropriated for the maintenance of the poor within their own bounds. When a person is convicted of any instance of immoral conduct, or of what is inconsistent with his Christian profession, the Church Session inflicts some ecclesiastical censure, such as giving him an admonition or rebuke; or if the crime be of a gross and publick nature, they appoint him to profess his repentance in the face of the whole congregation, in order to make satisfaction for the publick offence. The highest church censure is excommunication, which is seldom inflicted but for contumacy, or for some very atrocious crime obstinately persisted in. In former times there were certain civil pains and penalties which followed upon a sentence of excommunication; but by a British statute these are happily abolished. The church of Scotland addresses its censures only to the consciences of men; and if they cannot reclaim offenders by the methods of persuasion, they think it inconsistent with the spirit of true religion, to have recourse to compulsory ones, such as temporal pains and penalties.

If the person thinks himself aggrieved by the Church Session, it is competent for him to seek redress, by entering an appeal to the Presbytery, which is the next superior court. In like manner he may appeal from the Presbytery to the Provincial Synod, and from the Synod to the Assembly, whose sentence is final in all ecclesiastical matters.

A Presbytery consists of the Ministers within a certain district, and also of one ruling Elder from each Church Session within the district. In settling the boundaries of a Presbytery, a regard was paid to the situation of the country. Where the country is populous and champaign, there are instances of thirty Ministers and as many Elders being joined in one Presbytery. In mountainous countries where travelling is more difficult, there are only seven or eight Ministers, in some places fewer in a Presbytery. The number of Presbyteries is computed to be at about seventy. Presbyteries review the procedure of Church Sessions, and judge in references and appeals that are brought before them. They take trials of candidates for the ministry; and if, upon such trial, they find them duly qualified, they license them to preach, but not to dispense the sacraments. Such licentiates are called Probationers. It is not common for the church of Scotland to ordain or confer holy orders on such licentiates till they be presented to some vacant kirk, and thereby acquire a right to a benefice.

It is the privileges of Presbyteries to judge their own members, at least in the first instance. They may be judged for heresy, that is, for preaching or publishing doctrines that are contrary to the publick standard imposed by act of Parliament and Assembly; or for any instance of immoral conduct. Prosecutions for heresy were formerly  
more



more frequent than they are at present, but happily a more liberal spirit has gained ground among the clergy of Scotland. They think more freely than they did of old, and consequently a spirit of inquiry and moderation seems to be on the growing hand; so that prosecutions for heresy are become more rare, and are generally looked upon as invidious. Some sensible men among the clergy of Scotland look upon subscriptions to certain articles and creeds of human composition as a grievance, from which they would willingly be delivered.

Presbyteries are more severe in their censures upon their own members for any instance of immoral conduct. If the person be convicted, they suspend him from the exercise of his ministerial office for a limited time; but if the crime be of a heinous nature, they depose or deprive him of his clerical character; so that he is no longer a minister of the church of Scotland, but forfeits his title to his benefice, and other privileges of the established church. However, if the person thinks himself injured by the sentence of the Presbytery, it is lawful for him to appeal to the Provincial Synod, within whose bounds his Presbytery lies; and from the Synod he may appeal to the National Assembly. Presbyteries hold their meetings generally every month, except in remote countries, and have a power of adjourning themselves to whatever time or place within their district they shall think proper. They choose their own Præses or Moderator, who must be a minister of their own Presbytery. The ruling Elders who sit in Presbyteries, must be changed every half-year, or else chosen again by their respective Church Sessions.

Provincial Synods are the next superior courts to Presbyteries, and are composed of the several Presbyteries within the province, and of a ruling Elder from each Church Session. The ancient dioceses of the bishops are for the most part the boundaries of a Synod. Most of the Synods in Scotland meet twice every year, in the months of April and October, and at every meeting they choose their Præses or Moderator, who must be a clergyman of their own number. They review the procedure of Presbyteries, and judge in appeals, references and complaints, that are brought before them from the inferior courts. And if a Presbytery shall be found negligent in executing the ecclesiastical laws against any of their members, or any other person within their jurisdiction, the Synod can call them to account, and censure them as they shall see cause.

The General Assembly is the supreme court in ecclesiastical matters, and from which there lies no appeal. As they have a power of making laws and canons, concerning the discipline and government of the church and the publick service of religion, the King sends always a Commissioner to represent his royal person, that nothing may be enacted inconsistent with the laws of the state. The person who represents the King is generally some Scots nobleman, whom His Majesty nominates annually some time before the meeting of the assembly, and is allowed a suitable salary for defraying the expence of this honourable office. He is present at all the meetings of the assembly, and at all their debates and deliberations. After the assembly is constituted, he presents his commission and delivers a speech; and, when they have finished their business, which they commonly do in twelve days, he adjourns the assembly, and appoints the time and place of their next annual meeting, which is generally at Edinburgh, in the month of May.

The Assembly is composed of Ministers and ruling Elders chosen annually from each Presbytery in Scotland. As the number of Ministers and Elders in a Presbytery varies, so the number of their representatives must hold a proportion to the number of Ministers and elders that are in the Presbytery. The proportion is fixed by laws and regulations for that purpose. Each royal burgh and university in Scotland has likewise the



privilege of choosing a ruling Elder to the Assembly. All elections must at least be made forty days before the meeting of the Assembly. Their jurisdiction is either constitutive or judicial. By the first they have authority to make laws in ecclesiastical matters; by the other they judge in references and appeals brought before them from the subordinate courts, and their sentences are decisive and final. One point, which greatly employs their attention, is the settlement of vacant parishes. The common people of Scotland are greatly prejudiced against the law of patronage. Hence when a patron presents a candidate to a vacant parish, the parishioners frequently make great opposition to the settlement of the presentee, and appeal from the inferior courts to the Assembly. The Assembly now-a-days are not disposed to indulge the parishioners in unreasonable opposition to presentees. On the other hand, they are unwilling to settle the presentee in opposition to the whole people, who refuse to submit to his ministry, because in this case his ministrations amongst them must be useless and without effect. The Assembly, therefore, for the most part delay giving sentence in such cases, till once they have used their endeavours to reconcile the parishioners to the presentee. But if their attempts this way prove unsuccessful, they proceed to settle the presentee in obedience to the act of parliament concerning patronages. Upon the whole it appears that, in the judicatories of the church of Scotland, there is an equal representation of the laity as of the clergy, which is a great security to the laity against the usurpations of the clergy.

The business of every minister in a parish is to perform religious worship, and to preach in the language of the country to his congregation every Sunday, and likewise on other extraordinary occasions appointed by the laws and regulations of the church. The tendency of their preaching is to instruct their hearers in the essential doctrines of natural and revealed religion, and improve these instructions in order to promote the practice of piety and social virtue. Of old, it was customary to preach upon controverted and mysterious points of divinity, but it is now hoped that the generality of the clergy confine the subject of their preaching to what has a tendency to promote virtue and good morals, and to make the people peaceable and useful members of society.

Ministers likewise examine their parishioners annually. They go to the different towns and villages \* of the parish, and in an easy and familiar manner converse with them upon the essential doctrines of religion. They make trial of their knowledge by putting questions to them on these heads. The adult as well as children are catechised. They likewise visit their parishes and inquire into the behaviour of their several parishioners, and admonish them for whatever they find blameable in their conduct. At these visitations the minister inculcates the practice of the relative and social duties, and insists upon the necessity of the practice of them. And if there happen to be any quarrels among neighbours, the minister endeavours by the power of persuasion to bring about a reconciliation. But in this part of their conduct much depends upon the temper, prudence, and discretion of ministers, who are clothed with the same passions, prejudices, and infirmities that other men are.

\* I must observe, that Bishop Burnet (by birth a Scotchman) adopted in his diocese the zeal of the church of his native country, and its attention to the morals and good conduct of the clergy and their flocks. Not content with the usual triennial visitations, he every summer, during six weeks, made a progress through some district of his diocese, preaching and confirming from church to church, so that before the return of the triennial visitation, he became well acquainted with the behaviour of every incumbent. He preached every Sunday in some church of the city of Salisbury; catechised and instructed its youth for confirmation; was most vigilant and strict in his examination of candidates for holy orders; was an invincible enemy to pluralities, and of course to non-residents; filled his office with worth and dignity, and by his episcopal merits, it is to be hoped, may have atoned for the acknowledged blemishes in his biographical character.



To this sensible account of the church of North Britain, I beg leave to add another, which may be considered as a sort of supplement, and may serve to fling light on some points untouched in the preceding; it is the extract from an answer to some queries I sent a worthy correspondent in the Highlands, to whom I am indebted for many sensible communications:

“ To apprehend well the present state of our church patronage and mode of settlement, we must briefly view this matter from the Reformation. At that remarkable period the whole temporalities of the church were resumed by the crown and parliament; and soon after a new maintenance was settled for ministers in about 960 parishes. The patrons of the old, splendid popish livings, still claimed a patronage in the new-modelled poor stipends for parish ministers. The lords or gentlemen, who got from the crown grants of the superiorities and lands of old abbies, claimed also the patronage of all the churches which were in the gift of those abbies during popery. The King too claimed the old patronage of the crown, and those of any ecclesiastic corporations not granted away.

“ Lay-patronages were reckoned always a great grievance by the church of Scotland; and accordingly from the beginning of the Reformation the church declared against lay-patronage and presentations. The ecclesiastic laws, or acts of assembly, confirmed at last by parliament, required, in order to the settlement of a minister, some concurrence of the congregation, of the gentlemen who had property within the cure, and of the elders of the parish.

“ The elders, or kirk session, are a number of persons who, for their wisdom, piety, and knowledge, are elected from the body of the people in every parish, and continue for life *sepe bene gerentibus*, to assist the parish minister in suppressing immoralities, and regulating the affairs of the parish. Three of these men and a minister make a quorum, and form the lowest of our church courts.

“ Thus matters continued to the year 1649, when by act of parliament patronages were abolished entirely, and the election or nomination of ministers was committed to the kirk session or elders; who, in those days of universal sobriety and outward appearance at least of religion among the presbyterians, were generally the gentlemen of best condition in the parish who were in communion with the church. After the restoration of King Charles II., along with episcopacy patronages returned, yet under the old laws; and all debates were finally determinable by the general assembly, which even under episcopacy in Scotland was the supreme ecclesiastic court. Thus they continued till the Revolution, when the presbyterian model was restored by act of parliament.

“ The people chose their own ministers, and matters continued in this form till the year 1711, when Queen Anne's ministry intending to defeat the Hanover succession, took all methods to harass such as were firmly attached to it, which the Presbyterian gentry and clergy ever were, both from principle and interest. An act therefore was obtained, and which is still in force, restoring patrons to their power of electing ministers.

“ By this act the King is now in possession of the patronage of above 500 churches out of 950, having not only the old rights of the crown, but many patronages acquired at the Reformation not yet alienated; all the patronages of the fourteen Scots bishops, and all the patronages of the lords and gentlemen forfeited in the years 1715 and 1745. Lords, gentlemen, and magistrates of boroughs, are the patrons of the remaining churches. A patron must present a qualified person to a charge within six months of the last incumbent's removal or death, otherwise his right falls to the presbytery.



"A presbytery consists of several ministers and elders. All parishes are annexed to some presbytery. The presbytery is the second church court, and they revise the acts of the kirk-session, which is the lowest. Above the presbytery is the synod, which is a court consisting of several presbyteries, and from all these there lies an appeal to the general assembly, which is the supreme church court in Scotland. This supreme court consists of the King represented by his commissioner, ministers from the different presbyteries, and ruling elders. They meet annually at Edinburgh, enact laws for the good of the church, and finally determine all controverted elections of ministers. They can prevent a clergyman's transportation from one charge to another. They can find a presentee qualified or unqualified, and consequently oblige the patron to present another. They can depose from the ministry, and every intrant into holy orders becomes bound to submit to the decisions of this court; which, from the days of our reformer John Knox, has appropriated to itself the titles of "The very venerable and very reverend Assembly" of the Church of Scotland.

"All the clergymen of our communion are upon a par as to authority. We can enjoy no pluralities. Non-residence is not known. We are bound to a regular discharge of the several duties of our office. The different cures are frequently visited by the presbytery of the bounds; and at these visitations strict enquiry is made into the life, doctrine, and diligence of the incumbent. And for default in any of these, he may be suspended from preaching; or if any gross immorality is proved against him, he can be immediately deposed and rendered incapable of officiating as a minister of the gospel. Appeal indeed lies, as I said before, from the decision of the inferior to the supreme court.

"Great care is taken in preparing young men for the ministry. After going through a course of philosophy in one of our four universities, they must attend at least for four years the divinity-hall, where they hear the prelections of the professors, and perform the different exercises prescribed them: they must attend the Greek, the Hebrew, and rhetoric classes; and before ever they are admitted to trials for the ministry before a presbytery, they must lay testimonials from the different professors of their morals, their attendance, their progress, before them; and if upon trial they are found unqualified, they are either set aside as unfit for the office, or enjoined to apply to their studies a year or two more.

"Our livings are in general from 60l. to 120l. sterling. Some few livings are richer, and a few poorer. Every minister besides is entitled to a mansion-house, barn, and stable; to four acres of arable and three of pasturage land. Our livings are exempted from all public duties; as are also our persons from all public statute-works. As schools are erected in all our parishes, and that education is cheap, our young generation is beginning to imbibe some degree of taste and liberal sentiment unknown to their illiterate rude forefathers. The English language is cultivated even here amongst these bleak and dreary mountains. Your divines, your philosophers, your historians, your poets, have found their way to our sequestered vales, and are perused with pleasure even by our lowly swains; and the names of Tillotson, of Atterbury, of Clarke, of Secker, of Newton, of Locke, of Bacon, of Lyttelton, of Dryden, of Pope, of Gay, and of Gray, are not unknown in our distant land."



## APPENDIX.—NUMBER II.

*Of the Fama Clamosa.*

By the Rev. Mr. RUTHERFORD.

“ SIR,

“ WHEN I had the pleasure of seeing you last, you desired me to give you some account of the proceedings of the church of Scotland against the minister in case of a *fama clamosa*. I would think myself happy if I could in the least contribute to assist you in your laudable design of diffusing knowledge, and of making one part of the kingdom acquainted with the manners and customs of the other. You are well acquainted with the church courts, and the method of proceeding in ordinary cases, as I find from your Tour. An appeal can be made from a session to a presbytery, from a presbytery to a synod, from a synod to the general assembly, which is the supreme court, and from its decision there lies no appeal. Any person who is of a good character, may give to the presbytery a complaint against one of their members; but the presbytery is not to proceed to the citation of the person accused, or, as we term it, to begin the process, until the accuser under his hand gives in the complaint, with some account of its probability, and undertakes to make out the libel, under the pain of being considered as a slanderer. When such an accusation is brought before them, they are obliged candidly to examine the affair. But, besides this, the presbytery considers itself obliged to proceed against any of its members, if a *fama clamosa* of the scandal is so great that they cannot be vindicated, unless they begin the process. This they can do without any particular accuser, after they have enquired into the rise, occasion, and authors of this report. It is a maxim in the kirk of Scotland, that religion must suffer if the scandalous or immoral actions of a minister are not corrected. And wherever a minister is reputed guilty of any immorality, (although before the most popular preacher in the kingdom) none almost will attend upon his ministry; therefore the presbytery, for the sake of religion, is obliged to proceed against a minister in case of a *fama clamosa*. This however is generally done with great tenderness. After they have considered the report raised against him, then they order him to be cited, draw out a full copy of what is reported, with a list of the witnesses' names to be led for proving this allegation. He is now to be formally summoned to appear before them; and he has warning given him, at least ten days before the time of his compearance, to give in his answers to what is termed the libel; and the names of the witnesses ought also to be sent him. If at the time appointed the minister appear, the libel is to be read to him, and his answers are also to be read. If the libel be found relevant, then the presbytery is to endeavour to bring him to a confession. If the matter confessed be of a scandalous nature, such as uncleanness, the presbytery generally depose him from his office, and appoint him in due time to appear before the congregation where the scandal was given, and to make public confession of his crime and repentance.

“ If a minister absent himself by leaving the place, and be contumacious, without making any relevant excuse, a new citation is given him, and intimation is made at his own church when the congregation is met, that he is to be holden as confessed, since he refused to appear before them; and accordingly he is deposed from his office. When I was in Caithness an instance of this kind took place. A certain minister of that county was reported to have a stronger affection for his maid than his wife. He made frequent excursions with this girl; and although no proof of criminal conversation could be brought, yet there was great cause for censure, as all the country took notice



of the affair. Upon meeting of the presbytery, his brethren candidly advised him to remove from his house a servant with whom the public report had scandalized him; that her longer continuance would increase the suspicion; and as it gave offence to his parishioners, if he would not immediately dismiss her, they must consider him as an enemy to his own interest, if not as guilty of the crime laid to his charge. They remonstrated with him in the gentlest terms; but he was still refractory, left the country, and carried his favourite maid in his train. The presbytery considered this as a confession of his guilt, and deposed him from his office."

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER III.

*Galic Proverbs.*

1. *LEAGHAIDH a chòir am bèul an anmbuinn.*  
Justice itself melts away in the mouth of the feeble.
2. *'S làidir a thèid, 's anmbunn a thig.*  
The strong shall fall, and oft the weak escape unhurt.
3. *'S fadà làmh an fhèumanaich.*  
Long is the hand of the needy.
4. *'S làidir an t' anmbunn un uchd treòir.*  
Strong is the feeble in the bosom of might.
5. *'S maith an Sgàthan sùil càrraid.*  
The eye of a friend is an unerring mirror.
6. *Cha bhi 'm bochd sògh-ar faibhir.*  
The luxurious poor shall ne'er be rich.
7. *Far an tàin' an abhuin, 's ànn as mùgha a fùaim.*  
Most shallow—most noisy.
8. *Cha neil clèith air an olc, ach gun a dhèanamh.*  
There is no concealment of evil, but not to commit it.
9. *Gibht ua cloinne-bìge, bhi 'ga tòirt 's ga gràdiarraidh.*  
The gift of a child, oft granted—oft recalled.
10. *Cha neil saoi gun a choi meas.*  
None so brave without his equal.
11. *'S minic a thainig combairlie ghlac a bèul amadain.*  
Oft has the wisest advice proceeded from the mouth of folly.
12. *Tuisblichid an t' each ceithir-chasach.*  
The four-footed horse doth often stumble, so may the strong and mighty fall.
13. *Mar a chaimbeas duin' a bheatha, bheir e brèith air a chdim-bearsnach.*  
As is a man's own life, so is his judgment of the lives of others.
14. *Fànaidh duine sònna' re sìth, 's bheir duine dòna dùil-leum.*  
The fortunate man awaits, and he shall arrive in peace; the unlucky hastens, and evil shall be his fate.



15. *Cha do chùir a ghuala ris, nach do chuir tuar haris.*  
Success must attend the man who bravely struggles.
16. *Cha ghàir a dhearabhas ach gnìomh.*  
Triumph never gain'd the sounding words of boast.
17. *'S tric a dh' fhàs am fuigheal-fochaid, 's a mbeith am fuigheal-faramaid.*  
Oft has the object of causeless scorn arrived at honour, and the once mighty scorner fallen down to contempt.
18. *Cha do dèibair Feann rìgh nan làoch riamh fear a làimhe-deise.*  
The friend of his right hand was never deserted by Fingal, the king of heroes.
19. *Thig Dia re h' airc, 's cha 'n airc nar thig.*  
God cometh in the time of distress, and it is no longer distress when He comes.

EPITAPH, by BEN JONSON.

UNDERNEATH this marble hearse  
Lies the subject of all verse ;  
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother :  
Death, ere thou hast kill'd another,  
Fair and learn'd, and good as she,  
Time shall throw a dart at thee.

Translated into Galic.

AN fho na luighe fo ùic-ùighe  
Ha adh-bheann nan uille-bhuadh,  
Mathair Phembroke, piuthar Philip :  
Ans gach Daan bith' orra luadh.  
A bhais man gearr thu fios a coi-meas,  
Beann a dreach, fa h' juil, fa fiach,  
Bristidh do bhogh, gun fhave do shaighid :  
Bithi' —mar nach bith' tu riamh.

A SAILOR'S EPITAPH, in the Church-yard of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk.

THO' Boreas' blow and Neptune's waves  
Have tost me to and fro,  
By God's decree, you plainly see,  
I'm harbour'd here below :  
Where I must at anchor lye  
With many of our fleet ;  
But once again we must set sail,  
Our admiral Christ to meet.

Translated into Galic.

LE Uddal-cuain, 's le sheide Gaoidh  
'S lionmhor amhra thuair mi riamh ;  
Gam luasga a nùl agus a nàl,  
Gu tric gun fhois, gun Deoch, gun bhiadh.

Ach



Ach thanig mi gu calla taimh,  
 'S leg mi m' achdair ans un uir,  
 Far an caidil mi mo phramh,  
 Gus arisd an tog na fùill.  
 Le guth na troimp' as airde fùaim  
 Dus gidh mi, 's na bheil am choir  
 Coinnich' shin Ard-admhiral a Chuain  
 Bhon faith shin fois, is duais, is lònna.

## SAPPHO'S ODE.

BLEST as the immortal gods is he,  
 The youth who fondly sits by thee, &c.

Translated into Galic.

1. 'ADHMHUR mar dhia neo bhafmhor 'ta  
 'N t'oglach gu caidreach a shuis re d' fqa :  
 Sa chluin, fa chith re faad na hùin  
 Do bhriara droigheal, 's do fhrea gradh cùin.
2. Och! 's turr a d' fhogair thu mo chlofs  
 'Sa dhuifg thu 'm croidh' gach buaireas bochd :  
 'N tra dhearc mi ort, s' me goint le 't-aadh  
 Bhuail reachd am uchd, ghrad mheath mo chail :
3. Theogh 'm aigne aris, is shruth gu dian  
 Teafghradh air feadh gach baal am bhiann :  
 Ghrad chaoch mo shuil le ceodhan uain  
 'S tac aoidh mo chluas le bothar-fhuaim.
4. Chuer fallas 'tlath mo bhuil gun lùth  
 Rith Eal-ghris chuin tre m' fhuil gu dlu.  
 Ghrad thug am plosg a bheannachd leom  
 Is shnìomh mi sheach gun' diog am chònm.

EPITAPH on a LADY, in the Parish-church of Glenorchay, in North Britain.

1. AN shò na luigh ta fan Innis  
 Bean bu duilich leom bhi ann  
 Beul a cheuil, is lamh a ghrinnis,  
 Ha iad 'nìoshe sho nan tamh.
2. Tuill' cha toir am bochd dhuit beannachd :  
 An lom nochd cha chluthaich thu nis mo'  
 Cha tiormaich dèur bho fhùil na h'ainnis :  
 Co tuill' O Lagg! a bheir dhuit treoir?
3. Chan fhaic shin tuille thu fa choinni :  
 Cha fuidh shin tuille air do bhòrd :  
 D'fhàlabh uain fùairceas, feirc is mòdhan  
 Ha bròn 's bì-mhulad air teachd oiru.



## In English.

1. LOW she lies here in the dust, and here memory fills me with grief: silent is the tongue of melody, and the hand of elegance is now at rest.

2. No more shall the poor give thee his blessing; nor shall the naked be warmed with the fleece of thy flock. The tear shalt thou not wipe away from the eye of the wretched. Where now, O Feeble, is thy wonted help!

3. No more, my fair, shall we meet thee in the social hall; no more shall we sit at thy hospitable board. Gone for ever is the sound of mirth: the kind, the candid, the meek is now no more. Who can express our grief? Flow ye tears of woe!

## A YOUNG LADY'S LAMENTATION on the DEATH of her LOVER.

Translated from the Galic.

GLOOMY indeed is the night and dark, and heavy also is my troubled soul: around me all is silent and still; but sleep has forsaken my eyes, and my bosom knoweth not the balm of peace. I mourn for the loss of the dead—the young, the beauteous, the brave, alas! lies low. Lovely was thy form, O youth! lovely and fair was thy open soul!—Why did I know thy worth?—Oh! why must I now that worth deplore?

Length of years seemed to be the lot of my love, yet few and fleeting were his days of joy.—Strong he stood as the tree of the vale, but untimely he fell into the silent house. The morning sun saw thee flourish as the lovely rose; before the noon-tide heat low thou droop'dst as the withered plant.

What then availed thy bloom of youth, and what thy arm of strength? Ghastly is the face of Love—dim and dark the soul-expressing eye—The mighty fell to arise no more!

Whom now shall I call my friend? or from whom can I hear the sound of joy? In thee the friend has fallen—in thy grave my joy is laid.—We lived, we grew together. O why together did we not also fall!

Death, thou cruel spoiler! how oft hast thou caused the tear to flow! many are the miserable thou hast made, and who can escape thy dart of woe?

Kind Fate, come lay me low, and bring me to my house of rest. In yonder grave, beneath the leafy plane, my love and I shall dwell in peace. Sacred be the place of our repose.

O seek not to disturb the ashes of the dead.

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER IV.

*Account of the Fasting Woman of Rosshire.*

Dunrobin, August 24, 1769.

The Information of Mr Rainy, Missionary-Minister, in Kincardine, anent Katherine M'Leod.

KATHARINE M'LEOD, daughter to Donald M'Leod, farmer in Croig, in the parish of Kincardine, Rosshire, an unmarried woman, aged about thirty-five years, sixteen years ago contracted a fever, after which she became blind. Her father carried her to several physicians and surgeons to cure her blindness. Their prescriptions proved of



no effect. He carried her, also to a lady skilled in physic, in the neighbourhood, who, doubtful whether her blindness was occasioned by the weakness of her eye-lids, or a defect in her eyes, found by the use of some medicines that the blindness was occasioned by a weakness in her eye-lids, which being strengthened, she recovered her sight in some measure, and discharged as usual every kind of work about her father's farm: but tied a garter tight round her forehead to keep up her eye-lids. In this condition she continued for four or five years, enjoying a good state of health, and working as usual. She contracted another lingering fever, of which she never recovered perfectly.

Sometime after her fever her jaws fell, her eye-lids closed, and she lost her appetite. Her parents declare, that, for the space of a year and three-quarters they could not say that any meat or liquid went down her throat. Being interrogated on this point, they owned they very frequently put something into her mouth: but they concluded that nothing went down her throat, because she had no evacuation; and when they forced open her jaws at one time, and kept them open for some time by putting in a stick between her teeth, and pulled forward her tongue, and forced something down her throat, she coughed and strained, as if in danger to be choaked. One thing, during the time she eat and drank nothing, is remarkable that her jaws were unlocked, and she recovered her speech, and retained it for several days, without any apparent cause for the same; she was quite sensible, repeated several questions of the shorter catechisms; told them that it was to no purpose to put any thing into her mouth, for that nothing went down her throat: as also that sometimes she understood them when they spoke to her. By degrees her jaws thereafter fell, and she lost her speech.

Sometime before I saw her she received some sustenance, whey, water-gruel, &c. but threw it up, at least for the most part, immediately. When they put the stick between her teeth, mentioned above, two or three of her teeth were broken. It was at this breach they put in any thing into her mouth. I caused them to bring her out of bed, and give her something to drink. They gave her whey. Her neck was contracted, her chin fixed on her breast, nor could by any force be pulled back: she put her chin and mouth into the dish with the whey, and I perceived she sucked it at the above-mentioned breach as a child would suck the breast, and immediately threw it up again, as her parents had told me she used to do, and she endeavoured with her hand to dry her mouth and chin. Her forehead was contracted and wrinkled: her cheeks full, red, and blooming. Her parents told me that she slept a great deal, and soundly, perspired sometimes, and now and then emitted pretty large quantities of blood at her mouth.

For about two years past they have been wont to carry her to the door once every day, and she would shew signs of uneasiness when they neglected it at the usual time. Last summer, after giving her to drink of the water of the well of Strathconnen, she crawled to the door on her hands and feet without any help. She is at present in a very languid way, and still throws up what she drinks.

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER V.

##### *Parallel Roads in Glen-Roy.*

ALL the description that can be given of the parallel roads, or terraces, is, that the Glen of itself is extremely narrow, and the hills on each side very high, and generally not rocky. In the face of these hills, both sides of the Glen, there are three roads at small distances from each other, and directly opposite on each side. These roads have been



been measured in the completest parts of them, and found to be 26 paces of a man five feet ten inches high. The two highest are pretty near each other, about 50 yards, and the lowest double that distance from the nearest to it. They are carried along the sides of the Glen with the utmost regularity, nearly as exact as if drawn with a line of rule and compass.

Where deep burns or gullies of water cross these roads, they avoid both the descent and ascent in a very curious manner; so that on the side where the roads enters those hollows, they rather ascend along the slope, and descend the opposite side until they come to the level, without the traveller being sensible of ascent or descent. There are other smaller glens falling into this Glen-Roy. The parallel roads surround all these smaller ones; but where Glen-Roy ends in the open country, there are not the smallest vestiges of them to be seen. The length of these roads in Glen-Roy are about seven miles. There are other two glens in that neighbourhood, where these roads are equally visible, called Glen-Gluy, and Glen-Spean, the former running north-west and the latter south from Glen Roy. Both these roads are much about the same length as Glen-Roy.

It is to be observed that these roads are not causeway, but levelled out of the earth. There are some small rocks, though few, in the course of these roads. People have examined in what manner they made this passage through the rocks, and find no vestige of roads in the rock; but they begin on each side, and keep the regular line as formerly. So far I am indebted to Mr. Trapaud, Governor of Fort Augustus.

I cannot learn to what nation the inhabitants of the country attribute these roads: I was informed that they were inaccessible at the east end, open at the west, or that nearest to the sea, and that there were no traces of buildings, or Druidical remains, in any part, that could lead us to suspect that they were designed for æconomical or religious purposes. The country people think they were designed for the chace, and that these terraces were made after the spots were cleared in lines from wood, in order to tempt the animals into the open paths after they were roused in order that they might come within reach of the bowmen, who might conceal themselves in the woods above and below. Ridings for the sportsmen are still common in all great forests in France and other countries on the continent, either that they might pursue the game without interruption of trees, or shoot at it in its passage.

Mr. Gordon, p. 114, of his Itinerary, mentions such terraces, to the number of seventeen or eighteen, raised one above the other in the most regular manner, for the space of a mile, on the side of a hill, in the county of Tweeddale, near a village called Romana, and also near two small Roman camps. They are from fifteen to twenty feet broad, and appear at four or five miles distance not unlike a great amphitheatre. The same gentleman also has observed similar terraces near other camps of the same nation, from whence he suspects them to be the works of the Romans, and to have been thrown up by their armies for itinerary encampments. Such may have been their use in those places: but what could have been the object of the contrivers of the terraces of Glen-Roy, where it is more than probable those conquerors never came, remains a mystery, except the conjecture above given should prove satisfactory.



## APPENDIX.—NUMBER VI.

*Of Slough Doggs.*

SIR William Lawfon, and Sir William Hutton, Knights, two of his Majesties Commissioners for the Middleshires of Great Britain. To John Mufgrave the Provost Marshall, and the rest of his Majesties garryson, send salutations. Whereas, upon due consideration of the increase of stealths dayly growing both in deed and reporte among you on the borders. We formerly concluded and agreed, that, for reforming thereof, watches should be sett, and slough doggs provyded and kept, according to the contents of his Majesties directions to us in that behalf prescribed. And for that, according to our said agreement, Sir William Hutton, at his last being in the country, did appoint how the watches should be kept, when and where they should begin, and how they might best and most fitly continue. And withall for the bettering his Majesties servyce, and preventing further danger that might ensue by the outlaws, in resortinge to the houses of Thomas Routledge, alias Baylihead, being neere and next adjoyninge to the wayfts, he himselfe beinge fled amongst them, (as it is reported) order and direction was lykewise, that some of the garryson should keepe and resyde in his the said Thomas Routledge's houses, and there to remaine till further directions be given them, unlesse he the said Thomas Routledge shall come in and enter himselfe answerable to his Majesties lawes, as is convenient. Further, by virtue of our authority from his Majesty to us directed, touching the border servyce. We command you that the said watches be duely searched as was appointed, and presentment to us, or th' one of us, be mad of every default, either in constables for their neglect in not settinge yt fourth, or in any persons flyppinge or neglectinge their duties therein. And that you likewyse see that slough doggs be provyded accordinge to our former directions, and as this note to this warrant annexed particularly setteth down. Faile yee not hereof, as you will answer the contrarye at your perrills. Given under our hands and seals this 29th of November 1616.

A NOTE how the SLOUGH DOGGS was agreed upon to be provyded and kept at the charge of the inhabitants, as followeth :

Imprimis, beyond Esk, by the inhabitants there to be kept above the foot of Sarkes	1 Dogg.
Item by the inhabitants of the insyde of Eske, to Richmond Clugh, to be kept at the Moot	1 D.
Item by the inhabitants of the parish of Arthuret above Richmondclugh, to be kept at the Bailyhead	1 D.
Item Bewcastle parish, besides the Baylye and Blackquarters, to be kept at Kinkerhill	1 D.
Item the parish of Stapilton	1 D.
Item the parish of Irdington	1 D.
Item the parish of Lanercost and Walton	1 D.
Item	1 D.
Item	1 D.
Total	9

It was appointed and commanded that the chiefe officers, bayliffes, and constables, within every circuit and cumpasse wherein the slough doggs are appointed to be kept, should



should take charge for tasking the inhabitants towards the charge thereof, and collect the same, and for provydinge the Slough Doggs, and to inform the commissioners, if any refused to pay their contribution, whereby such as refused should be committed to the gaole till they paid the same.

N. B. Bishop Nicholson has published the orders of the watches, 6 Ed. VI. in his Border Laws, p. 215, &c. but as I have met with nothing concerning the Slough Doggs till the time of James the First, am inclined to think it was a new institution in that King's reign, when they were also appointed in the Scotch borders.

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER VII.

##### *A Letter from Mr. George Malcolm, concerning Sheep-Farms, &c.*

Communicated by JOHN MAXWELL, Esq. of Broomholme.

THESE grounds are not in common as in England, but are all separate properties, and divided into extensive farms, with distinct marches, from three to four thousand acres. They are mostly pastured with sheep; that is to say, the farmer depends upon his sheep for paying the rent and yielding him profit. The cows which he keeps, and the corn which he sows, seldom do more than maintain his family. Farms of this large extent become necessary; for, as they are not inclosed, the sheep could not be pastured with ease and convenience within narrow marches. Though the country was in a complete state of improvement, it is probable the hills will never be inclosed, as nature seems to have intended them for breeding cattle to supply the cultivated pastures in the low lands which fatten. So long as they are applied to that purpose, and I think they can never be made fit for any other, they cannot pay the expence of inclosing. Every flock has a shepherd to take care of them, whose business it is to make them eat the ground equally, and in bad weather to keep them on such parts of the farm, where they are most sheltered from the storms. He can do nothing without his dog, which, you know, he learns to do wonderful things; but it would be wrong to mention them to strangers, as they would think we bordered on the marvellous. It is sufficient to inform them, that he can command all or any part of his flock, at the distance of more than a mile. As the kinds of sheep, and the methods of managing them, vary so much in different parts of the country, it will be difficult to give your friend any clear idea of them. There is a gradual decline of soil from the east to the west coast. This fact is put beyond a doubt, from the size of both sheep and black-cattle turning smaller and smaller as you advance from the east to the west. The large sheep of the east border have often been brought here, but they did not thrive, but turned smaller; and I have known our sheep sent to them, which you would not have known for largeness in a year or two. This shews that the alteration of the size is not owing to the fancy of the farmer, but to a real difference of soil. There are different kinds of soil required for different kinds of sheep, and at different ages. The hogs, which is the name they go by before they are a year old, should have dry pasture, well mixed with heaths, and not much exposed to storms of snow, which breeds them firm and sound. The ewe, which is the female, should have much grass, and not very high land, on account of the lambs which they bring forth in the spring, and the wedder, which is the gelded male sheep, is fittest for the very high grounds, as being strongest and most hardy.



hardy. This accounts for most farmers having more farms than one, as one seldom contains all these different soils and situations. Through Tiviotdale, the product which most of the farmers sell is wedders above three years old, and about a seventh or eighth part of the oldest of their ewe stock, which are commonly about six years old. They sell the wedders in June, and the ewes about Michaelmas. They are mostly bought by the English for feeding. It is impossible to give you an account of prices, as they vary almost every season. Within these twelve years, I have known the Tiviotdale wedders sell from ten to fifteen shillings, and the ewes from six to ten shillings. We shear or clip the wool in the months of June and July. The price of the wool varies as much as the price of the sheep, from three shillings and sixpence to six shillings and sixpence per stone English, sixteen pounds to the stone. From five to between six and seven fleeces go to the stone. The market for wool is sometimes at Edinburgh, and sometimes in England. In some parts of the east of Tiviotdale they do not save their sheep, but they do it in most places. It is thought far warms the sheep, and destroys a kind of vermin called a cade, which infests them much. The method of saving is very different, with regard to the quantity of butter mixed with the tar, and also with regard to the quantity of both laid on the sheep. The mixture is from twenty-four pounds English to above three stones of butter to sixteen quarts of tar; and with this quantity they will save from forty to one hundred and twenty sheep. The greater proportion of butter the better the wool is, not in point of fineness, but it washes whiter, and consequently takes a better dye. The colder the ground is, the more save is laid on. It costs from two-pence halfpenny to three-pence halfpenny each sheep. In Tiviotdale, they have got much into the practice of giving their sheep hay in the snows of winter, which is of much service to them. I cannot pretend to give you my opinion positively with regard to the rents paid, and how many sheep are kept by the acre: they vary with the soil of the ground, and often according to the opinion the different landlords entertain of the value of their estates. More grounds keep below a sheep to the acre than above it; and the rent stands from two shillings to three shillings and sixpence for each sheep. The rents of most farms have advanced within these twelve or fourteen years, from a third to double; which great advance has made Highland farming very uncertain, as no improvements which meliorate the farms can be made; but they entirely depend upon the rise and fall of the markets, besides running a great risk from bad seasons. In Eskdale, where we live, we sell no wedders, because we cannot afford to breed wedder hogs; on account of a disease, which kills great numbers of that age in our grounds. Our product is lambs and ewes at the age already mentioned. Within these twelve years, we have sold our lambs from two shillings to four shillings and sixpence, and our ewes from five shillings and sixpence to nine shillings. Our markets are the same as in Tiviotdale; our wool sells lower. Many of us have a practice of milking our ewes; though it is going fast into disuse, because it is generally thought to be hurtful. It renders the ewe less fit to bear the storms in winter; it makes her have less wool; and she will sell at a much higher price at Michaelmas, if not milked, being fatter. The great temptation to milk ewes is to provide butter for saving, which of late years has been very dear. As perhaps Mr. P. may have a curiosity to see a calculation of how much is made by milking, I shall give you an account of what I made this year out of three hundred and eighty ewes at Burnfoot; for I milk at no other of my farms.



I made 75 stons English of cheese in six weeks at 4s. 4d. per stone  
 12 Stones of butter, at 5s. 6d. per stone English

£. s.  
 16 5  
 3 6

Wages of four women  
 Wages of ewe-herd

£. s.  
 2 8 }  
 0 18 }

19 11  
 3 6

16 5

N. B. The whey made from the milk is more than equal to the maintenance of the above five servants.

This comes to about 9½d. each sheep.

To the north-west of us, in Tweddale, Clydesdale, the head of Annandale, and in Galloway, the farmers sell for their product wedder hogs, and some of them lambs as we do. For the most part the English buy them to lay on their commons. They are a short coarse-woolled sheep, and esteemed very hardy. In these parts they are free of that disease which kills the young sheep in our country, and which is the reason of their keeping all their male lambs on most of the farms. These hogs have fold, within these twelve years, from five shillings to eight shillings and sixpence. The diseases to which sheep are liable are many. I shall only mention three of them, which are most mortal. That which we esteem the worst is called the Rot. They contract it by pasturing in wet marshy ground, when it happens to be a rainy season in the months of August and September. The only remedy is draining. A bad season will even bring on a rot in dry grounds, where there is much grass. If they suffer much hunger, either from an overstock in summer, or from the snows in winter, it will occasion this disease. We call another disease the Sickness; it appears to be a kind of cholera, as it swells them much in the body; it mostly attacks young sheep from before Martinmas until the spring. We have no remedy for it. The third disease is called the Louping ill which rages mostly from the 1st of April to the 1st of June. It deprives them of the use of their limbs. We likewise know no remedy for it.

P. S. In reading over my letter, I think it right to explain that part of it, where I say, that there are farms of four thousand acres, I do not mean that these large farms are all pastured by one flock of sheep, for one flock has seldom above seven or eight hundred acres to go upon.

# APPENDIX.—NUMBER VIII.

## *List of Barons summoned to the Siege of Caerlaveroc.*

ELLIS de AUBIGNI.  
 Aimar de St. Amand.  
 Brian fitz Alan.  
 Hugh de Bardolf.  
 John de Beauchamp.  
 John de Bar.

John de la Breche.  
 Walter de Beauchamp.  
 John Botetorte.  
 Anth. Beke, Bp. of Durham.  
 Maurice de Barkley.  
 Alex. de Bailleoll.

Barth.



- |                        |                           |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Barth. Badlesineri.    | Roger de Mortaign.        |
| Barkley.               | John de la Mare.          |
| Basset.                | Hugh de Mortimer.         |
| John de Clavering.     | Simo de Montagu.          |
| Robt. de Clifford.     | Roger de Mortimer.        |
| Hugh de Courtenay.     | Ralf de Monthermer.       |
| Couches.               | Bertrand Mountboucher.    |
| Wm. de Cantelo.        | Robert de Montealto.      |
| Cronwelle.             | Thomas de Multon.         |
| John de Cretingnes.    | Johes. de Odeston.        |
| Hugh le Dispenfer.     | Henry de Pery.            |
| Patric de Dunbar.      | Rob. fitz Payne.          |
| Edm. Daincourt.        | Hugh Poinz.               |
| John Daincourt.        | Johes. Paignell.          |
| Earl of Lincoln.       | Rob. fil. Rogeri.         |
| Hereford.              | Wm. de Ros.               |
| Warwick.               | John de Rivers.           |
| Bretaigne.             | Wm. de Ridre.             |
| Oxford.                | Tho. de Richmond.         |
| de Laonis.             | Richard de Rokele.        |
| Gloucester.            | Nich. de Segrave.         |
| John de Engaine.       | Segrave.                  |
| John le Estrang.       | John de Segrave.          |
| Simo Frefill.          | Robt. de Scales.          |
| Thomas de Furnival.    | Rich. Sieuart.            |
| Wm. de Ferrers.        | John de St. John.         |
| Adam de la Ford.       | St. John.                 |
| Henry de Graye.        | de Taterfall.             |
| Wm. de Grantfon.       | Rob. de Tony.             |
| John de Graye.         | Henry le Tieis.           |
| Gerard de Grondonvile. | John fitz Marmad. Thweng. |
| Henry de Graham.       | de Vavasours.             |
| Ralf de Gorges.        | Aimar de Valence.         |
| Eustace de Hache.      | Rob. fil. Walteri.        |
| John de Hastings.      | John de Warron.           |
| Simo de Hastings.      | Rich. fil. Wmi.           |
| Robt. Haunfert.        | Adam de Welles.           |
| de Hontercomb.         | Rob. de la Ward.          |
| Nich. de Karrn.        | Rob. de Willeby.          |
| Philip de Kime.        | Alvin de la Zouch.        |
| Tho. de Lankaster.     | Edvardus Rex.             |
| Wm. de Latimer.        | Ed. fil. Regis.           |
| Wm. de Layburn.        | Tho. fil. Regis.          |
| Wm. le Marshall.       | Baro de Wigneton.         |
| Walterus Money.        | de Kirkbride.             |
| John de Moun.          |                           |



## APPENDIX.—NUMBER IX.

*Of the Gold Mines of Scotland.*

From a MS. of Col. BORTHWICK and others.

MR. CORNELIUS DEVOSSEC, a lapidary in London, was the first who discovered gold in Scotland. In the vallies of Wanlockhead (near Leadhills) Abraham Grey, a Dutchman, who lived some time in London, got a good quantity of natural gold. He paid his workmen weekly, and lent to diverse men before hand, as it is written in that parchment book, saying, with this natural gold, gotten in Greatbeard's time (for so he was called, because of his great long beard, which he could have bound his middle) was made a very fair deep bason, without any addition of any other gold, at Edinburgh, in the Canongate street. It was made by a Scotsman, and contained by estimation, within the brims thereof, an English gallon of liquor; the same bason was of clean neat natural gold. It was then filled up to the brim with coined pieces of gold, called unicorns (which appear to have been only coined in James III. and James IV.'s time. For this vide Anders. Diplom. et Numismata Scotiæ) which bason and pieces both were presented to the French king by the regent Earl of Morton, who signified upon his honour to the king, saying, "My lord, behold this bason and all that therein is; it is natural gold got within this kingdom of Scotland by a Dutchman, named Abraham Grey." Abraham was standing by and affirmed it upon a solemn oath, but he said unto the said king, that he thought it did engender and increase within the earth, and that he observed it so to do by the influence of the heavens; then Earl Morton stood up, saying, "I also believe that it engenders within the earth, but only of these two elements, viz. water and earth; and that it was made perfect malleable gold from the beginning by God; and am certain that this cup, and all the pieces therein are of natural Scots gold, without any other compound or addition."

Mr. Atkinson and Mr. George Bowes, both Englishmen, procured a commission into Scotland unto the gold mines, and I happened on a book of his making in England; I compared the same (having carried it with me into Scotland,) with the report of the country; and the countrymen at Wanlockhead said it was so, and most true, that Mr. Bowes discovered a small vein of gold upon Wanlockhead. He swore all his workmen to keep it secret from the King of Scotland and his council: and so he promised; before his departure from England to the Queen Elizabeth, and by her letters to the council of Scotland, got a new warrant; so was suffered to dig and delve as he would, after another fashion than Mr. Bulmer or his men did. He digged fundry shafts, found oftentimes good feeling gold, and much small gold, of which he gave ten or twelve ounces, to make friends in England and Scotland. He had both English and Scots workmen, and paid them with the same gold. Mr. Bulmer's men found little or none. And when he and his men had filled their purses, then he caused the shaft to be filled up again, swearing his men to secrecy, and keep it close from the King of Scotland and his council. This was confessed by some of Mr. Bowes's chief servants since his death. On his return to England, he shewed the Queen a long purse full of the gold found in the vein he had discovered, and it was valued to be worth seven-score pounds. He told her Majesty he had made it very sure, and hid it up till next going there. She liked very well thereof, and promising him a triple reward, and to prepare himself next spring to go there at her Majesty's charge alone, to seek for  
a greater



a greater vein; he went home reit to his own country in the north of England, where he dwelt; but unfortunately riding to see the copper works and mines in Cumberland, at Kefwell, as he was going down into the deep, the ladder broke, the earth fell in, and he was bruised to death.

Then Mr. Atkinson succeeded Mr. Bowes, and found gold which was presented to King James. Cornelius Devossee, painter to Queen Elizabeth, excellent in the trial of minerals and mineral stones, and acquainted with Nicholas Hilliard\*, goldsmith and miniature-painter to her Majesty, engaged in the adventure with him in search of gold in Scotland. Both made an assignment to Arthur van Brownchurst to operate for them. They being informed by travellers of good experience, how that as sand and gravel have their several beds in England, even so are there beds of gold and silver in foreign countries they had travelled; rocks and craigs having veins and beds of iron, copper, and tin-minel, even so gold and silver have their veins amongst rocks and in the ground, so they hoped to find out a bed or vein of gold in Scotland. In consequence Brownchurst searched, and found gold in sundry places, but was forced to leave all in the mint-house by command of the King, being a minor; and Earl Morton, regent, refused Brownchurst the liberty of search, without paying full value for all such natural gold as should be gotten by him in Scotland; and, though a suitor four months, never obtained it, but became one of his Majesty's sworn servants in Scotland, to draw small and great pictures to the King. Mr. Bulmer, in Queen Elizabeth's time, searched and found gold, &c. in these places in Scotland; viz. 1. Upon Mannock moor in Niddesdale. 2. Wenlock water, on Robert moor, in Niddesdale. 3. Frier moor, or Glengonnar water in Clydesdale. 4. Short-cleugh water in Crawford moor. 5. Long-Cleuch braes, or Long-Cleuch head. He presented to the Queen a gold porringer, upon which were engraven the following lines:

I dare not give, nor yet present,  
But render part of that's thy own;  
My mind and heart shall still invent  
To seek out treasures yet unknown.

But, having lost his living by his own and others' prodigality, he recalled himself, and penned a book of all his acts, works, and devices, named *Bulmer's Skill*, and another great book on silver-mines, minerals, mineral stones, tin-mines, coal-mines, and salt-works, &c. It was proposed in council for him to procure twenty-four gentlemen of land, rent 10,000*l.* value, or 500*l.* yearly, who were to disburse 300*l.* sterling each man, in money or victuals, for maintenance of gold-mines in Scotland; for which each was to be knighted, and called the Knight of the Golden Mines, or the Golden Knight; but it did not take place, for the Earl of Salisbury crossed his views, only one knight was made, Sir John Claypool, with Sir Bewes Bulmer. Mr. Bulmer writeth of the variety of stones and metals found by him in Scotland; 1. viz. natural gold great and small, 2. natural silver, 3. copper-stone, 4. lead-ore, 5. iron-stone, 6. marble, 7. stone-coal, 8. beds of alabaster, 9. amethyst, 10. pearls.

Memorandum of the minerals found in Scotland by Colonel Borthwick. 1. A silver mine on the north side of the hill S. Jordan in the parish of Foveran. 2. Gold found about Dunidur beyond Aberdeen. 3. Silver called golden bank, at Menzies, in the parish of Foveran. 4. Silver, at the back of a park, where there is a well that serves Disblair's household, parish of Fintra, eight miles north by Aberdeen. 5. Gold

\* Mr. Walpole's *Anecdotes of Paintings*, i. 148.



in the boggs of New Leslie, at Drumgarran, two miles from Dūnidur. 6. Iron at the well of Sipa, west side of Woman-hill, near Gilkomstone miln, quarter of a mile from Aberdeen. 7. Gold, very rich, in a town called Overhill, parish Bechelvie, belongs to L. Glames, fourteen fathoms below the kiln. 8. Lead, at the head of Loughlieburn, north side of Selkirk. 9. Copper, in a place called Elphon, in a hill beside Allen laird of Hilltown's lands. 10. Silver, in the hill of Skrill, Galloway. 11. Silver, in Windyncil, Tweeddale. 12. Gold, in Glenclought, near Kirkhill. 13. Copper, in Locklaw, Fife. 14. Silver, in the hill south side Lochenhill. 15. Lead, in L. Brotherstone's land. 16. Several metals near Kirkcudbright. 17. Copper, north side Borthwickhill, Hawick, and Bransome. 18. Silver, in Kylemoor, Sorn, and Machlin, Ayrshire. 19. Several ores in Orkney.

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER X.

*A Dissertation on the Government of the People in the Western Isles.*

Written November 17, 1774, by the Rev. Mr. DONALD MACQUEEN, of Kilmuir, in the Isle of Skie.

THE distance of these isles from the centre of the state, secured as they were from the awe of supreme power, by high mountains, extensive moors, and impetuous seas, while their sovereigns were employed in quelling more dangerous insurrections at home, or in repelling the frequent incursions of their southern neighbours, left them in a kind of independency on the crown of Scotland; especially while for some centuries they continued to be governed by Norwegian viceroys, who coming from a wild and barbarous country, cannot be expected to have brought order or civilization along with them; nor was the matter much mended when Somerlade, the famous thane of Argyle, upon being married to a daughter of Olave, depute King of Man, got a footing in the isles, all of which to the north of the Mull of Kintyre, together with Kintyre itself, he possessed by himself or his descendants, or those having right from them, until about the beginning of the fifteenth century. All this while whatever reformation was made in the heart of the kingdom on the manners and prejudices of barbarous times, could have made but a very slow progress in the isles; though, as islands, they must be supposed to have yielded to the arts of peace and good order earlier than their neighbours upon the continent. Islands, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the additional subsistence they draw from the sea, are generally closer inhabited; crimes could not then lie so long concealed among them as in distant unhospitable glens and mountains: they are also more frequented by strangers; and therefore by a sort of collision the men would polish one another into good manners. They had a sheriff of the isles under the Norwegian dynasty; but when the lands were parcelled out afterwards by the lords of the isles, the descendants of Somerlade, among barons of different ranks and sizes, each of these barons, assisted by the chief men of the community, held his court on the top of a hill called Cnock and Eric, i. e. the hill of pleas, where the disputes they had among themselves were determined, where the encroachments of their neighbours were considered, and the manner of repelling force by force, or the necessary alliances they were to enter into, resolved on. In this period, when agriculture, trade, and manufactures were at a very low pitch, the laws were few and general: their little contracts were authenticated by being transacted in the presence of witnesses; the marches of the different barons were fixed before a crowd by two or more sagacious men, and two or more young lads were scourged with thongs of leather, that they might the better re-



member the transaction. The last who was thus used is now an old man, and a pensioner to the family of Macdonald. Nor were the people in their purchases so diffident of one another, as to insist upon a cautioner, that the beast or subject exposed to open sale was fairly come by, or would not be reclaimed by another, which was once a common practice over the kingdom, called in plain Gaulic, *Ra-disneab*. The penal laws were more numerous, severe, and particular; for when restraints are put upon natural liberty, and the customs to which men were habituated in a state of barbarity were to be reduced or abolished, men must have very alarming examples painted before their eyes. The laws of the first legislators in all countries are very severe, and are softened and moderated according to the progress of civilization. The legislator of the Jews, though a very meek man, punishes several crimes with the most cruel kinds of death, stoning and burning. Of Draco's laws, one of the first Athenian legislators, it is said that they were written with blood; and it is well known that the laws of the twelve tables were very severe. Traitors were put to death in the isles, being, according to a custom that prevailed among the Norwegians, first gelded and both their eyes pulled out. Incestuous persons were buried in marshes alive, and bankrupts, without entering into a consideration of the nature of their misfortunes, were stripped of their all, clad in a party-coloured clouted garment, with stockings of different sets, and had their hips dashed against a stone in presence of the people by four men, each taking hold of an arm or a thigh. This punishment they called *Ton cruagh*; and cowardice, when not capitally punished, was accompanied with perpetual infamy. The prisons were dark vaults, without beds, or the smallest crevice to introduce light, where no friend was permitted to comfort the criminal, who, after a long fast, was often killed with a surfeit. This was the case of Heichen, the son of Archibald Clerich, a traitor against the family of Macdonald, who died in the vault of Duntulm, of a surfeit of salt beef, being refused any kind of drink. The severity of justice laid hold but on a few; for the protection of the tribe or clan was generally resorted to, who did all in their power to save their own man from distress, or to pursue with vengeance the person who had offended any of their number. It often happened in this case, that among powerful tribes the voice of the judge was too weak to be heard; then religion stepped in as a necessary supplement to his power. Sanctuaries, called girths, were consecrated in every district, to which the criminal fled; where the superstition of the times, countenanced by the political institutions, secured him from every act of violence, until he was brought to a judicial trial. To this day we say of a man who flies to a place of security, *bug e an girt er*; and whatever party violated the sanctuary, which very seldom happened, brought the terrible vengeance of the church upon their back. Such a bridle as this became absolutely necessary to restrain the anger and impetuosity of a lawless tribe when provoked. Again, when the criminal got in among his own people, they did all in their power to justify his conduct and save his person. In this case the resentment turned on the clan, and any one of them who fell into the hands of the offended was sure to suffer distress, or to be kept in durance, until the criminal was delivered over to justice, which practice was at last found expedient to be turned into a law in the kingdom, to prevent the clans from coming buckled in all their armour to the field, to determine their own quarrels.

In process of time they learned from their neighbours, as well as from their own experience, that to perpetuate strife and disorder among tribes who were almost in full possession of their natural liberty, excepting when the local custom stood in their way, was dangerous to the public, and ruinous to themselves. To stop the progress of resentment, they cancelled the injury by satisfaction with their cattle, by a mutual agree-

ment



ment betwixt the parties, which therefore was called a composition, to be divided betwixt the injured party and his clan. But as the composition was not always easily accepted, the principals of the different tribes fixed the value of it for every injury, and estimated the life of a man according to his rank: here a people void of refinement made little distinction betwixt voluntary and involuntary trespasses, for fear that impunity in any case should give a scope to wicked persons to abuse the indulgence of custom or law. The greatness of the composition in this case brought not only honour along with it, but greater security in a rude and barbarous neighbourhood. This ransom was called *Eric*. The clan was then obliged to give up the defender, or become liable for the penalty proportioned to the injury committed. Thus the clans became mutual pledges for the good behaviour of the individuals who composed them. When specie found its way in among them, a price was put upon the cattle, and by the necessary decrease in the value of money, which they were not aware of, the *eric* came at length to be very trifling; but by this time the laws of the kingdom had made near approaches to them, which were far from being welcome to men closely attached to their own customs and connections, being deaf to the voice of parties, and to the distinctions of clans and individuals. "The law hath come the length of Ross-shire," saith one neighbour by way of news to another. "O ho!" replies he, "if God doth not stop it, you will soon have it nearer home." Much after this manner hath the progress of civilization been carried on in all the countries of Europe; for similar causes produce similar effects.

All the time preceding the beginning of the fifteenth century, and somewhat later, the government of the isles and of the neighbouring continent was of the military kind. The people were made up of different clans, each of which was under the direction of a chief or leader of their own, and as their security and honour consisted in the number and strength of the clan, no political engine was neglected that could be thought of to increase their numbers, or inflame their courage. The children of the principal people were given out to nurses: the foster-brothers, or coals, as they called them, with their children and connections for many generations, were firmly attached to their will and interest. This sort of relation was carefully traced out, and the memory of it preserved, being esteemed a stronger bond of friendship than blood or alliance. It was to increase their numbers that bastardy was under no sort of dishonour: besides that the children got out of wedlock, to remove the uncertainty of their birth, expressed more love, and underwent more hazards on account of the clan, than the lawful children, by which they generally acquired a higher degree of strength both of mind and body, and therefore were sometimes called to the succession by a heroic tribe, in preference of those who by the present laws should enjoy it. Such a breach in the lineage of a family is disavowed, as being a dishonourable blot by the present race, though the several branches are apt to charge it upon one another, when debating upon the ideal chieftainry of a clan. It was however reckoned no discredit in the days of military prowess. Abimelech, King of Sichem, was begot by Gideon, on a concubine, and preferred to the seventy children he had by his married wives. William the Conqueror was not ashamed to call himself the Bastard of Normandy; as little was Ulysses to acknowledge that he was the son of a concubine. The safety of the community is the supreme law, to which every political consideration must occasionally yield.

It would be astonishing to hear that theft and plundering, instead of being infamous, were reckoned the most wholesome exercise of youth, when they went without the limits of their own community, and were not taken in the fact, if it were not commonly known to have been the case every where. From this source the chieftains derived



rewards for their numerous followers, and dowries sometimes for their daughters. It is known that one of them engaged in a contract of marriage to give his son-in-law the purchase of three Michaelmas moons, at a season of the year when the nights were long, and the cattle strong enough to bear hard driving. This transaction happened on the main land, where dark woods, extensive wastes, high forked mountains, and a coast indented with long winding branches of the sea, favoured the trade. These were strong holds, little frequented by strangers, where the ancient practices and prejudices might be preserved to the last periods of time, without some such violent shock as that of the year 1745. The islanders yielded much earlier to the arts of peace and civility, for the Dean in the year 1549 mentions only some petty piracies from a few of the smaller islands which were divided from a well-peopled neighbourhood.

In the military days, the chieftain drew little or no rent from his people: he had some of the best farms in his own hands, to which there was a casual accession by forfeitures; he had his proportion of the fines laid upon the trespassers of the law; he had the herefield horse when any of his farmers died; he had a benevolence or voluntary contributions sent him, according to the power and good intentions of every man; he and his coohir, or retinue, could lodge upon them when he pleased; and they were obliged to support him and his baron-like train, when he was employed in dispensing justice among them. This allowance was called a Cutting for the Court, or *Gearrigh Moid*. When rents began to be levied, which were at first but a moderate part of the produce of each farm, the former revenues gave way gradually, though some branches of them were preserved till within the memory of men now living. Nor was it necessary to use distress for levying these accustomed taxes or servitudes; an attachment to the chief was the first principle of the people's education; a defect on that head was judged a renunciation of all virtue; their thoughts and words were much employed about him; it was the usual acclamation on a surprise from any unexpected misfortune, "God be with the chief! May the chief be uppermost!" and swearing by his hand was a common form of affeuration; on every such occasion giving him his proper title. Further, on the side of the chieftain, no art of affability, generosity, or friendship, which could inspire love and esteem, was left untried to secure a full and willing obedience, which strengthened the impressions of education, while they were not yet abused by the chief, at the instigation of luxury, and the ambition of cutting an unmeaning figure in the Low Country, where numbers were more respected, and his usefulness could very well be spared.

All this while the people preserved a good deal of their liberty and independence; the dispensation of justice, such as it was, kept them however in order within the limits of their own country: but there was a law of another kind planted in the human breast by the friendly hand of our Maker, which bridled their natural impetuosity much more; that was a quick sense of honour and shame, which was nourished by their education, being all bred to the use of arms, to hunting, to the exertion of their strength in several amusements, games, and feats of activity. The bard celebrated the praises of him who distinguished himself on any of these occasions, and dealt out his satire but with a very sparing hand, for fear of rousing up the ferocity of men, who were in use to judge in their own cause, when they appealed to the sword, and either retrieved their honour or died; valour was the virtue most in repute; according to their progress in it were they distinguished by their chieftain and friends. Every one of the superior clans thought himself a gentleman, as deriving his pedigree from an honourable stock, and proposed to do nothing unworthy of his descent or connections; and the inferior clans, the Boddacks, as they called them, tread at an humble distance in the steps of their patrons,  
whose



whose esteem and applause they courted with passionate keenness. The love, affection, and esteem of the community all aimed to procure by a disinterested practice of the social duties, truth, generosity, friendship, hospitality, gratitude, decency of manners, for which there are no rewards decreed in any country, but were amply paid among the Highlanders by that honour and respect of which they had a very delicate taste. Avarice, debauchery, churlishness, deceit, ingratitude, which can scarcely be punished by the magistrate, were banished by the dreadful fear of shame. These two provisions, which kind nature hath made for directing the conduct of man, were so incorporated with the hearts and manners of the people, that the influence of them came down to our days, and continued a good supplement to the want of law, and to the lame execution of what law they had. Men of lively open tempers are generally sincere, faithful, and religious observers of their words. Men used to terminate their disputes by the sword will detest fraud and duplicity as the true ensigns of cowardice. Yet it must be owned, that their virtues were too much confined to their own community, whose friendships and enmities every individual espoused, and were therefore more animated by the spirit of faction than by their regard to reason and common justice, which led them often in a wrong way. Of all virtues their hospitality was the most extensive; every door and every heart was open to the stranger and to the fugitive; to these they were particularly humane and generous, vied with one another who would use them best, and looked on the person who sought their protection as a sacred *depositum*, which on no consideration they were to give up. Men of narrow principles are disposed to attribute the uncommon hospitality of the Highlanders not so much to generosity as to self-love, the absolute want of inns making it necessary to receive the stranger, in hopes of being repaid in their own persons, or in that of their friends. Hospitality was founded on immemorial custom, before the thoughts of men were contracted by the use of weights and measures, and reckoned so far a sacred obligation as to think themselves bound to entertain the man who from a principle of ill-will and resentment, forned \* upon them with a numerous retinue, which went under the name of the Odious Visitor, *Coinimb-Dhuirnigh*. Of this there have been instances within a century back; which kind of hospitality could scarce be supposed self-interested.

To return from this digression (if it be one) about the favourite virtues of the islanders and their neighbours on the opposite coast. Let us recollect, that when our sovereigns had any respite from foreign and domestic troubles, they did not neglect to try all means to assimilate these distant skirts of their dominions to their other more peaceable and industrious subjects. The most of the proprietors, instead of holding of the lords of the isles, were, on the fall of that great family, directed by their best friends to get their charters confirmed by King James IV. King James V. made an expedition among them, to quell their insurrections; and King James VI. seriously proposed to introduce the comforts of civilization among them, when, in his fifteenth parliament, he erected the three burghs of Kilkerran or Campbeltown, Inverlochy, and Stornoway, which, though among a people impatient of foreign intruders, they did not produce the full effect intended by government, yet made way for beating and distressing the renegadoes into good manners, by means of the Campbells and Mackenzies, loyal subjects supported by public authority, as could not miss to determine the islanders and others to submit to good order.

At length the local customs, and such new statutes as occasion required, enacted by the proprietor, his bailey, and some of the better sort of people, were reduced into writing, not above a century ago, in the isle of Sky, and proclaimed annually at the

\* Made a forced visit.



church-doors. Some of these regulations are surprizingly regular and distinct; and under the administration of a humane master and a judicious bailey, the people found themselves happy enough. While the spirit of clanship preserved any of its warmth, the chieftain seldom intended an injury; and when any was offered, by him or by another, it was soon demolished by the weight of a multitude; but when this balance of power was weakened and dissolved, the people lay much at mercy. In time, of a minority, or when the proprietor took it into his head to visit London or Edinburgh, the estate being left under the management of this bailey, who generally was the steward or factor, the rights of mankind were often trampled under foot: being his master's eyes, ears, and almost his very soul, by whom he saw, heard, and understood every thing, any obnoxious person was easily misrepresented. In time of a minority his powers of doing mischief were more unrestrained, tutors being less attentive than any men to their own interest. Scarce an imperial procurator sent to one of the distant provinces, clad in all the authority of the sovereign city, was more dreadful than he, when a judge, executor of the laws, raiser of the rents, a drover, and entrusted with keeping the lands. The seats of justice were at too great a distance; the law a slow, uncertain, expensive redresser of grievances; the factor like to be supported by his constituent, while the general voice of a servile neighbourhood went along with the man in power. These were discouragements which the feeble efforts of a farmer could not easily surmount. In proportion as the old military spirit decayed, all the natural and artificial connections of the clans dissolved apace; every man was then left single, to combat a force too strong for him to manage. In a very seasonable hour the heritable jurisdictions were abolished, and sheriffs depending upon the sovereign alone appointed to dispense justice, which was surely a great relief to the leidges, where their sphere of action was not too extensive for themselves or the substitutes they were able or willing to employ in excentric corners; even in that case the people multered up more spirit, and acquired some knowledge of the rights they were born to.

The proprietors had still a hold which the laws could not even moderate; for they could set what value they pleased on their freehold; and some among them who had run themselves in debt by high living; some who had a passion for money, and did not sufficiently consider the state of their people, the greater number mistaking the high prices of cattle and of the other produce of their lands for the true standard by which to estimate their rent-roll, without making the necessary allowance for the greater disbursement of the farmers in servants' wages, implements of tillage, and in every article of living and family-keeping; and others, a few I believe, unwilling to see any part of their former authority taken away without a suitable compensation for it, loaded their people with heavier rents than the advanced price of their cattle, &c. could bear; and rather than sink under this burden, crowds of them made their way to the wilds of America; though the rage of emigration, like a contagious distemper, seized upon several who had little cause to complain.

*Anglican practice* P. S. The hand-fisting of the southern part of Scotland has put me in mind of an omission in the above. It was an ancient practice, among the men of rank especially, to take an year's trial of a wife, and if they were mutually satisfied with one another in that time, the marriage was declared good and lawful at the expiration of it. But when either of the parties insisted upon a separation, and that a child was begotten in the year of probation, it was to be taken care of by the father only, and to be ranked among his lawful children next after his heirs. He was not considered as a bastard, because the cohabitation was justified by custom, and introduced with a view of making way for a happy and peaceable marriage. One of the great Lords of the Isles took such a trial of a nobleman's daughter upon the continent, got a son by her, and after separation settled an



an extensive fortune upon him in lands *tenendus de me, et hereditibus meis*, the greater part of which his honourable posterity possess to this day. Such was also the power of custom, that this apprenticeship for matrimony brought no reproach on the separated lady; and if her character was good, she was entitled to an equal match as if nothing had ever happened.

Adultery was punished here by dipping the guilty in a pond, or by making him or her stand in a barrel of cold water at the church door; and when the rigour of judicial discipline was a little softened, the delinquent, clad in a wet canvas shirt, was made to stand before the congregation; and at the close of service, the minister explained to him the nature of his offence, and exhorted him to repentance.

All civil professions were anciently hereditary in the isles. The bards, the *sheanchies* or genealogists, the physicians, the pipers, and even the cooks, all of whom had appointments in lands settled on them, according to the munificent temper of the feudal government. It was only in the time of our fathers, that Macdonald of Clan-ronald's Sheanchy and Bard, Mac-Mhurach, began to pay rent for his heretable farm. The other hereditary professions have long been come to a close, except the Mac-Kartars and Mac-Krumens, the pipers of the family of Mac-Donald and Mac-Leod, who still preserve their appointments. I shall also except Doctor John Maclean, whose ancestors have been physicians to the family of Macdonald for time immemorial, educated at the expence, and preferred to the farm of Shulista, near the gates of Duntulm. The late Sir James Macdonald, for the farther encouragement of the above gentleman, settled upon him a considerable pension during life, to raise also the emulation of any of his sons who might be bred to his business, when they observe a distinction made according to the merit of these hereditary professors of medicine.

Though the professions were confined to one family, which might naturally be supposed to quench emulation, yet the frequent occasion these artists had of intermixing with the neighbouring chieftains, determined them to support the pride of their superiors, by exerting their whole powers to excel every other professor of their own art; because their love and attachment to their chief was the first principle of their education.

Neither have I heard that any of these families ever failed, though, according to the course of things, that sometimes might have happened; but they had the choice of the women among their own rank, the superior often giving directions in this momentous affair; and among a number of children some one or other would be found fit to follow his father's, or, in case of an accident, his uncle's calling. It would be strange indeed, if, among ten or twelve sons, Doctor Maclean could not find one with a genius for physic.

### *Of the Cruagich.*

By the Same.

BEFORE the arts of carving, engraving, or statuary-work were invented, or in the countries, into which they were not introduced, the representations of the Divinity, whether high or subordinate, were no other than the trunks of trees, or rude unformed stones. The emblem of the Supreme God at Dodona, consecrated by the Hyperbo-reans, was the trunk of an oak, and so it was in the Massilian grove.

————— Simulacraque munda Deorum  
Arte carent, cæcisque extant informia truncis.



The emblem of Apollo at Delphi, set up by the Pelas-Gi, the primitive inhabitants of Greece, was no other than a pillar of stone. Several examples of this kind are mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius.

As the Celtic tribes worshipped spiritual Gods, whether the Supreme, or subordinate ones; they well knew that material representations could not be expressive of them, though the trunk of a tree or a stone could very well mark out the place of worship, in a grove or on the summit of a mountain, where the small societies in the neighbourhood might convene on solemn occasions, or as the necessity of the community might seem to require, in order to conciliate the favour and assistance of the Divinity whom they resorted to. Men of different religious principles have been often unjust to one another in common charge of idolatry; the Protestants lay it to the account of the Catholics, the Catholics to the account of Pagans of all denominations, which all deny, who know best what they are employed about. They surely pray, such at least of them as can think, not to a stock or a stone, whether in a state of nature or formed by art into a statue, but to the Divinity, of which one or the other is an emblem. Among the variety of subaltern Divinities, which the Celtic tribes worshipped, the spirit of the sun was in the foremost rank, the sun being the most chearful, and the most universally beneficent of all created and visible beings. It brought joy and gladness along with it to all the animal creation, to groves, to fields, and meadows. The day of its return was celebrated in every district by a *feu de joye*; whence May day was called in the Gaelic, *la Beltein*, the day of Bel's fire; Belis being one of the names of the sun in Gaul. Herodian, lib. 8. The worship of the sun was so frequent, that several mistook it for the principal object of adoration. The inclosures called *Grianan*, or *Grianham*, the House of the Sun, are to be met with every where, in which they offered their sacrifices, commonly horses, burnt betwixt two large fires; whence the proverb, "He is betwixt two *Beltein* fires," which is applied to one in the hands of two artful persons, whose intrigues he is not able to escape. From these inclosures they also received oracular responses. When the elegant arts were invented, the Celtic Deities appeared carved, engraved, or painted, in such forms as the imagination of the workman suggested to him as the most emblematical and expressive of the common conceit they entertained of the Divinities they meant to point out. Then they changed the rude lumps into figures resembling living creatures, generally into men, as being the most honourable forms. The Spirit of the Sun, or the God who, according to the ancient creed, guided it in its course, was figured as a young lively man, with long, yellow, dishevelled hair: under this appearance Apollo hath the epithet of *χρυσότομος*, the golden haired, given him by Euripides; and of *ανειριτομος*, the unshaven, by Homer, alluding to beams of the sun, which are long and yellow. This imaginary conceit of the Hyperborean Apollo made its way to the Highlands of Scotland, where to this day he is called by the name of *Gruagach*, the fair-haired. The superstition or warm imagination of ignorant people introduced him as a sportive salutary guest into several families, in which he played many entertaining tricks and then disappeared. It is a little more than a century ago, since he hath been supposed to have got an honest man's daughter with child, at Shulista, near to Duntulme, the seat of the family of Macdonald: though it is more probable, that one of the great man's retinue did that business for him. But though the *Gruagach* offers himself to every one's fancy as a young handsome man, with fair tresses, his emblems, which are in almost every village, are no other than rude unpolished stones of different figures just as they seemed cast up to the hand of the Druid who consecrated them. Carving was not introduced into the Hebrides; and though it had,



had, such of the unformed images as were preserved would for their antiquity be revered, in preference of any attempts in the modern arts.

The Gruagich stones, as far as tradition can inform us, were only honoured with libations of milk from the hands of the dairy maid, which were offered to Gruagach upon the Sunday, for the preservation of the cattle on the ensuing week. From this custom Apollo seems to have derived the epithet Galaxius. This was one of the sober offerings that well became a poor or frugal people, who had neither wine nor oil to bestow; by which they recommended their only stock and subsistence to their favourite divinity, whom they had always in their eye, and whose blessings they enjoyed every day.——The inscription “Apollini Granno” (Grianich the Sunny) was on a stone of this kind, dug up from the ruins of the Roman Pretecture, in King James the sixth's time.——The inscription in Gruter, “Apollini Befino,” seems to have been on such another.——The rock idols of Cornwall, in Dr. Borlase, seem to be of the same kind, though of different forms; for it was not the shape, but the consecration, that pointed out their uses. Notwithstanding they are numerous in this island, you will scarce meet with any two of them of the same cast. The idol stones besides that remain with us are oblong square altars of rough stone, that lie within the Druids houses, as we call them. Observe also, that the worship of the sun seems to have continued in England until King Canute's time, by a law of his, which prohibits that, with other idolatrous practices.

# APPENDIX.—NUMBER XI.

## Of the Numbers in the Hebrides and the Western Highlands.

Counties.	Parishes.	Protestants catechizable.	Roman Catholics.
Argyle	Toracy	893	7
	Rofs	1200	—
	Kilmore.	1800	—
Argyle	Cannay	16	276
	Muck	80	9
Inverness	Rum	271	13
	Egg	44	390
	Slate	1400	1
	Strath	900	—
	Portree	1100	—
	Brackadel	2500	—
	Diurnish and Waternish	2500	—
	Kilmuir	1300	2
	Snizort	800	—
	Loch-Broom	2000	—
Rofs	Affynt	1600	—
	Gair-loch	3000	1
	Applecrofs	1200	—
	Lock-carran	1774	—
	Kintail	600	—



Counties.	Parishes.	Protestants catechizable.	Roman Catholics.
Inverness	Glenelg, Bernera	660	
	Knodyart and } North Morrar }	—	950
	South Morrar	—	300
Argyle	All in the Parish of { Arifag —	4	500
	Moydart —	10	500
	Sunnart —	439	4
	Arduamurchan —	957	
	Morvern —	1100	
	Eilmore and Appin —	2860	

These are the Parishes mentioned in the Report, which I either visited or failed by. The reader may be probably desirous of a view of the numbers contained in the other islands; which shall be given from the same authority, except when otherwise mentioned.

Inverness	Isle of Lewis*.		
	Stornaway	2000	
	Lochs	800	
	Elig	1000	
	Barvas	1000	
	Isle of Harris		
	with Bernera	2000	
	Pabbay		
	Killegray		
	Enfay		
	Joranfay		
	Scaop	1700	1
	North Wist		
	with Heyfkir		
	Barra	250	1850
	South Wist		
	with Benbecula		
	Erifca	80	1020
	Barra †		
	St. Kilda ‡	88	
Argyle	Tir-I	1240	
	Col	900	3

\* According to the account communicated to me by Mr. Gillander, agent of the island, the number of souls, in 1763, amounted to between eight and nine thousand.

† Barra was a Protestant isle till the reign of Charles II. when some Catholic missionaries, taking advantage of the neglect and ill conduct of the minister, brought the inhabitants over to their religion.

‡ From Mr. Macaulay's History of that island.



## APPENDIX.—NUMBER XII.

*Copy of a Writ of Fire and Sword.*

“ CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, To our Lovites \*

Messengers, our Sheriffes in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitut; and to all and sundry our leidges whom it effeirs, greitting. Forasmuchas wee and the Lords of our Privy Councell being informed, that upon the 23d day of June last by past, the Persons underwritten, viz. Lauchlan M'Laine of Broloies, Hector Oig M'Laine his brother, &c. were orderly denounced rebels and put to the horn by virtue of letters of denunciation direct at the instance of Duncan Fisher, Procurator Fiscal of the Justiciar Court of Argyle for our interest against them, for their not compearing personally within the Tolbuith of the burgh of Innerrary, upon the said 23d day of June last, before Mr. John Campbell of Moy, Sheriffe Depute of the Sherriffedome of Argyle, to our right trusty and well beloved Cousin and Councillor Archibald Earle of Argyle, Heretable Justiciar General of the said Shyre of Argyle and the isles thereof, as they who were lawfully cited upon the 24th and 25th days of May last, by Duncan Clarke, Messenger, to have compeared the said day and place, to have found caution acted in the bookes of adjournall for their compearance the said day, to have answered and underlyen the law for their convocating the number of three or four hundreth men in Aprile last, by sending of Fyre proces thro' the isle of Mull, Morveran, and other places, and remaining and abydeing upon the lands of Knoker Martin in ane warlyke posture, from the 22d of the said month to the last thereof; as also convocating one hundreth men, and keeping them in arms the space foresaid at Gadderly and Glenforfay; and sicklike for garrisoning the house and fort of Cairnbulg upon the day of the said month, or ane or other of them, with the number of armed persons, and appointing a captain and other officers for keeping the same, and securing the country against the execution of our laws; for their violent away carrying several corns, bear, horse, and swyne, arrested upon the lands of Crosschoill and Sulnavaig, by Duncan Clarke Messenger, notwithstanding of a lawful intimation made by the said Messenger of the said arrestment; and likewise for the said Lauchlan M'Laine of Broloies, and David Ramsay commissary of the isles, and their followers, being in Tirie in Aprile last, and oppressing the tenants there, by quartering and forning upon them, and causing bring meal and provision frae the tenants and possessors of Kendway in Tirie, and others, to Lauchlan M'Laine baillie, in Tirie, his house in Kilsaile; and lastly, for the foresaid persons and their followers, in the months of March or Aprile last, their entering into a league and bond, and obligeing themselves by oath to join and adhere one to another, and immediately thereafter garrisoned the house and fort of Cairnbulg in manner foresaid, contrar to and in contempt of our laws and acts of parliament made against these crymes in manner at length specified in the criminal letters raised against them thereanent, as the said letters of denunciation, duly execute and registrate in the books of adjournall of the Justice Court of the Shyre of Argyle, conform to the act of parliament, produced in the presence of the Lords of our Privy Councell bears. At the proces of the which horn the forenamed persons most proudly and contemptuously lye and remain taking no regard thereof nor of our authority and laws, bot in contempt of

\* i. e. Loyal or true subjects.



the same haunts, frequents, and repairs to all places within this our realm, as if they were our free leidges. Wee therefore, with the advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, have made and constitute, and hereby make and constitute, the Lord Neill Campbell, John Campbell younger of Glenorchy, Sir James Campbell of Lawers, John M'Leod of Dunvegan, Sir Norman M'Leod, Campbell of Ardinglas, M'Donald captain of Clanronald, Alexander Campbell, uncle to Auchinbreck,

M'Alaster of Loop, and Duncan Stewart of Appin, our commissioners in that part, to the effect after speceified givand, grantand, and committand to them conjunctly and severally our full power and commission, expresse bidding, and charge to convocat our leidges in armes, and to pass, search, seek, take, and apprehend, and, in case of resistance or hostile opposition, to pursue to the death the saids Lauchlan MacLaine of Broloes and remnant persons foresaids rebels, for the causes above-written. And if for their defence they shall happen to flee to strengthes or houses, in that case, Wee, with advice foresaid, give full power and authority to our saids Commissioners conjunctly and severally as said is, to pass, pursue, and assedge the saids strengths and houses, raise fyre and all kynd of force and warlyke engynes, that can be had, for winning and recovering thereof, and apprehending the saids rebels and their complices being thereintill; and if in pursute of the saids rebels and their complices, they resisting to be taken, or in assedging the saids strengths and houses, there shall happen to be fyre raising, mutilation, slaughter, destruction of corns or goods or other inconveniences to follow, Wee, with advyce foresaid, will and grant, and for us and our successors, decern and ordain, that the same shall not be imputed as cryme or offence to our said Commissioners, nor to the persons assisting them in the execution of this our commission; with power to our saids Commissioners, or such as shall be convocat be them, to bear, wear, and make use of hagbutts and pistols in the execution of this our commission, notwithstanding of any law in the contrary. And farther, we do hereby take our saids Commissioners and such persons as shall assist them in the execution of this our commission, under our special protection and safeguard. And this our commission to continow and endure for the space of ane year after the date hereof: Provided that our saids Commissioners give ane account to us of their diligence and procedure herein betwixt and the first day of January next.

“ Our will is herefore, and we charge you strictly and command that, incontinent thir our letters seen, ye pass to the market crosses of \_\_\_\_\_ and other places needful, and thereat in our name and authority command and charge all and fundry our good and loving subjects, in their most substantial and warlyke manner, to ryse, concur with, fortify and assist our saids Commissioners in the execution of this our commission under all highest paynes and charges that after may follow. Given at, &c.”

The above is copied from the records of the Privy Council of Scotland, on the 22d July 1675.

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER XIII.

##### *Of the Sivvens.*

A Loathsome and very infectious disease of the venereal kind, called the Sivvens, has long afflicted the inhabitants of the Highlands, and from thence some parts of the Lowlands in Scotland, even as far as the borders of England. Tradition says that it



was introduced by the soldiers of Cromwell garrisoned in the Highlands. It occasions foul ulcers in the throat, mouth, and skin, and sometimes deep boils, which, when ulcerated, put on a cancerous appearance. It sometimes destroys the nose, or causes the teeth to drop out of their sockets; sometimes a fungus appears in various parts of the body, resembling a raspberry, in the Erse language called *Sivven*. This disorder chiefly attacks children, and the lowest class of people, who communicate it to each other by their dirty habit of living. It is propagated not only by sleeping with, sucking, or saluting the infected, but even by using the same spoon, knife, glass, cup, pipe, cloth, &c. before they have been washed and cleaned. This, like other species of the venereal disease, is cured by mercury; and the only means of preventing so dreadful a malady is by the strictest attention to every circumstance of cleanliness.

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER XIV.

*On the Dukes of Atholl and Lady Wright fishing at Atholl-House.*

By a LADY.

WHERE silver-footed Garry nimbly flows,  
 Whose verdant banks the nymphs and naiads love;  
 Where nature ev'ry blooming sweet bestows,  
 Not less delightful than Idalia's grove;

As contemplation led my wand'ring feet  
 Along the margin of the crystal flood,  
 The feather'd songsters hail'd the sweet retreat,  
 And gentle zephyrs whisper'd thro' the wood.

Charm'd with the scene, silent a while I gaz'd,  
 Intently listening to the murmur'ing stream,  
 In grateful transports nature's God I prais'd,  
 And long my soul pursu'd the rapt'rous theme.

At length I heard, or fancy form'd the tale,  
 A gentle voice in mournful notes complain;  
 Soft echo bore the accents thro' the vale,  
 And thus the mourner seem'd to breathe his pain:

“ Why did I idly leave the coral groves,  
 Where safety on the breast of silence lies?  
 Danger still waits the heedless fool that roves,  
 And in pursuit of fleeting bliss he dies.

“ One fatal day, as near the brink I stray'd,  
 Two pleasing forms lean'd o'er the trembling brook;  
 Their gentle smiles an artless mind betray'd:  
 Mischievous sure never wore so fair a look!

“ Each



- “ Each held a magic wand with wond’rous grace,  
 A pendant line convey’d the tempting bait;  
 O! fight portentous to the finny race,  
 Fraught with the dire command of cruel fate!
- “ My tender mate play’d fearless by my side;  
 With eager joy she snatch’d the hidden dart,  
 Instant, alas! I lost my lovely bride;  
 What racking torture seiz’d my wounded heart!
- “ E’er since that hour; to pining grief a prey,  
 My flowing tears increase my native flood;  
 In melancholy sighs I waste the day,  
 And shun the commerce of the scaly brood.
- “ Should chance this mournful tale at Blair relate,  
 Where dwell the dang’rous fair who caus’d my pain;  
 They who can love so well would mourn my fate,  
 And ne’er disturb our harmless race again.”

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER XV.

*Repository of Ashes.*

TWO miles north of Coupar Angus, near a small village called Coupar Grange, on a gentle eminence, was lately discovered a repository of the ashes of sacrifices, which our ancestors were wont to offer up, in honour of their deities. It is a large space, of a circular form, fenced with a wall on either side, and paved at bottom with flags. The walls are about five feet in height, and built with coarse stone. They form an outer and an inner circle, distant from each other nine feet. The diameter of the inner circle is sixty feet; and the area of it is of a piece with the circumjacent soil. But the space between the walls is filled with ashes of wood, particularly oak, and with the bones of various species of animals. I could plainly distinguish the extremities of several bones of sheep; and was informed that teeth of oxen and sheep had been found. The top of the walls and ashes is near two feet below the surface of the field. The entry is from the N. W. and about ten or twelve feet in breadth. From it a pathway six feet broad, and paved with small stones, leads eastward to a large free-stone, standing erect between the walls, and reaching five feet above the pavement, supported by other stones at bottom. It is flat on the upper part and two feet square. Another repository of the same kind and dimensions was some months ago discovered at the distance of three hundred paces from the former. From the numbers of oak trees that have been digged out of the neighbouring grounds it would appear that this was anciently a grove.

A further account of similar structures have been since communicated to me.

Mr. Pennant, in the third volume of his *Tour in Scotland*, gives an account of an ancient building discovered near the village of Coupar Grange, within two miles of Coupar in Angus; this he supposes was a repository for the ashes of the sacrifices which our ancestors were wont to offer in honour of their deities. A building of this kind,



and which probably had been intended for the same purposes, was lately discovered in the county of Edinburgh, in a field to the north of Middleton house, the seat of Mr. Michelson, and about a mile and half south-west of Borthwick castle. This building, like that described by Mr. Pennant, was about a foot under the present surface of the field, and was discovered by the plough; it differed from Mr. Pennant's in being only an irregular segment of a circle, and in having the bottom lined with fine clay in place of flags; like Mr. Pennant's, it had a narrow entry, pointing nearly N. W. Below I have given a rude figure, with the dimensions. This building is formed in general of rough land stones, and is open at top, the stones not bound or overlapping one another as in good masonry, and none, even of the best stones, appear to have been formed by art; the surrounding soil is gravel going deeper than the foundation of the walls. The whole space between the walls was filled with materials very different from the circumjacent soil: the greatest part of the contents was a rich black mould, irregularly interspersed with charcoal of wood, burnt earth, and bones reduced to a resemblance of saw-dust; a great many teeth in a more perfect state, some of them very entire, all evidently the teeth of Phytophagous animals, some plainly the teeth of sheep and oxen, and no appearance of human teeth. No artificial substances were found, nor any thing else but some stones that must have fallen from the surrounding walls. The whole bottom was lined to the depth of some inches with fine soft clay. On a rising ground to the east, called are some large stones, and are probably remains of some ancient religious structure. About a mile to the west a field called the Chesters, with regular terraces, on a bank to the north of it. It is wished that our British antiquarians would consider this ancient subterraneous building, and give some account of it.

P. S. I am informed that a building of the above kind has been lately discovered in the east of Fife.

		F.	Inch.	
Beginning of the entry	-	2	6	broad.
Length of the entry	-	15	—	long.
Outward wall of the circular part	-	42	—	long.
Inward wall of ditto	-	33	—	long.
Height of the circular walls	-	5	5	
Width betwixt the circular walls	-	5	2	



### *Description of Craighall.*

CRAIGHALL, a gentleman's seat, two miles north of Blairgowrie. The situation of it is romantic beyond the power of description. It is placed in the midst of a deep glen, surrounded on all sides with wide-extended dreary heaths; where are still to be seen the rude monuments of thousands of our ancestors, who here fought and fell.

The



The house itself stands on the brow of a vast precipice, at the foot of which the river Erecht runs deep and fullen along. It commands a prospect for the space of half a mile northward, the most pleasant and most awful that can be conceived. About twice the distance now mentioned, the river, that had for many miles glided along beautifully sloping banks, covered with trees of various kinds planted by the hand of nature, feels itself confined in a narrow channel, by rocks of an astonishing height, through the chinks of which the oaks shoot forth and embrace each other from opposite sides, so as to exclude the kindly influences of the sun, and to occasion almost a total darkness below. The stream concealed from our view makes a tremendous noise, as if affrighted by the horrors of its confinement. The echoing of the caves on every side render the scene still more dreadful. At length the river is diverted in its course by a promontory of a great height, vulgarly called Lady Lindsay's Castle. Near the summit this rock is separated into two divisions, each of which rises to a considerable height, opposite one to another, and appear like walls hewn out of solid stone. In the intermediate space, fame says, this adventurous heroine fixed her residence. After a few more windings, the river directs its course to Craighall, having saluted several impending precipices as it rushed along; particularly one of enormous size and smooth in front, at the base of which, in a hollow cavern, is heard a continual dropping of water at regular intervals.

#### *Recky Linn.*

REEKY LINN, three miles north of Alyth, and two from the famous hill of Barry, one of the largest and most beautiful cascades of water in Scotland. The river Ilay here darts over a precipice sixty feet in height. Through the violence of the fall the vapour is forced upward in the air like smoke, or, as the Scotch term it, reek, from whence it has its name. For a considerable space along the course of the river, the rocks on each side rise a hundred feet, and the river itself, in several places, has been found thirty fathoms deep.

#### *Of certain Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Perth.*

Communicated by Mr. THOMAS MARSHALL.

ON the eastern banks of the Tay, about a mile and a quarter above Perth, is a place called Rome, to which the Roman road, traced from Ardoch to Innerpeffery and Dupplin, points, and is continued on the other side of the Tay, in the manner that shall be presently observed.

At Rome is supposed to have been a bridge made of wood; for, in very dry seasons, large beams of oak, placed up and down the stream, are seen. These were the foundations, fixed exactly in a spot where the tide never flows, and is only immediately out of its reach. This bridge was much frequented, strongly guarded, perhaps often attacked; for in the ground on the western side are frequently found urns.

About half a mile east of Rome, at a place called Sheriffstown, are the vestiges of a fort, but much defaced by agriculture. The causeway or Roman road is continued from Rome, turns north at the fields of Sheriffstown, and passes through a noted Roman camp at Grassywall.

In its course it goes by a druidical temple consisting of nine large stones, surrounding an area of twenty-five feet diameter, placed on a summit commanding a great view. The road then passes Berry-hill, and through the village of Dirige-moor, where it is very complete. From thence it is continued by the house of Byres, Stobhall, and Gallow-moor, near which are two other druidical temples, of nine stones each. The road



road afterwards passes near E. Hutton, and from thence runs to the banks of the Illa or Ilay. Its whole course from Rome to this place is nine miles, visible in many places, left so near to the villages as the stones have been removed for building.

At the spot where the road touches on the Illa, a bridge is supposed once to have stood: the necessity is evident; for on the opposite side was a considerable Roman post. The Romans profited of the commodious accident of the two rivers, the Tay and the Illa, which unite at a certain distance below. These formed two secure fences: the Romans made a third by a wall of great thickness, defended again by a ditch both on the inside and the outside. These extend three miles in a line from the Tay to the Illa, leaving within a vast space, in form of a Delta. Near the head of the bridge is a large mount exploratory, and probably once protected by a tower on the summit. On a line with this are two others; one about the middle of the area, the other nearer the Tay: these are round; but Mr. Marshall doubts whether they are the work of art. But close to the junction of the Tay and Illa is a fourth, artificial, which is styled Carriek-know, or the Boat-hill, and seems designed to cover a landing-place. I must note that the wall is styled the Cleaving-wall. It merits further disquisition, as it will probably be found to be subservient to the uses of the camps at Hiethic and other places in the neighbourhood, which some native antiquary may have ample time to explore.

Not far from Blairgown is a vast rectangular inclosure, encompassed with a lofty rampart and a deep ditch; the length is an English mile and a quarter; the breadth half a mile. Three rising grounds run parallel to each other the whole length of it. Two rivulets and Lorn water take likewise parallel courses at the bottom between these risings. In certain parts within are multitudes of tumuli. The same are observed in greater numbers on the south exterior sides, and some on the east. With them are mixed several circular buildings, with an entrance on one part: of these little more than the foundations are left, which are six feet thick. Some include an area of forty-eight feet; but the greater number only twenty-seven. The ditch is on the inside; by which this inclosure appears to have been designed for a different purpose than a camp. It probably was an *oppidum* of the ancient inhabitants of the country: the circular foundations, the reliques of their habitations, which, when entire, might have been of the form of the Danish Dunes, so frequent in the Hebrides; as the tumuli are certainly the places of interment.

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER XVI.

*An abridged Account of the Effects of the Lightning which broke on Melvill House, in Fifeshire, the Seat of the Earl of Leven, on the 27th of October, 1733:*

Being Extracts of a Letter from Mr. COLIN MACLAURIN, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh, to Sir HANS SLOANE.

“ SIR,

Edinburgh, December 3, 1733.

“ AT the desire of the Earl of Leven I went to Melvill house, and took a particular survey of the effects of the lightning, which broke upon the house on the 27th of October last. As some of them were very surprising, I thought it might be worth while to send you the following relation, not doubting of your thinking it worthy the attention of the Royal Society. The house stands about twenty miles north from Edinburgh, on the north side of a plain, which extends far from east to west and towards three



miles broad, fronts to the eastward of south, and near it are great plantations, which almost surround it, and in some places extend to the distance of three miles.

" We had fine weather in this country from the 9th to the 25th of October, when the mercury fell very considerably, and the weather changed. The 26th was a very bad day, having heavy rain, and in some places snow and hail. On the 27th the wind was west; the morning cloudy, and we had thunder and lightning in many places very remote from Melvill.

" It was on the 27th, betwixt six and seven in the morning, that the lightning broke upon the house, attended with loud peals of thunder. I could only meet with one man who was in the fields at that time, who was so much terrified that I could gather but little from him. He said the storm came from the N. E. towards the S. W., felt it very hot, and a strong sulphureous smell as the lightning passed over him; saw it break, as he imagined, with all the colours of the rainbow among the trees near the house, filling all the country round with an extraordinary light.

" The house is covered with lead, and has four chimney-tops on each side of the cupola. Of the four on the east end of the house, one of them, in which was one of the kitchen vents, and where there only was fire at that time of the morning, was beat down level with the lead roof: some of the stones were carried above one hundred feet into the garden. The slates which covered the sloping part of the roof on the west end were broke off for a considerable space. There was one breach appearing in the outside of the wall, which we were sure pierced through it: this was in the attic story, towards the west end of the north front. A stone was drove twenty feet from the breach upon a level, broke a splinter off a stone step of a back staircase, and rebounded twelve feet. That part of the lightning which produced the most considerable effects came down the chimney-head, which is the most northerly of the four on the east of the cupola, where there is a vent of another chimney in the kitchen. In its descent it made several breaches in that vent: it is plain that two proceeded from it, because the smoke from that chimney proceeded from both; one of them in the great staircase, from which a stone of thirty-two pounds heavy weight was beat out, so as to strike the marble floor at twenty-six feet distance, measured on a level, and after that rebounded on the adjoining wall. All the windows were entire in this staircase; nor did any other effects appear there. The other breach in this vent was in the opposite direction, and pierced into a bed-chamber on the east side, where was a noisome, sulphureous smell for a considerable time after, and a great heat: it made in the bed-chamber a large breach in the plaster cornice, and carried plaster and lath quite across the room. Many panes of glass were broke in both windows. I apprehend there must have been another breach from the same vent with a south direction, because of the wonderful effect in the corner of the great dining-room, where a small splinter of wood, about thirteen inches long, and not heavier than two quills, was beat with so much force against the floor; as to leave a mark equal to the depth and length of its own body. On taking down the pannel belonging to this bit of moulding, there was a crevice found, and this is very near opposite to the great breach in the staircase, only about four feet higher, but divided by the solid mid wall of the house. In this dining-room many of the picture-frames were scorched, the paintings defaced and spoiled, but the canvas entire. Panes broke here in all the windows; and the window-curtains so much singed as to blacken our hands, on rubbing the side next the windows. In the drawing-room at the east end of the great dining-room, the cornice plaster was broke in many places, and panes broke. The bed-chamber next it was already mentioned.



“ In the drawing-room on the west end of this dining-room, the windows were entire, the shutters close, the doors locked, and no foot came down the chimney; yet there is a large deep splinter tore out of a strong oak pannel. Before the pannel stands a japaned cabinet, greatly tarnished at one end. A pier glass betwixt the windows, in a glass frame, has two breaches in the frame, and the rest entire. In the bed-chamber next to this drawing-room nothing was observed. In the corner of the dressing-room belonging to this apartment there stood a barometer, which was broke in pieces: the mercury disappeared, and we could find no remains of it. I must mention in this place, that his lordship would not allow a servant to clean any part of this principal floor till I should see the effects of the lightning. In this dressing-room the pannels were much broke and shattered; and of thirty panes fifteen were broke.

“ Below these apartments, in the first floor, is the bed-chamber where my lord and lady lay, being the centre room in the west front. Two panes of one of the windows were broke, and the glass found sticking on the curtains of the bed. Many pieces of the mouldings of the pannels were broke and torn off. The mirror of a dressing-glass broke to pieces, the quicksilver melted off, but the frame entire, and stood in its place; it smelt of sulphur for some hours after. Two small pictures beat from one side of the room to the other. A pier glass betwixt the windows entire, but the pannel below it beat out; and a chest of drawers before the pannel received no harm. The frames of two pictures, which hung at the side of the bed, were much broke; and one of the pannels fell out lately, when a servant was dusting it.

“ My lord's account of what he observed is, that he was awaked with the noise of a great gust of wind; that, upon looking up and drawing the curtain, he perceived the lightning enter the room with great brightness, appearing of a bluish colour. It made him cover his eyes for a moment; and on looking up, the light seemed to be abated, and the bluish colour had disappeared; at the same time he heard the thunder, which made an uncommon noise; he felt at the same time the bed and the whole room shake, much in the same manner one feels a horse when he rouses, and was like to be choaked with the sulphur. When the maid opened the door, she was scarcely able to breathe from the sulphureous steams which filled the room; happily the room was large, being twenty-two feet square, and sixteen feet high.

“ In an adjoining bed-chamber a gilded screen was quite spoiled, and though folded up, the gilding is burnt off every leaf.

“ In the parlour the gilding was melted off the leather hangings nearly of this form);

and in the window directly opposite, at the distance of twenty-four feet, in one of the panes, there is a rent exactly of the same form with the melted place of the gilding, which does not reach to either end of the pane, about two inches long each line, the length of the lines of the melted hangings being above two feet each. This room in the south front.

“ In the drawing-room on this floor there were many effects of the lightning. It has two windows to the south, and two to the east. A pannel was loose, but kept from falling by a half-length picture which hung before it, upon a nail in the wall above the top of the pannel: on removing the picture the pannel came down, and a piece of stone in the wall fell in, which probably had beat the pannel out of its place. On the outside of the house we discovered two breaches opposite to the pannel, but they did not seem to go deep. Several other pannels were beat out, and particularly one of nine feet high, and three feet broad, was beat out so to as to have the inside turned outward, and was



found resting with the end upon a chair. Betwixt the two south windows stood a pier glass, which has a piece taken out of it of a semicircular figure, nearly three inches long and two inches deep, and no crack or flaw in the rest of the glass; the gilded frame much singed above and below: the piece was found broken, and one part had the quicksilver melted: above the glass we perceived a hole in the panel, as if burnt through. There was only one pane broke in this room, which was in one of the east windows. The hole in the pane was of the size and shape of a weaver's shuttle. A glass (like the other) which stood betwixt the two east windows was broke in pieces: the chimney-glass not touched. The vent of this room goes to the chimney-top, which was beat down.

"In the adjoining bed-chamber, there were several panels beat out, and some parts of them appeared to be burnt. A piece of stone was found in the floor, which was evidently beat from behind one of the panels, from a large hard stone, which appeared to be much shattered.

"In the attic story is the billiard-room, above the two east drawing-rooms: here the floor is torn up in two places, and large splinters are carried off from the middle of the planks. A picture was driven out of its frame towards the other side of the room; the leather hangings torn, and the gilding melted in many places. Of forty panes in this room, thirty-four were broke.

"Above the dressing-room, where the barometer was broke, is an interfole, where there is a considerable breach in the inside of the wall, from which lime and rubbish were beat over the room. On a shelf several glasses were broke, as were some bottles, and a china bowl: four large bottles full of gunpowder on the same shelf escaped untouched.

"In the under story, in the kitchen, one of the windows looking east was beat to pieces: one of the iron bands beat to the opposite wall; the other was driven out of a door, in a direction at right angles to the former; the plaister below the window torn up; and a lead cistern which stood near it received some damage.

"No person in the house received any harm, except that my lord complained much of his eyes for some days."

#### APPENDIX.—NUMBER XVII.

##### *Copy of King Malcolm's Charter to the Town of St. Andrew's.*

MALCOLMUS, Rex Scottorum, omnibus suis probis hominibus salutem. Sciatis me concessisse hac Carta confirmasse Burgenfibus Episcopi Sancti Andreæ omnes libertates et consuetudines, quas mei Burgenles communes habent per totam terram meam, et quibuscunque portibus applicuerint. Qua de re volo et firmiter super meum plenarium foris factum prohibeo ne quis ab illis aliquid injuste exigat. Testibus, Waltero Cancellario, Hugone de Moriville, Waltero filio Alani, Waltero de Lyndysay, Roberto Avenel. Apud Sanctum Andream.



## APPENDIX.—NUMBER XVIII.

THE ROMAN MEASURES, whereof Vespasian's Congius was their Standard, compared with the MEASURES used at present (anno 1775) in Annandale, where, as in all other Parts of Scotland, the Stirling Jug, or Scots Pint, continues to be the Standard.

Roman Measures.	English Cubic Inches.	Annandale Measures.	English Cubic Inches.	Difference.
3 Sextarius $\frac{1}{2}$ Congius	103 $\cdot$ <sup>5</sup> <sub>100</sub>	1 Scots Pint or Jugg	103 $\cdot$ <sup>4</sup> <sub>15</sub>	00 $\cdot$ <sup>1</sup> <sub>10</sub> Cub. Inch.
6 Ditto 1 Congius	207 $\cdot$ <sup>0</sup> <sub>5</sub>	2 Pints 1 Annandale Cap	206 $\cdot$ <sup>8</sup> <sub>—</sub>	2 $\cdot$ <sup>2</sup> <sub>—</sub> D° D°.
4 Congius 1 Urna	828 $\cdot$ <sup>2</sup> <sub>6</sub>	4 Ditto Caps $\frac{1}{2}$ Firiot	837 $\cdot$ <sup>2</sup> <sub>3</sub>	1 $\cdot$ <sup>0</sup> <sub>—</sub> D° D°.
8 Congius 1 Amphora	1656 $\cdot$ <sup>5</sup> <sub>3</sub>	8 Ditto Caps 1 Firiot	1654 $\cdot$ <sup>4</sup> <sub>6</sub>	2 $\cdot$ <sup>0</sup> <sub>7</sub> D° D°.
3 Modius 1 Amphora	— —	4 Firlots 1 Boll	6617 $\cdot$ <sup>8</sup> <sub>5</sub>	— — —
20 Amphora 1 Culeus	33130 $\cdot$ <sup>7</sup> <sub>100</sub>	20 Firlots 5 Bolls —	33089 $\cdot$ <sup>2</sup> <sub>100</sub>	41 $\cdot$ <sup>4</sup> <sub>100</sub> 6 $\cdot$ <sup>4</sup> <sub>100</sub> Scots Gills.

JOHN LESSLIE.

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER XIX.

*List of Scots Manufactures, which are exported, and were made, &c.*

CORDAGE, ropes, and all sorts of twine; Leith, Greenock, Port Glasgow.

Earthen, Delft, and Stone wares; Prestonpans, Glasgow.

Green Glass bottles; Alloa, Leith, &c.

Cast and wrought iron work; Carron.

The finest chimney grates, made and polished at Edinburgh.

Cutlery ware of different kinds.

Leather manufactures of all kinds; Edinburgh, Kilmarnock, &c.

Linens plain, diaper, damask, lawns and gauzes; printed, chequered, and striped linen,

&c. Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, &c.

Stuffs of silk only, silk and cotton, silk and worsted; silk gauzes, ribbons, &c. at the same places.

Woollen manufactures, viz. Edinburgh, Haddington, Musselburgh; friezes, ferges, Stirling; tartans, blankets, Stirling, Kilmarnock, &c. worsted, thread, silk stockings, Aberdeen; the finest worsted stockings from Shetland; stocking pieces, Edinburgh, Stirling, Glasgow, &c. blue bonnets, caps, &c. Kilmarnock; carpets, carpeting, &c. Edinburgh, Kilmarnock, &c.

Painted cloths and calicoes; many factories near Edinburgh.

Copper, tin, and pewter manufactured; printing-types, greatly improved.

Cotton manufactures, fustians, &c.

Refined



Refined sugars; Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, &c.

Hats nearly equal to the English; Edinburgh.

Thread and yarn of all kinds.

Thread lace; Dalkeith, Hamilton, Leith.

Paper both for printing and writing.

Candles.

Soap, hard and soft; Leith.

Snuff.

Salt; Alloa, Kirkcaldy, Prestonpans, &c. Vitroil and sal-ammoniac.

Bricks and tiles.

Considerable breweries for exportation at Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Among the arts not essentially necessary for human life may be reckoned the curious manufactures of leathern snuff-boxes. The artists Messrs. Wilson and Clerk have extended it even to musical-instruments, and made a violin entirely of leather, which, I hear, gives as melodious a sound as the best of wood: and that they have lately made a German flute of the same materials. Paper has been lately made of the weeds taken out of Duddingston Loch; I do not know with what success. Perhaps this was attempted after the example of the Germans, who have of late made a sort of nettle, and other vegetables.

#### *Woollen Manufacture.*

WOOLLEN manufactures are mentioned in 1424, in the second parliament of James I. where it is discouraged by a tax. "Item, It is ordained, that of ilk poundes worth of woollen claith had out of the realme, the King shall have of the out-haver for custom twa shillings."

After this, several regulations were prescribed by legislature, and the wool prohibited from being sent into England. A law of James II. in 1457, (perhaps for the purpose of peopling the boroughs, and civilizing his people, by drawing them out of the woods into civil society) prohibits any but burgeses to buy wool, "to lit, nor mak claith, nor cut claith." Yet, not to leave the majority of his people naked, adds, "Bot it is to be otherwise said, gif ane man hes woll of his awin sheip."

James VI. who (notwithstanding some of us English may think otherwise) had frequent intervals of wisdom, prohibited the wearing of any cloth in Scotland but what was the manufacture of the country.

I imagine, that in defiance of all the laws against smuggling of wool out of the kingdom, it was carried to Flanders. Old Hackluyt mentions it among the few exports of Scotland.

Moreover of Scotland the commodities  
Are felles, hides, and of wooll the fleefe,  
And all these must passe by us away  
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say,  
And all her woolle was draped for to sell  
In the townes of Poperinge and Bell \*.

At length a woollen manufacture arose in some degree. There was an exportation of it into Holland till 1720: it was a coarse kind, such as is made in the Highlands: much of it was sold to Glasgow, and sent into America, for blankets for the Indians.

\* Hollinshed mentions these towns, p. 614.



It is in Scotland a clothing for the country people, and is worth about 10d. or 12d. a ayrd. The only broad cloth worth mentioning is that made at Paul's work in Edinburgh, which is brought to great perfection.

### *Linen Manufacture.*

I CANNOT ascertain the time when the linen manufactures arose. There could not be a great call for the commodity, a century and a half ago, when people of fashion scarcely changed their shirts above once the week in England. But, thanks to the luxury, or rather the neatness of the times, this article has become a most national advantage. The following table will shew the flourishing state of it in this kingdom; and its great advance in forty-three years. At the foot of it is an account of the imports of flax into England and Scotland: and the exports of coal from the last.

#### ACCOMPT of LINEN CLOTH stamped in SCOTLAND.

From 1st. Nov. 1727 to 1st. Nov. 1728.				From 1st. Nov. 1770 to 1st. Nov. 1771.			
Shires.	Yards.	Value.	Price per Yard at a Medium.	Yards.	Value.	Price per Yard at a Medium.	
Aberdeen -	41,040 <sup>2</sup> <sub>00</sub>	1,539 0 2 <sup>3</sup> <sub>4</sub>	- -	198,177	14,716 1 4 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	1 5 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Ayr - - -	26,699 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	2,086 17 2	- -	193,413	10,530 1 8	1 1	
Argyle - -	432	32 8 0	- -	-	-	-	
Banff - - -	101,618	3,810 13 6	- -	54,385	3,132 9 0	1 1 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Berwick - -	9,293	365 16 1	- -	56,129	5,645 4 5 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	1 7 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Bute - - -	-	-	- -	-	-	-	
Caithness -	-	-	- -	-	-	-	
Clackmannan	2,895	240 10 2	- -	-	-	-	
Cromarty -	-	-	- -	5,591	187 7 0	0 8	
Dumbarton	66,027	2,356 8 6	- -	173,892	11,618 17 1 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	1 4	
Dumfries -	3,002	152 13 8	- -	43,167	2,134 8 3 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	0 11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Edinburgh -	747	198 17 0	- -	214,834	19,487 12 0	1 9 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Elgin - - -	1,254	47 12 6	- -	63,676	2,344 8 4 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	0 8 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Fife - - -	361,985 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	30,175 10 9 <sup>6</sup> <sub>4</sub>	- -	1,885,622	72,138 3 2 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	0 9 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Forfar - -	595,821 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	14,733 13 6 <sup>1</sup> <sub>4</sub>	- -	5,700,851 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	147,456 19 3	0 6 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Haddington	363	18 3 0	- -	111,835	10,838 6 11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	1 11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Inverness -	10,696	401 2 0	- -	223,798	6,425 5 2	0 6 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Kincardine	27,885 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	1,045 14 3 <sup>0</sup> <sub>4</sub>	- -	118,628	4,030 3 2 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	0 8 <sup>6</sup> <sub>4</sub>	
Kinross - -	53,921	2,906 19 0	- -	79,450	2,852 3 2 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	0 8 <sup>7</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Kirkcudbright	-	-	- -	1,302	14 19 10	1 9 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Lanark - -	272,658 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	9,968 0 3	- -	2,019,782	172,347 12 9	1 8 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Linlithgow	6,353	476 9 6	- -	2,204	188 4 1	1 8 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Nairne - -	-	-	- -	14,734	852 12 8	1 1 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Orkney - -	-	-	- -	21,088	2,257 12 5	1 9 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Peebles - -	-	-	- -	-	-	-	
Perth - - -	477,743 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	23,955 0 4 <sup>6</sup> <sub>4</sub>	- -	1,674,717	66,153 6 3	0 9 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Renfrew - -	85,527 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	6,852 14 9	- -	684,557	70,177 9 6	2 0 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Ross - - -	10,844	402 6 6	- -	10,145	410 9 4	0 5 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Roxburgh -	15,822 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	914 16 8 <sup>6</sup> <sub>4</sub>	- -	55,625	3,379 10 11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	1 2 <sup>6</sup> <sub>4</sub>	
Selkirk - -	8,732 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	436 12 6	- -	-	-	-	
Stirling - -	2,548 <sup>0</sup> <sub>00</sub>	191 2 9	- -	47,956	2,278 15 0	0 11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Sutherland -	-	-	- -	-	-	-	
Wigton - -	67	3 7 0	- -	16,996	691 0 5	0 9 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	
Total	2,183,978	103,312 9 3	0 11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	13,672,548 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	632,389 3 5 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>		



An ACCOUNT of the TOTAL QUANTITIES of FLAX, HEMP, FLAX-SEED, and LINEN YARN, imported in England and Scotland, from 5th January 1764 to 5th Ditto 1772 : together with the TOTAL QUANTITIES of COALS exported from Scotland to Foreign Parts, from 5th January 1765 to 5th January 1772.

		From 5th January 1764 to 5th January 1772.							
		Flax Rough.			Hemp Rough.			Linfeed.	Yarn Linen. Raw.
		Cwts.	qrs.	lb.	Cwts.	qrs.	lb.	Bushels.	lb.
Total of Flax &c. imported in England	}	1,130,719	0	3	2,639,236	2	22	1,792,465 $\frac{1}{2}$	55,006,029
Total of Flax, &c. imported in Scotland.	}	533,749	3	11	112,980	3	4	455,243 $\frac{1}{4}$	954,972 $\frac{1}{4}$

		From 5th January 1765 to 5th January 1772.					
		Great Coals.			Small Coals.	Pitforan Coals, Duty free.	
		Tons.	Cwts.	qrs.	Chalders.	Bush.	Chalders.
Total of Coals exported from Scotland		86,050	14	0	27,797	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	4681

## APPENDIX.—NUMBER XX.

*Itinerary.*

	Miles.		Miles.
ARDMADY, to Port Sonnachan,	18	Crief by Fintillick,	5
Inveraray,	11	Comerie,	6
Cladich,	10	To Loch-Earn and 3 miles along its	
Tiendrum,	12	side,	9
Killin,	20	Back to Fintillick,	18
Taymouth,	16	Castle-Drummond,	1
Logierait,	12	Kaymes Castle,	4
Blair,	12	Ardoch,	3
Dunkeld,	20	By Tullibardine to Dupplin,	20
Delyin,	7	Tibbimoor, Huntingtower, and again	
Perth,	15	to Dupplin,	10
Dupplin,	5	Perth,	5
Innerpeffery,	10	Errol,	10
			4
			Dundee,



	Miles.		Miles.
Dundee,	15	Kirkaldie,	9
Panmure,	10	By Kinghorn to Aberdour,	8
Aberbrothick,	7	Dumferline,	8
Ferriden. Montrose,	12	Limekilns near Broomhall,	4
North-Bridge,	5	Culrofs,	4
Lawrence Kirk,	6	Clackmannan,	4
Stonehive,	15	Alloa,	1
Urie,	2	Sterling,	7
Fettercairn,	18	Falkirk,	11
Catter-thun,	9	Linlithgow,	8
Brechin,	3	Kirkliston,	8
Careston,	5	Edinburgh,	8
Forfar,	6	Hawthornden, Roslin, and back to	
Glames,	5	Edinburgh,	14
Belmont,	6	Dalkeith, and again to Edinburgh,	14
Dunfinane,	10	Cranston,	10
Perth,	7	Crichton and Borthwick castle, and	
Dupplin by the Sterling road,	3	back to Cranston,	10
Earn Bridge,	4	Blackshields,	4
Abernethy,	4	Lauder,	11
Falkland,	8	Gala-shields,	10
Melville,	4	Melros,	3
St. Andrews,	14	Dryburgh,	3
Leven,	15	Kelfo,	10

ENGLAND.

	Miles.		Miles.
Carham,	5	Pierce Bridge,	12
Palinburne,	8	Richmond,	10
Wooler,	8	Wensley,	10
Wooler-haugh-head,	2	Kettlewell,	16
Chillingham castle,	3	Skipton,	18
Percy's Crofs,	5	Keighly,	10
Wittingham,	5	Haifax,	12
Half-way house,	4	Rochdale,	16
Rothbury,	5	Alkrington,	6
Cambo	11	Manchester,	6
Hexham,	18	Barton bridge,	5
Corbridge,	4	Warrington,	5
Newcastle,	17	Chester,	20
Durham,	15	Downing,	22
Bishop Aukland,	10		



## ACCOUNT OF THE DROSACKS.

[From GARNET'S TOUR.]

AUGUST 11. About seven o'clock in the morning we set out from Callander, along the banks of the Teath, and passed through the small village of Kilmahog; on our right we saw the house of Leney, the residence of John Hamilton Buchanan, Esq. proprietor of that village, pleasantly situated on an eminence; here we crossed the Teath, and, skirting the southern limb of Benledi, a high mountain on our right, we came to Lochvanachoir\*; out of which the Teath runs, though its origin is properly in Loch Catherine.

Lochvanachoir is nearly four miles in length, and in general about one in breadth; its banks are very pleasant, covered with wood, and sloping gently into the water.

Soon after leaving this lake we came to another, but smaller, called † Lochachray. The length of this lake is about a mile and a half, and its breadth scarce more than half a mile, but its banks are very pleasant, being covered with wood. The scenery at the upper part is remarkably bold and striking.

It was here that we had the first view of the Trosachs‡, which are rough, rugged, and uneven hills; beyond these is seen the rugged mountain Benvenu, which differs in nothing from the Trosachs, except in magnitude. As soon as we had passed Lochachray, we entered the Trosachs by a road winding among them. The scenery here is exceedingly wild and romantic; rugged rocks of every shape surround the road, and in many places overhang it; these rocks are almost covered with heath, and ornamented to the very top with weeping birch. This part of the road presents scenery which is wild and horrid; it seemed to be Glencoe in miniature; but the mountains, though vastly smaller, are more rugged, and being covered with heath and birch wood, have a different character.

I shall not enter into a farther description of the Trosachs, for it is impossible by words to convey any idea of the kind of scenery. These hills had been described to me by several persons who had visited this place, and I had read some descriptions of them, but could form no distant idea of what I was to see: as I have no pretensions to superior powers of this kind, I shall leave the task to Mr. Watts, whose pencil will give an exact representation of some part of the scenery.

The Trosachs are composed of argillaceous schistus, stratified, and imbedded here and there with veins of quartz. The strata are, in some instances, nearly perpendicular to the horizon, and in all dip very much, a proof that some convulsions or powerful causes have removed these lumpish hills from their original situation. Some suppose them to have been torn from the sides of the adjacent mountains, but there are, I think, no appearances which warrant this conclusion.

After we had followed the winding road which may be seen in the engraving, among these strange masses, for about three quarters of a mile, we had a sight of the lower part of Loch Catherine, winding its way among the Trosachs, some of which appear above its level surface in the form of bold and rugged islands and promontories. The scenery about this lake is uncommonly sublime, particularly when we had gone about

\* Loch-van-a-choir signifies the lake of the white or fair valley.

† Lochachray is contracted from Loch-a-chravy, which signifies the lake of the field of devotion. Achray is the name of a farm on its banks, where, it is believed, the Druids had a place of worship, there being some remains of one of their temples. Stat. Account.

‡ Trosachs or Drosacks, in the Celtic, signifies rough or uneven grounds.



a mile up the northern bank, where the road has been made with great labour, in many parts out of the solid rock, but which is impassable for a carriage, and can scarcely be travelled over on horseback with safety. Here, turning back our eyes towards the Trosachs, the view was particularly grand; rocky islands rise boldly out of the lake, and in the back ground is Benvenue, rearing its rugged summit far above the whole, having its lower part clothed with wood. The view up the lake to the westward is likewise very fine; the expanse of water being bounded by Alpine mountains, softened by distance, and appearing of a fine dark blue.

Loch Catherine is about ten miles in length, but not much more than one in breadth; and if it possesses not the beauty of other lakes which we had seen, its scenery is much more grand and romantic.

Near the foot of the lake, the Honourable Mrs. Drummond of Perth has erected some huts of wicker work, for the convenience of strangers who visit this wild scenery; here they can partake of the refreshments which they bring from Callander, and shelter themselves from a storm.

The wood, which abounds on the banks of Loch Catherine, is made into charcoal; a certain portion being cut down annually, and when burnt, it is brought down to the foot of the lake in boats, from whence it is conveyed in carts to the Carron foundery. The *Circea Alpina*, or mountain enchanter's night-shade, grows in great abundance on the banks of this lake; the pebbles found on the shore are chiefly argillaceous and micaceous shists, with some quartz.

Lochvanachair abounds both with salmon and trout, and Lochavray with pike, which prevents almost any other fish from living in its vicinity. In Loch Catherine are trout and char, but the salmon and pike are prevented from entering this lake by a fall at its mouth.

These three lakes are only expansions of the beautiful river Teath, which may be said to originate in Loch Catherine, or more properly in the numerous streams that pour into this lake in cataracts from its steep and rugged banks.

After having seen whatever was remarkable in the neighbourhood of Loch Catherine, we returned by the same road to Callander; and, as it was our wish to make the best of our way to Glasgow, after dinner we took the cross road to Fintry, sixteen miles distant. About six miles from Callander, we came to the Loch of Monteath, a beautiful little lake almost five miles in circumference, adorned with two smaller sylvan islands. On the larger are the ruins of a monastery, and on the smaller the remains of an ancient seat of the once-powerful Earls of Monteith, whose chief residence, as has been before observed, was Doune Castle.

This lake abounds with perch and pike, which last are very large. A curious method of catching this fish used to be practised: on the islands a number of geese were collected by the farmers, who occupied the surrounding banks of the lake. After baited lines of two or three feet in length had been tied to the legs of these geese, they were driven into the water. Steering naturally homeward in different directions, the bait was soon swallowed. A violent and often tedious struggle ensued; in which, however, the geese at length prevailed, though they were frequently much exhausted before they reached the shore. This method of catching pike is not now used, but there are some old persons who remember to have seen it, and who were active promoters of this amusement\*.

\* Garnet's Tour through the Highlands, &c. of Scotland. 4to. Vol. ii. page 172.



See Martin's character in  
Johnson's *Hebrides* 144 -

( 572 )

*A DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND.*

BY M. MARTIN, *GENT.*\*

first p. 700.

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK,

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND, AND OF ALL HER MAJESTY'S PLANTATIONS,  
AND GENERALISSIMO OF ALL HER MAJESTY'S FORCES, ETC.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

AMONGST the numerous crowd of congratulating addressers, the Islanders described in the following sheets presume to approach your Royal Person: they can now, without suspicion of infidelity to the Queen of England, pay their duty to a Danish Prince, to whose predecessors all of them formerly belonged.

They can boast that they are honoured with the sepulchres of eight kings of Norway, who at this day, with forty-eight kings of Scotland, and four of Ireland, lie entombed in the island of Jona; a place famed then for some peculiar sanctity.

They presume that it is owing to their great distance from the imperial seat, rather than their want of native worth, that their islands have been so little regarded; which by improvement might render a considerable accession of strength and riches to the crown, as appears by a scheme annexed to the following treatise. They have suffered hitherto under the want of a powerful and affectionate patron; Providence seems to have given them a natural claim to your Royal Highness. And, though it be almost presumption for so sinful a nation to hope for so great a blessing, they do humbly join their prayers to God, that the protection which they hope for from two Princes of so much native worth and goodness, might be continued in your royal posterity to all generations. So prays, may it please your Royal Highness,

Your Highness's most humble

and most obedient servant,

M. MARTIN.

THE PREFACE.

THE Western Islands of Scotland, which make the subject of the following book, were called by the ancient geographers *Æbudæ*, and *Hebrides*; but they knew so little of them, that they neither agreed in their name nor number. Perhaps it is peculiar to those isles, that they have never been described till now by any man that was a native of the country; or had travelled them. They were indeed touched by Boethius, Bishop Lesly, Buchanan, and Johnston, in their Histories of Scotland, but none of those authors were ever there in person; so that what they wrote concerning them was upon trust from others. Buchanan, it is true, had his information from Donald Monro, who had been in many of them; and therefore his account is the best that has hitherto appeared, but it must be owned that it is very imperfect: that great man designed the history, and not the geography of his country, and therefore in him it was pardonable. Besides, since his time, there is a great change in the humour of the world, and by consequence in the way of writing. Natural and experimental philosophy has been much improved since his days; and therefore descriptions of countries, without the natural history of them, are now justly reckoned to be defective.

\* From the second edition, London, 1716, 8vo.

This



This I had a particular regard to in the following description, and have every where taken notice of the nature of the climate and soil, of the produce of the places by sea and land, and of the remarkable cures performed by the natives merely by the use of simples; and that in such variety as, I hope, will make amends for what defects may be found in my style and way of writing: for there is a wantonness in language as well as in other things, to which my countrymen of the isles are as much strangers, as to other excesses which are too frequent in many parts of Europe. We study things there more than words, though those that understand our native language must own, that we have enough of the latter to inform the judgment, and work upon the affections in as pathetic a manner as any other language whatever. But I go on to my subject.

The isles here described are but little known or considered; not only by strangers, but even by those under the same government and climate.

The modern itch after the knowledge of foreign places is so prevalent, that the generality of mankind bestow little thought or time upon the place of their nativity. It is become customary in those of quality to travel young into foreign countries, whilst they are absolute strangers at home; and many of them when they return are only loaded with superficial knowledge, as the bare names of famous libraries, stately edifices, fine statues, curious paintings, late fashions, new dishes, new tunes, new dances, painted beauties, and the like.

The places here mentioned afford no such entertainment; the inhabitants in general prefer conveniency to ornament both in their houses and apparel, and they rather satisfy than oppress nature in their way of eating and drinking; and not a few among them have a natural beauty, which excels any that has been drawn by the finest Apelles.

The land and the sea that encompass it produce many things useful and curious in their kind, several of which have not hitherto been mentioned by the learned. This may afford the theorist subject of contemplation, since every plant of the field, every fibre of each plant, and the least particle of the smallest insect, carries with it the impress of its Maker; and, if rightly considered, may read us lectures of divinity and morals.

The inhabitants of these islands do for the most part labour under the want of knowledge of letters, and other useful arts and sciences; notwithstanding which defect, they seem to be better versed in the book of nature than many that have greater opportunities of improvement. This will appear plain and evident to the judicious reader, upon a view of the successful practice of the islanders in the preservation of their health, above what the generality of mankind enjoys: and this is performed merely by temperance and the prudent use of simples; which, as we are assured by repeated experiments, fail not to remove the most stubborn distempers, where the best prepared medicines have frequently no success. This I relate not only from the authority of many of the inhabitants, who are persons of great integrity, but likewise from my own particular observation. And thus with Celsus, they first make experiments, and afterwards proceed to reason upon the effects.

Human industry has of late advanced useful and experimental philosophy very much; women and illiterate persons have in some measure contributed to it, by the discovery of some useful cures. The field of nature is large, and much of it wants still to be cultivated by an ingenious and discreet application; and the curious, by their observations, might daily make further advances in the history of nature.

Self-preservation is natural to every living creature: and thus we see the several animals of the sea and the land so careful of themselves, as to observe nicely what is agreeable, and what is hurtful to them; and accordingly they chuse the one, and reject the other.

The



The husbandman and the fisher could expect but little success without observation in their several employments; and it is by observation that the physician commonly judges of the condition of his patient. A man of observation proves often a physician to himself; for it was by this that our ancestors preserved their health till a good old age, and that mankind laid up that stock of natural knowledge of which they are now possessed.

The wife Solomon did not think it beneath him to write of the meanest plant, as well as of the tallest cedar. Hippocrates was at the pains and charge to travel foreign countries, with a design to learn the virtues of plants, roots, &c. I have in my little travels endeavoured, among other things, in some measure to imitate so great a pattern: and if I had been so happy as to oblige the republic of learning with any thing that is useful, I have my design. I hold it enough for me to furnish my observations, without accounting for the reason and way that those simples produce them: this I leave to the learned in that faculty; and if they would oblige the world with such theorems from these and the like experiments, as might serve for rules upon occasions of this nature, it would be of great advantage to the public.

As for the improvement of the isles in general, it depends upon the government of Scotland, to give encouragement for it to such public-spirited persons or societies as are willing to lay out their endeavours that way: and how large a field they have to work upon will appear by taking a survey of each, and of the method of improvement that I have hereunto subjoined.

There is such an account given here of the second sight, as the nature of the thing will bear. This has always been reckoned sufficient among the unbiassed part of mankind; but for those that will not be satisfied, they ought to oblige us with a new scheme, by which we may judge of matters of fact.

There are several instances of heathenism and pagan superstition among the inhabitants of the islands related here; but I would not have the reader to think those practices are chargeable upon the generality of the present inhabitants, since only a few of the oldest and most ignorant of the vulgar are guilty of them. These practices are only to be found where the reformed religion has not prevailed; for it is to the progress of that alone that the banishment of evil spirits, as well as of evil customs, is owing, when all other methods proved ineffectual. And for the islanders in general, I may truly say, that in religion and virtue they excel many thousands of others, who have greater advantages of daily improvement.

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#### A DESCRIPTION, &c.

**T**HE island of Lewis is so called from Leog, which in the Irish language signifies water, lying on the surface of the ground; which is very proper to this island, because of the great number of fresh-water lakes that abound in it. The isle of Lewis is by all strangers and seafaring men accounted the outmost tract of islands lying to the north-west of Scotland. It is divided by several narrow channels, and distinguished by several proprietors as well as by several names: by the islanders it is commonly called the Long Island, being from south to north one hundred miles in length, and from east to west from three to fourteen in breadth. It lies in the shire of Ross, and made part of the diocese of the isles.

The isle of Lewis, properly and strictly so called, is thirty-six miles in length, viz. from the north point of Bowling-head to the south point of Hushiness in Harries; and  
in



in some places it is ten, and in others twelve miles in breadth. The air is temperately cold and moist, and for a corrective the natives use a dose of trestarig, or usquebaugh. This island is for the most part healthy, especially in the middle from south to north. It is arable on the west side for about sixteen miles on the coast; it is likewise plain and arable in several places on the east. The soil is generally sandy, excepting the heaths, which in some places are black, and in others a fine red clay, as appears by the many vessels made of it by their women; some for boiling meat, and others for preserving their ale, for which they are much better than barrels of wood.

This island was reputed very fruitful in corn, until the late years of scarcity and bad seasons. The corn sown here is barley, oats, and rye; and they have also flax and hemp. The best increase is commonly from the ground manured with sea-ware: they fatten it also with foot; but it is observed that the bread made of corn growing in the ground so fattened, occasions the jaundice to those that eat it. They observe likewise that corn produced in ground which was never tilled before, occasions several disorders in those who eat the bread, or drink the ale made of that corn; such as the head-ach and vomiting.

The natives are very industrious, and undergo a great fatigue by digging the ground with spades, and in most places they turn the ground so digged upside down, and cover it with sea-ware; and in this manner there are about five hundred people employed daily for some months. This way of labouring is by them called *Timiy*, and certainly produces a greater increase than digging or plowing otherwise. They have little harrows with wooden teeth in the first and second rows, which break the ground; and in the third row they have rough heath, which smooths it. This light harrow is drawn by a man having a strong rope of horse-hair across his breast.

Their plenty of corn was such, as disposed the natives to brew several sorts of liquor, as common usquebaugh, another called trestarig, *id est*, aqua-vitæ, three times distilled, <sup>freestaring</sup> which is strong and hot; a third sort is four times distilled, and this by the natives is called usquebaugh-baul, *id est*, usquebaugh, which at first taste affects all the members <sup>of the body</sup>: two spoonfuls of this last liquor is a sufficient dose; and if any man exceed this, it would presently stop his breath, and endanger his life. The trestarig and usquebaugh-baul are both made of oats.

There are several convenient bays and harbours in this island. Loch-Grace and Loch-tua, lying north-west, are not to be reckoned such, though vessels are forced in there sometimes by storm. Loch-Stornvay lies on the east side in the middle of the island, and is eighteen miles directly south from the northernmost point of the same: it is a harbour well known by seamen. There are several places for anchorage about half a league on the south of this coast. About seven miles southward there is a good harbour, called the Birkin Isles: within the bay called Loch-Colmkill, three miles further south, lies Loch-Erifort, which hath an anchoring-place on the south and north: about five miles south lies Loch-sea-fort, having two visible rocks in the entry; the best harbour is on the south side.

About twenty-four miles south-west lies Loch-Carlway, a very capacious, though unknown harbour, being never frequented by any vessels; though the natives assure me that it is in all respects a convenient harbour for ships of the first rate. The best entrance looks north and north-west, but there is another from the west. On the south side of the island Bernera there are small islands without the entrance, which contribute much to the security of the harbour, by breaking the winds and seas that come from the great ocean. Four miles to the south on this coast is Loch-Rogue, which runs in among the mountains. All the coasts and bays above-mentioned do in fair weather  
abound.



abound with cod, ling, herring, and all other sorts of fishes taken in the western islands.

Cod and ling are of a very large size, and very plentiful near Loch-Carlway; but the whales very much interrupt the fishing in this place. There is one sort of whale remarkable for its greatness, which the fishermen distinguish from all others by the name of the Gallan-whale, because they never see it but at the promontory of that name. I was told by the natives, that about fifteen years ago this great whale overturned a fisher's boat, and devoured three of the crew; the fourth man was saved by another boat which happened to be near, and saw this accident. There are many whales, of different sizes, that frequent the herring-bays on the east side: the natives employ many boats together in pursuit of the whales, chasing them up into the bays till they wound one of them mortally, and then it runs ashore; and they say that all the rest commonly follow the track of its blood, and run themselves also on shore in like manner, by which means many of them are killed. About five years ago there were fifty young whales killed in this manner, and most of them eaten by the common people, who by experience find them to be very nourishing food. This I have been assured of by several persons, but particularly by some poor meagre people, who became plump and lusty by this food in the space of a week: they call it sea-pork, for so it signifies in their language. The bigger whales are more purgative than these lesser ones, but the latter are better for nourishment.

*Big whale*

The bays afford plenty of shell-fish, as clams, oysters, cockles, muscles, limpets, wilks, spout-fish; of which last there is such a prodigious quantity cast up out of the sand of Loch-tua, that their noisome smell infects the air, and makes it very unhealthful to the inhabitants, who are not able to consume them, by eating or fattening their ground with them; and this they say happens most commonly once in seven years.

The bays and coasts of this island afford great quantity of small coral, not exceeding six inches in length, and about the bigness of a goose's quill. This abounds most in Loch-sea-fort, and there is coralline likewise on this coast.

There are a great many fresh-water lakes in this island, which abound with trouts and eels. The common bait used for catching them is earthworms, but a handful of parboiled muscles thrown into the water attracts the trouts and eels to the place: the fittest time for catching them is when the wind blows from the south-west. There are several rivers on each side this island which afford salmon, as also black muscles, in which many times pearl is found.

The natives in the village Barvas retain an ancient custom of sending a man very early to cross Barvas river every first day of May, to prevent any females crossing it first; for that they say would hinder the salmon from coming into the river all the year round: they pretend to have learned this from a foreign sailor, who was shipwrecked upon that coast a long time ago. This observation they maintain to be true from experience.

There are several springs and fountains of curious effects; such as that of Loch-Carlway, that never whitens linen, which hath often been tried by the inhabitants. The well at St. Cowsten's church never boils any kind of meat, though it be kept on fire a whole day. St. Andrew's well, in the village Shadar, is by the vulgar natives made a test to know if a sick person will die of the distemper he labours under. They send one with a wooden dish to bring some of the water to the patient, and if the dish which is then laid softly upon the surface of the water turn round sun-ways, they conclude that the patient will recover of that distemper; but if otherwise, that he will die.

There are many caves upon the coast of this island, in which great numbers of otters and seals do lie; there be also many land and sea-fowls that build and hatch in them.



The cave in Loch-Grace hath several pieces of a hard substance in the bottom, which distil from the top of it. There are several natural and artificial forts in the coast of this island, which are called Dun, from the Irish word *dain*, which signifies a fort. The natural forts here are Dun-owle, Dun-coradil, Dun-eisten.

The castle at Stornay village was destroyed by the English garrison kept there by Oliver Cromwell. Some few miles to the north of Brago there is a fort composed of large stones; it is of a round form, made taperwise towards the top, and is three stories high: the wall is double, and hath several doors and stairs, so that one may go round within the wall. There are some cairns or heaps of stones gathered together on heaths, and some of them at a great distance from any ground that affords stones; such as Cairnwarp near Mournagh-hill, &c. These artificial forts are likewise built upon heaths at a considerable distance also from stony ground. The thrushel stone in the parish of Barvas is above twenty feet high, and almost as much in breadth. There are three erected stones upon the north side of Loch-Carlway, about twelve feet high each. Several other stones are to be seen here in remote places, and some of them standing on one end. Some of the ignorant vulgar say, they were men by enchantment turned into stones; and others say they are monuments of persons of note killed in battle.

The most remarkable stones for number, bigness and order, that fell under my observation, were at the village of Clafernish\*, where there are thirty-nine stones set up six or seven feet high, and two feet in breadth each: they are placed in form of an avenue, the breadth of which is eight feet, and the distance between each stone six; and there is a stone set up in the entrance of this avenue: at the south end there is joined to this range of stone a circle of twelve stones of equal distance and height with the other thirty-nine. There is one set up in the centre of this circle, which is thirteen feet high, and shaped like the rudder of a ship: without this circle there are four stones standing to the west, at the same distance with the stones in the circle; and there are four stones set up in the same manner at the south and east sides. I enquired of the inhabitants what tradition they had from their ancestors concerning these stones; and they told me, it was a place appointed for worship in the time of heathenism, and that the chief druid or priest stood near the big stone in the centre, from whence he addressed himself to the people that surrounded him.

Upon the same coast also there is a circle of high stones standing on one end, about a quarter of a mile's distance from those above mentioned.

The shore in Egginess abounds with many little smooth stones prettily variegated with all sorts of colours; they are of a round form, which is probably occasioned by the tossing of the sea, which in those parts is very violent.

The cattle produced here are cows, horses, sheep, goats, hogs. These cows are little, but very fruitful, and their beef very sweet and tender. The horses are considerably less here than on the opposite continent, yet they plow and harrow as well as bigger horses, though in the spring-time they have nothing to feed upon but sea-ware. There are abundance of deer in the chace of Oservaul, which is fifteen miles in compass, consisting in mountains, and vallies between them: this affords good pasturage for the deer, black cattle, and sheep. This forest, for so they call it, is surrounded with the sea, except about one mile on the west side: the deer are forced to feed on sea-ware, when the snow and frost continue long, having no wood to shelter in, and so are exposed to the rigour of the season.

\* Calernish, on the west side, as the Editor learns by a letter from the noble and intelligent proprietor, the Earl of Scaforth.



I saw big roots of trees at the head of Loch-Erisport, and there is about a hundred young birch and hazle trees on the south-west side of Loch-Stornvay; but there is no more wood in the island. There is great variety of land and sea-fowls to be seen in this and the lesser adjacent islands.

*But seals*

The amphibia here are seals and otters; the former are eaten by the vulgar, who find them to be as nourishing as beef and mutton.

The inhabitants of this island are well proportioned, free from any bodily imperfections, and of a good stature: the colour of their hair is commonly a light brown or red, but few of them are black. They are a healthful and strong-bodied people, several arrive to a great age: Mr. Daniel Morison, late minister of Barvas, one of my acquaintance, died lately in his eighty-sixth year.

They are generally of a sanguine constitution: this place hath not been troubled with epidemical diseases, except the small-pox, which comes but seldom, and then it sweeps away many young people. The chin-cough afflicts children too: the fever, diarrhea, dysentery, and the falling down of the uvula, fevers, jaundice, and stitches, and the ordinary coughs proceeding from cold, are the diseases most prevalent here. The common cure used for removing fevers and pleurifies is to let blood plentifully. For curing the diarrhea and dysentery, they take small quantities of the kernel of the black Molocca beans, called by them crosfunk; and this being ground into powder, and drunk in boiled milk, is by daily experience found to be very effectual. They likewise use a little dose of trestarig water with good success. When the cough affects them, they drink brochan plentifully, which is oat-meal and water boiled together; to which they sometimes add butter. This drink, used at going to bed, disposeth one to sleep and sweat, and is very diuretic, if it hath no salt in it. They use also the roots of nettles, and the roots of reeds boiled in water, and add yeast to it, which provokes it to ferment; and this they find also beneficial for the cough. When the uvula falls down, they ordinarily cut it, in this manner: they take a long quill, and putting a horse-hair double into it, make a noose at the end of the quill, and putting it about the lower end of the uvula, they cut off from the uvula all that is below the hair with a pair of scissors, and then the patient swallows a little bread and cheese, which cures him. This operation is not attended with the least inconvenience, and cures the distemper so that it never returns. They cure green wounds with ointment made of golden-rod, all-heal, and fresh butter. The jaundice they cure two ways: the first is by laying the patient on his face, and pretending to look upon his back-bones, they presently pour a pail-full of cold water on his bare back, and this proves successful. The second cure they perform by taking the tongs and making them red-hot in the fire; then pulling off the cloaths from the patient's back, he who holds the tongs gently touches the patient on the vertebræ upwards of the back, which makes him furiously run out of doors, still supposing the hot iron is on his back, till the pain be abated, which happens very speedily, and the patient recovers soon after. Donald-Chuan, in a village near Bragir, in the parish of Barvas, had by accident cut his toe at the change of the moon, and it bleeds a fresh drop at every change of the moon ever since.

*uvula*

Anna, daughter to George, in the village of Melboft, in the parish of Ey, having been with child, and the ordinary time of her delivery being expired, the child made its passage by the fundament for some years, coming away bone after bone. She lived several years after this, but never had any more children. Some of the natives, both of the island of Lewis and Harries, who conversed with her at the time when this extraordinary thing happened, gave me this account.

The



The natives are generally ingenious and quick of apprehension ; they have a mechanical genius, and several of both sexes have a gift of poesy, and are able to form a satire or panegyric extempore, without the assistance of any stronger liquor than water to raise their fancy. They are great lovers of music ; and when I was there they gave an account of eighteen men who could play on the violin pretty well, without being taught. They are still very hospitable, but the late years of scarcity brought them very low, and many of the poor people have died by famine. The inhabitants are very dextrous in the exercises of swimming, archery, vaulting, or leaping, and are very stout and able seamen ; they will tug at the oar all day long upon bread and water, and a snuff of tobacco.

*Of the inferior adjacent Islands.*

WITHOUT the mouth of Loch-Carlway lies the small island Garve ; it is a high rock, about half a mile in compass, and fit only for pasturage. Not far from this lies the island of Berinsay, which is a quarter of a mile in compass, naturally a strong fort, and formerly used as such, being almost inaccessible.

The island Fladda, which is of small compass, lies between Berinsay and the main land. Within these lies the island called Bernera Minor, two miles in length, and fruitful in corn and grass. Within this island, in the middle of Loch-Carlway, lies the island of Bernera Major, being four miles in length, and as much in breadth : it is fruitful also in corn and grass, and hath four villages. Alexander Mac-Lenan, who lives in Bernera Major, told me, that some years ago a very extraordinary ebb happened there, exceeding any that had been seen before or since ; it happened about the vernal equinox, the sea retired so far as to discover a stone-wall, the length of it being about forty yards, and in some parts about five, six, or seven feet high, they suppose much more of it to be under water : it lies opposite to the west-side of Lewis, to which it adjoins. He says that it is regularly built, and without any doubt the effect of human industry. The natives had no tradition about this piece of work, so that I can form no other conjecture about it, but that it has probably been erected for a defence against the sea, or for the use of fishermen, but came in time to be overflowed. Near to both Berneras lie the small islands of Kaialisay, Cavay, Carvay, and Grenim.

Near to the north-west promontory of Carlway Bay, called Galen-head, are the little islands of Pabbay, Shirem, Vaxay, Wuya, the Great and Lesser. To the north-west of Gallen-head, and within six leagues of it, lie the Flannan-Islands, which the seamen call North-hunters ; they are but small islands, and six in number, and maintain about seventy sheep yearly. The inhabitants of the adjacent lands of the Lewis, having a right to these islands, visit them once every summer, and there make a great purchase of fowls, eggs, down, feathers, and quills. When they go to sea, they have their boat well manned, and make towards the islands with an east-wind ; but if before or at the landing the wind turn westerly, they hoist up sail, and steer directly home again. If any of their crew is a novice, and not versed in the customs of the place, he must be instructed perfectly in all the punctilios observed here before landing ; and to prevent inconveniencies that they think may ensue upon the transgression of the least nicety observed here, every novice is always joined with another, that can instruct him all the time of their fowling : so all the boat's crew are match'd in this manner. After their landing, they fasten their boat to the sides of a rock, and then fix a wooden ladder, by laying a stone at the foot of it, to prevent its falling into the sea ; and when they are got up into the island, all of them uncover their heads, and make a turn sun-ways round, thanking God for their safety. The first injunction given after landing, is not to ease



Nature in that place where the boat lies, for that they reckon a crime of the highest nature, and of dangerous consequence to all their crew; for they have a great regard to that very piece of the rock upon which they first set their feet, after escaping the danger of the ocean.

The biggest of these islands is called Island-More; it has the ruins of a chapel dedicated to St. Flannan, from whom the island derives its name. When they are come within about twenty paces of the altar, they all strip themselves of their upper garments at once; and their upper clothes being laid upon a stone, which stands there on purpose for that use, all the crew pray three times before they begin fowling: the first day they say the first prayer, advancing towards the chapel upon their knees; the second prayer is said as they go round the chapel; the third is said hard by or at the chapel: and this is their morning service. Their vespers are performed with the like number of prayers. Another rule is, that it is absolutely unlawful to kill a fowl with a stone, for that they reckon a great barbarity, and directly contrary to ancient custom.

It is also unlawful to kill a fowl before they ascend by the ladder. It is absolutely unlawful to call the island of St. Kilda (which lies thirty leagues southward) by its proper Irish name Hirt, but only the high country. They must not so much as once name the islands in which they are fowling, by the ordinary name *Flannan*, but only the country. There are several other things that must not be called by their common names: e. g. *wisk*, which in the language of the natives signifies water, they call burn: a rock, which in their language is *creg*, must here be called *cruey*, i. e. hard: shore in their language expressed by *claddach*, must here be called *vah*, i. e. a cave: four in their language is expressed *gort*, but must here be called *gaire*, i. e. sharp: slippery, which is expressed *bog*, must be called soft: and several other things to this purpose. They account it also unlawful to kill a fowl after evening-prayers. There is an ancient custom, by which the crew is obliged not to carry home any sheep-suet, let them kill ever so many sheep in these islands. One of their principal customs is not to steal or eat any thing unknown to their partner, else the transgressor (they say) will certainly vomit it up; which they reckon as a just judgment. When they have loaded their boat sufficiently with sheep, fowls, eggs, down, fish, &c. they make the best of their way homeward. It is observed of the sheep of these islands, that they are exceeding fat, and have long horns.

I had this superstitious account not only from several of the natives of the Lewis, but likewise from two who had been in the Flannan islands the preceding year. I asked one of them if he prayed at home as often and as fervently as he did when in the Flannan islands, and he plainly confessed to me that he did not: adding further, that these remote islands were places of inherent sanctity; and that there was none ever yet landed in them but found himself more disposed to devotion there, than any where else. The island of Pigmies, or as the natives call it, the island of Little Men, is but of small extent. There has been many small bones dug out of the ground here, resembling those of human kind more than any other. This gave ground to a tradition which the natives have of a very low statured people living once here, called Lusbirdan, i. e. Pigmies.

The island Rona is reckoned about twenty leagues from the north-east point of Ness in Lewis, and counted but a mile in length, and about half a mile in breadth: it hath a hill in the west part, and is only visible from the Lewis in a fair summers' day. I had an account of this little island, and the custom of it, from several natives of Lewis, who had been upon the place; but more particularly from Mr. Daniel Morison, Minister of Barvas, after his return from Rona island, which then belonged to him, as part of his glebe. Upon my landing (says he) the natives received me very affectionately, and addressed me with their usual salutation to a stranger: "God save you, pilgrim, you are



heartily welcome here ; for we have had repeated apparitions of your person among us, (after the manner of the second sight,) and we heartily congratulate your arrival in this our remote country." One of the natives would needs express his high esteem for my person, by making a turn round about me sun-ways, and at the same time blessing me, and wishing me all happiness ; but I bid him let alone that piece of homage, telling him I was sensible of his good meaning towards me : but this poor man was not a little disappointed, as were also his neighbours ; for they doubted not but this ancient ceremony would have been very acceptable to me : and one of them told me, that this was a thing due to my character from them, as to their chief and patron, and they could not nor would not fail to perform it. They conducted me to the little village where they dwell, and in the way thither there were three inclosures ; and as I entered each of these, the inhabitants severally saluted me, taking me by the hand, and saying, " Traveller, you are welcome here." They went along with me to the house that they had assigned for my lodging ; where there was a bundle of straw lain on the floor, for a seat for me to sit upon. After a little time was spent in general discourse, the inhabitants retired to their respective dwelling-houses, and in this interval, they killed each man a sheep, being in all five, answerable to the number of their families. The skins of the sheep were entire, and flayed off so from the neck to the tail, that they were in form like a sack. These skins being flayed off after this manner, were by the inhabitants instantly filled with barley-meal ; and this they gave me by way of a present : one of their number acted as speaker for the rest, saying, " Traveller, we are very sensible of the favour you have done us in coming so far with a design to instruct us in our way to happiness, and at the same time to venture your self on the great ocean ; pray be pleased to accept of this small present, which we humbly offer as an expression of our sincere love to you." This I accepted, though in a very coarse dress ; but it was given with such an air of hospitality and good-will, as deserved thanks. They presented my man also with some pecks of meal, as being likewise a traveller : the boat's-crew, having been in Rona before, were not reckoned strangers, and therefore was no present given them, but their daily maintenance.

There is a chapel here dedicated to St. Ronan, fenced with a stone wall round it ; and they take care to keep it neat and clean, and sweep it every day. There is an altar in it, on which there lies a big plank of wood about ten feet in length ; every foot has a hole in it, and in every hole a stone, to which the natives ascribe several virtues : one of them is singular, as they say, for promoting speedy delivery to a woman in travail.

They repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments in the chapel every Sunday morning. They have cows, sheep, barley and oats, and live a harmless life, being perfectly ignorant of most of those vices that abound in the world. They know nothing of money or gold, having no occasion for either ; they neither sell nor buy, but only barter for such little things as they want ; they covet no wealth, being fully content and satisfied with food and raiment ; though at the same time they are very precise in the matter of property among themselves : for none of them will by any means allow his neighbour to fish within his property ; and every one must exactly observe not to make any incroachment on his neighbour. They have an agreeable and hospitable temper for all strangers : they concern not themselves about the rest of mankind, except the inhabitants in the north part of Lewis. They take their surname from the colour of the sky, rain-bow, and clouds. There are only five families in this small island, and every tenant hath his dwelling-house, a barn, a house where their best effects are preserved, a house for their cattle, and a porch on each side of the door to keep off the rain or snow. Their houses are built with stone, and thatched with straw, which is kept  
down



down with ropes of the same, poised with stones. They wear the same habit with those in Lewis, and speak only Irish. When any of them come to the Lewis, which is seldom, they are astonished to see so many people. They much admire greyhounds, and love to have them in their company. They are mightily pleased at the sight of horses; and one of them observing a horse to neigh, asked if that horse laughed at him. A boy from Rona perceiving a colt run towards him, was so much frightened at it, that he jumped into a bush of nettles, where his whole skin became full of blisters.

Another of the natives of Rona having had the opportunity of travelling as far as Coul, in the shire of Ross, which is the seat of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, every thing he saw there was surprizing to him; and when he heard the noise of those who walked in the rooms above him, he presently fell to the ground, thinking thereby to save his life, for he supposed that the house was coming down over his head. When Mr. Morison the minister was in Rona, two of the natives courted a maid with intention to marry her; and being married to one of them afterwards, the other was not a little disappointed, because there was no other match for him in this island. The wind blowing fair, Mr. Morison sailed directly for Lewis; but after three hours sailing was forced back to Rona by a contrary wind: and at his landing, the poor man that had lost his sweetheart was overjoyed, and expressed himself in these words; "I bless God and Ronan that you are returned again, for I hope you will now make me happy, and give me a right to enjoy the woman every other year by turns, that so we both may have issue by her. Mr. Morison could not refrain from smiling at this unexpected request, chid the poor man for his unreasonable demand, and desired him to have patience for a year longer, and he would send him a wife from Lewis; but this did not ease the poor man, who was tormented with the thoughts of dying without issue.

Another who wanted a wife, and having got a shilling from a seaman that happened to land there, went and gave this shilling to Mr. Morison, to purchase him a wife in the Lewis, and send her to him, for he was told that this piece of money was a thing of extraordinary value; and his desire was gratified the ensuing year.

About fourteen years ago a swarm of rats, but none knows how, came into Rona, and in a short time eat up all the corn in the island. In a few months after, some seamen landed there, who robbed the poor people of their bull. These misfortunes, and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year, occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people. The steward of St. Kilda being by a storm driven in there, told me that he found a woman with her child at her breast, both lying dead at the side of a rock. Some years after, the minister (to whom the island belongeth) sent a new colony to this island, with suitable supplies. The following year a boat was sent to them with some more supplies, and orders to receive the rents; but the boat being lost, as it is supposed, I can give no further account of this late plantation.

The inhabitants of this little island say, that the cuckow is never seen or heard here, but after the death of the Earl of Seaforth, or the minister.

The rock Soullisker lieth four leagues to the east of Rona; it is a quarter of a mile in circumference, and abounds with great numbers of sea-fowl, such as Solan geese, guillamote, coulter-neb, puffin, and several other forts. The fowl called the colk is found here: it is less than a goose, all covered with down, and when it hatches it casts its feathers, which are of divers colours; it has a tuft on its head resembling that of a peacock, and a train longer than that of a house-cock, but the hen has not so much ornament and beauty.

The island Siant, or, as the natives call it, Island-More, lies to the east of Ushiness in Lewis, about a league. There are three small islands here; the two southern islands are



are separated only by spring-tides, and are two miles in circumference. Island-More hath a chapel in it dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and is fruitful in corn and grafs: the island joining to it on the west is only for pasturage. I saw a couple of eagles here: the natives told me, that these eagles would never suffer any of their kind to live there but themselves, and that they drove away their young ones as soon as they were able to fly. And they told me likewise, that those eagles are so careful of the place of their abode, that they never yet killed any sheep or lamb in the island, though the bones of lambs, of fawns, and wild-fowls, are frequently found in and about their nests; so that they make their purchase in the opposite islands, the nearest of which is a league distant. This island is very strong and inaccessible, save on one side where the ascent is narrow, and somewhat resembling a stair, but a great deal more high and steep; notwithstanding which, the cows pass and repass by it safely, though one would think it uneasy for a man to climb. About a musket-shot further north lies the biggest of the islands called More, being two miles in circumference: it is fruitful in corn and pasturage, the cows here are much fatter than any I saw in the island of Lewis. There is a blue stone on the surface of the ground here, moist while it lies there, but when dry, it becomes very hard; it is capable of any impression, and I have seen a set of table-men made of this stone, prettily carved with different figures. There is a promontory in the north-end of the island of Lewis, called Europy-Point, which is supposed to be the furthest to north-west of any part in Europe.

These islands are divided into two parishes, one called Barvas, and the other Ey, or Y; both which are parsonages, and each of them having a minister. The names of the churches in Lewis Isles, and the Saints to whom they were dedicated, are St. Columkil, in the island of that name; St. Pharaer in Kaernes, St. Lennan in Sternvay, St. Collum in Ey, St. Cutchou in Garboft, St. Aula in Grease, St. Michael in Tollofta, St. Collum in Garieu, St. Ronan in Eorobie, St. Thomas in Haboft, St. Peter in Shanaboft, St. Clement in Dell, Holy-Cross Church in Galan, St. Brigit in Barove, St. Peter in Shia-dir, St. Mary in Barvas, St. John Baptist in Bragar, St. Kiaran in Liani Shadir, St. Michael in Kirvig, St. Macrel in Kirkiboft, St. Dondan in Little Berneray, St. Michael in the same island, St. Peter in Pabbay island, St. Christopher's chapel in Uge, and Stornvay church: all these churches and chapels were, before the reformation, sanctuaries; and if a man had committed murder, he was then secure and safe when once within their precincts.

They were in greater veneration in those days than now: it was the constant practice of the natives to kneel at first sight of the church, though at a great distance from them, and then they said their Pater-noster. John Morison of Bragir told me, that when he was a boy, and going to the church of St. Mulvay, he observed the natives to kneel and repeat the Pater-noster at four miles distance from the church. The inhabitants of this island had an ancient custom to sacrifice to a sea-god, called Shony, at Hallow-tide, in the manner following: the inhabitants round the island came to the church of St. Mulvay, having each man his provision along with him; every family furnished a peck of malt, and this was brewed into ale: one of their number was picked out to wade into the sea up to the middle, and carrying a cup of ale in his hand, standing still in that posture, cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Shony, I give you this cup of ale, hoping that you'll be so kind as to send plenty of sea-ware, for enriching our ground the ensuing year:" and so threw the cup of ale into the sea. This was performed in the night time. At his return to land, they all went to church, where there was a candle burning upon the altar: and then standing silent for a little time, one of them gave a signal, at which the candle was put out, and immediately all of them went to the fields, where they



they fell a drinking their ale, and spent the remainder of the night in dancing and singing, &c.

The next morning they all returned home, being well satisfied that they had punctually observed this solemn anniversary, which they believed to be a powerful means to procure a plentiful crop. Mr. Daniel and Mr. Kenneth Morison, ministers in Lewis, told me they spent several years, before they could persuade the vulgar natives to abandon this ridiculous piece of superstition; which is quite abolished for these thirty-two years past.

The inhabitants are all protestants, except one family, who are Roman catholics. I was told, that about fourteen years ago, three or four fishermen, who then forsook the protestant communion, and embraced the Romish faith, having the opportunity of a Popish priest on the place, they applied themselves to him for some of the holy water; it being usual for the priests to sprinkle it into the bays, as an infallible means to procure plenty of herring, as also to bring them into those nets that are besprinkled with it. These fishers accordingly having got the water, poured it upon their nets before they dropped them into the sea; they likewise turned the inside of their coats outwards, after which they set their nets in the evening at the usual hour. The protestant fishers, who used no other means than throwing their nets into the sea, at the same time were unconcerned; but the Papists being impatient and of expectation, got next morning betimes to draw their nets, and being come to the place, they soon perceived that all their nets were lost; but the protestants found their nets safe, and full of herring: which was no small mortification to the priest and his profelites, and exposed them to the derision of their neighbours.

The protestant natives observe the festivals of Christmas, Good-Friday, Easter, and Michaelmas: upon this last they have an anniversary cavalcade, and then both sexes ride on horse-back.

There is a village called Storn-Bay, at the head of the bay of that name; it consists of about sixty families: there are some houses of entertainment in it, as also a church, and a school, in which Latin and English are taught. The steward of the Lewis hath his residence in this village. The Lewis, which was possessed by Mack-leod of Lewis, for several centuries, is, since the reign of King James the sixth, become the property of the Earl of Seaforth, who still enjoys it.

#### *The Isle of Harries.*

THE Harries being separated from Lewis is eighteen miles, from the Hushiness on the western ocean to Loch-Seafort in the east; from this bounding to the point of Strond in the south of Harries, it is twenty-four miles; and in some places four, five, and six miles in breadth. The soil is almost the same with that of Lewis, and it produces the same sorts of corn, but a greater increase.

The air is temperately cold, and the natives endeavour to qualify it by taking a dose of Aquavitæ, or Brandy: for they brew no such liquors as Trestarig, or Usquebaugh-baul. The eastern coast of Harries is generally rocky and mountainous, covered with grass and heath. The west side is for the most part arable on the sea-coast; some parts of the hills on the east side are naked without earth. The soil being dry and sandy, is fruitful when manured with sea-ware. The grass on the west side is most clover and daisy, which in the summer yields a most fragrant smell. Next to Loch-Seafort, which for some miles divides the Lewis from Harries, is the notable harbour within the island, by sea-faring men called Glas, and by the natives Sculpa: it is a mile and a half long



long from south to north, and a mile in breadth. There is an entrance on the south and north-ends of the isle, and several good harbours in each, well known to the generality of seamen. Within the isle is Loch-Tarbat, running four miles west; it hath several small isles, and is sometimes frequented by herring. Without the Loch there is plenty of cod, ling, and large eels.

About half a league further on the same coast lies Loch-Stoknefs, which is about a mile in length; there is a fresh-water lake at the entrance of the island, which affords oysters, and several sorts of fish, the sea having access to it at spring-tides.

About a league and a half farther south, is Loch-Finibay, an excellent though unknown harbour; the land lies low, and hides it from the sight of the sea-faring men, till they come very near the coast. There are, besides this harbour, many creeks on this side, for barks and lesser boats.

Fresh-water lakes abound in this island, and are well stored with trout, eels, and salmon. Each lake has a river running from it to the sea, from whence the salmon comes about the beginning of May, and sooner if the season be warm. The best time for angling for salmon and trout, is when a warm south-west wind blows. They use earth-worms commonly for bait, but cockles attract the salmon better than any other.

There is variety of excellent springs issuing from all the mountains of this island, but the wells on the plains near the sea are not good. There is one remarkable fountain lately discovered near Marvag-houses, on the eastern coast, and has a large stone by it, which is sufficient to direct a stranger to it. The natives find by experience that it is very effectual for restoring lost appetite; all that drink of it become very soon hungry, though they have eat plentifully but an hour before: the truth of this was confirmed to me by those that were perfectly well, and also by those that were infirm; for it had the same effect on both.

There is a well in the heath, a mile to the east from the village Borge; the natives say that they find it efficacious against cholics, stitches, and gravel.

There are several caves in the mountains, and on each side the coast: the largest and best fortified by nature is that in the hill Ulweal, in the middle of a high rock; the passage leading to it is so narrow, that one only can enter at a time. This advantage renders it secure from any attempt; for one single man is able to keep off a thousand, if he have but a staff in his hand, since with the least touch of it he may throw the strongest man down the rock. The cave is capacious enough for fifty men to lodge in: it hath two wells in it, one of which is excluded from dogs; for they say that if a dog do but taste of the water, the well presently drieth up: and for this reason, all such as have occasion to lodge there take care to tie their dogs, that they may not have access to the water. The other well is called the Dog's-well, and is only drunk by them.

There are several ancient forts erected here, which the natives say were built by the Danes; they are of a round form, and have very thick walls, and a passage in them by which one can go round the fort. Some of the stones that compose them are very large: these forts are named after the villages in which they are built, as that in Borge is called Down-Borge, &c. They are built at convenient distances on each side the coast, and there is a fort built in every one of the lesser isles.

There are several stones here erected on one end, one of which is in the village of Borge, about seven feet high. There is another stone of the same height to be seen in the opposite Isle of Faranay. There are several heaps of stones, commonly called karnes, on the tops of the hills and rising grounds on the coast, upon which they used to burn heath, as a signal of an approaching enemy. There was always a senti-



nel at each karne to observe the sea-coast; the steward of the isle made frequent rounds to take notice of the sentinels, and if he found any of them asleep, he stripped them of their clothes, and deferred their personal punishments to the proprietor of the place. This isle produceth the same kind of cattle, sheep, and goats, that are in the Lewis. The natives gave me an account, that a couple of goats did grow wild on the hills, and after they had increased, they were observed to bring forth their young twice a year.

There are abundance of deer in the hills and mountains here, commonly called the Forest, which is eighteen miles in length from east to west; the number of deer computed to be in this place is at least two thousand; and there is none permitted to hunt there without a licence from the steward to the forester. There is a particular mountain, and above a mile of Ground surrounding it, to which no man hath access to hunt, this place being reserved for Macleod himself; who, when he is disposed to hunt, is sure to find game enough there.

Both hills and valleys in the forest are well provided with plenty of good grafs mixed with heath, which is all the shelter these deer have during the winter and spring; there is not a shrub of wood to be seen in all the forest; and, when a storm comes, the deer betake themselves to the sea-coast, where they feed upon the alga marina, or sea-ware.

The mertrick, a four-footed creature, about the size of a big cat, is pretty numerous in this isle; they have a fine skin, which is smooth as any fur, and of a brown colour. They say that the dung of this animal yields a scent like musk.

The amphibia here are otters and seals; the latter are eat by the meaner sort of people, who say they are very nourishing. The natives take them with nets, whose ends are tied by a rope to the strong alga, or sea-ware, growing on the rocks.

This island abounds with variety of land and sea-fowl, and particularly with very good hawks.

There are eagles here of two sorts; the one is of a large size and grey colour, and these are very destructive to the fawns, sheep, and lambs.

The other is considerably less, and black, and shaped like a hawk, and more destructive to the deer, &c. than the bigger sort.

There are no venomous creatures of any kind here, except a little viper, which was not thought venomous till of late, that a woman died of a wound she received from one of them.

I have seen a great many rats in the village Rowdil, which became very troublesome to the natives, and destroyed all their corn, milk, butter, cheese, &c. They could not extirpate these vermin for some time by all their endeavours. A considerable number of cats was employed for this end, but were still worsted, and became perfectly faint, because overpowered by the rats, who were twenty to one. At length one of the natives, of more sagacity than his neighbours, found an expedient to renew his cat's strength and courage, which was by giving it warm milk after every encounter with the rats; and the like being given to all the other cats after every battle, succeeded so well, that they left not one rat alive, notwithstanding the great number of them on the place.

On the east side the village Rowdil, there is a circle of stone, within eight yards of the shore; it is about three fathom under water, and about two stories high; it is in form broader above than below, like to the lower story of a kiln: I saw it perfectly on one side, but the season being then windy, hindered me from a full view of it. The natives say that there is such another circle of less compass in the pool Borodil, on the other side the bay.

The



The shore on the west coast of this island affords a variety of curious shells and walks; as *Tellinæ* and *Turbines* of various kinds; thin *Patellæ*, streaked blue, various coloured, *Pecten*es, some blue, and some of orange colours.

The *Os-sepie* is found on the sand in great quantities. The natives pulverize it, and take a dose of it in boiled milk, which is found by experience to be an effectual remedy against the diarrhea and dysentery. They rub this powder likewise, to take off the film on the eyes of sheep.

There is variety of nuts, called Molluka beans, some of which are used as amulets against witchcraft, or an evil eye, particularly the white one; and, upon this account, they are wore about children's necks, and if any evil eye is intended to them, they say the nut changes into a black colour. That they did change colour, I found true by my own observation, but cannot be positive as to the cause of it.

Malcolm Campbell, steward of Harries, told me, that some weeks before my arrival there, all his cows gave blood instead of milk for several days together: one of the neighbours told his wife that this must be witchcraft, and it would be easy to remove it, if she would but take the white nut, called the Virgin Mary's nut, and lay it in the pail into which she was to milk the cows. This advice she presently followed, and having milked one cow into the pail with the nut in it, the milk was all blood, and the nut changed its colour into dark brown; she used the nut again, and all the cows gave pure good milk, which they ascribe to the virtue of the nut. This very nut Mr. Campbell presented me with, and I keep it still by me.

Some small quantity of ambergrease hath been found on the coast of the island Bernera. I was told that a weaver in this island had burnt a lump of it, to show him a light for the most part of the night, but the strong-scent of it made his head ache exceedingly, by which it was discovered.

An ancient woman, about sixty years of age, here lost her hearing, and having no physician to give her advice, she would needs try an experiment herself, which was thus: she took a quill with which she ordinarily snuffed her tobacco, and filling it with the powder of tobacco, poured it into her ear; which had the desired effect, for she could hear perfectly well next day. Another neighbour about the same age, having lost her hearing some time after, recovered it by the same experiment, as I was told by the natives.

The sheep which feed here on sandy ground, become blind sometimes, and are cured by rubbing chalk in their eyes.

A servant of Sir Normond Macleod's living in the island of Bernera, had a mare that brought forth a foal with both the hinder feet cloven, which died about a year after: the natives concluded that it was a bad omen to the owner, and his death, which followed in a few years after, confirmed them in their opinion.

The natives make use of the seeds of a white wild carrot, instead of hops, for brewing their beer; and they say that it answers the end sufficiently well, and gives the drink a good relish besides.

John Campbell, forester of Harries, makes use of this singular remedy for a cold: he walks into the sea up to the middle with his clothes on, and immediately after goes to bed in his wet clothes, and then laying the bed-clothes over him, procures a sweat, which removes the distemper; and this, he told me, is his only remedy for all manner of colds. One of the said John Campbell's servants having his cheek swelled, and there being no physician near, he asked his master's advice; he knew nothing proper for him, but however bid him apply a plaister of warm barley-dough to the place affected. This assuaged the swelling, and drew out of the flesh a little worm,



about half an inch in length, and about the bigness of a goose-quill, having a pointed head, and many little feet on each side: this worm they call fillan, and it hath been found in the head and neck of several persons that I have seen in the isle of Skie.

*Allium Latifolium*, a kind of wild garlic, is much used by some of the natives, as a remedy against the stone: they boil it in water, and drink the infusion, and it expels sand powerfully with great ease.

The natives told me, that the rock on the east side of Harries, in the sound of island Glafs, hath a vacuity near the front, on the north-west side of the sound; in which they say there is a stone that they call the Lunar-stone, which advances and retires according to the increase and decrease of the Moon.

A poor man born in the village Rowdil, commonly called St. Clement's-blind, lost his sight at every change of the moon, which obliged him to keep his bed for a day or two, and then recovered his sight.

The inferior islands belonging to Harries are as follow: the island Bernera is five miles in circumference, and lies about two leagues to the south of Harries. The soil is sandy for the most part, and yields a great product of barley and rye in a plentiful year, especially if the ground be enriched by sea-ware, and that there be rain enough to satisfy the dry soil. I had the opportunity to travel this island several times, and upon a strict inquiry I found the product of barley to be sometimes twenty-fold and upwards, and at that time all the east side of the island produced thirty fold. This hath been confirmed to me by the natives, particularly by Sir Normond Macleod, who possesses the island; he likewise confirmed to me the account given by all the natives of Harries and South-Vist, viz. that one barley-grain produces in some places seven, ten, twelve, and fourteen ears of barley; of which he himself being diffident for some time, was at the pains to search nicely the root of one grain after some weeks growth, and found that from this one grain many ears had been grown up. But this happens not, except when the season is very favourable, or in grounds that have not been cultivated some years before; which, if manured with sea-ware, seldom fail to produce an extraordinary crop. It is observed in this island, as elsewhere, that when the ground is dug up with spades, and the turfs turned upside down, and covered with sea-ware, it yields a better product than when it is ploughed.

There is a fresh-water lake in this island, called Loch-Bruist, in which there are small islands abounding with land and sea-fowl, which build there in the summer. There is likewise plenty of eels in this lake, which are easiest caught in September; and then the natives carry lights with them in the night-time to the rivulet running from the lake, in which the eels fall down to the sea in heaps together.

This island in the summer is covered all over with clover and daisy, except in the corn-fields. There is to be seen about the houses of Bernera, for the space of a mile, a soft substance, in shew and colour exactly resembling the sea-plant called flake, and grows very thick among the grass. The natives say, that it is the product of a dry hot soil; it grows likewise in the tops of several hills in the island of Harries.

It is proper to add here an account of several strange irregularities in the tides, on Bernera coast, by Sir Robert Murray, mentioned in the Phil. Transactions.

The tides increase and decrease gradually, according to the moon's age, so as about the third day after the new and full moon, in the Western Isles and Continent they are commonly at the highest, and about the quarter moons at the lowest: (the former called spring-tides, the other neap-tides.) The tides from the quarter to the highest spring-tide increase in a certain proportion, and from the spring-tide to the quarter-tide in like proportion; and the ebbs rise and fall always after the same manner.



It is supposed that the increase of tides is made in the proportion of sines: the first increase exceeds the lowest in a small proportion, the next in a greater, the third greater than that, and so on to the middlemost, whereof the excess is greatest; diminishing again from that to the highest spring-tide, so as the proportions before and after the middle do answer one another. And likewise from the highest spring tide to the lowest neap-tide, the decreases seem to keep the like proportions; and this commonly falls out when no wind or other accident causes an alteration. At the beginning of each flood on the coast, the tide moves faster, but in a small degree, increasing its swiftness till towards the middle of the flood; and then decreasing in swiftness again from the middle to the top of the high-water; it is supposed that the unequal spaces of time, the increase and decrease of swiftness, and consequently the degrees of the risings and fallings of the same unequal spaces of time, are performed according to the proportion of sines. The proportion cannot hold precisely and exactly in regard of the inequalities that fall out in the periods of the tides, which are believed to follow certain positions of the moon in regard to the equinox, which are known not to keep a precise constant course; so that there not being equal portions of time between one new moon and another, the moon's return to the same meridian cannot be always performed in the same time. And the tides from the new moon being not always the same in number, or sometimes but fifty-seven, sometimes fifty-eight, sometimes fifty-nine, (without any certain order or succession) is another evidence of the difficulty of reducing this to any great exactness.

At the east end of this isle there is a strange reciprocation of the flux and reflux of the sea. There is another no less remarkable upon the west side of the Long Island; the tides which come from the south-west run along the coast northward; so that during the ordinary course of the tides, the flood runs east in the Frith where Berneray lies, and the ebb west; and thus the sea ebbs and flows orderly, some four days before the full and change, and as long after; (the ordinary spring-tides rising some fourteen or fifteen foot upright, and all the rest proportionably, as in other places,) but afterwards, for four days before the quarter moons, and as long after, there is constantly a great and singular variation. For then (a southerly moon making there the full sea) the course of the tide being eastward, when it begins to flow, which is about nine and a half of the clock, it not only continues so about three and a half in the afternoon, that it be high-water; but after it begins to ebb, the current runs on still eastward during the whole ebb; so that it runs eastward twelve hours together, that is, all day long, from about nine and a half in the morning till about nine and a half at night. But then when the night-tide begins to flow, the current turns, and runs westward all night, during both flood and ebb, for some twelve hours more, as it did eastward the day before. And thus the reciprocations continue, one flood and ebb running twelve hours eastward, and another twelve hours westward, till four days before the full and new moon; and then they resume their ordinary regular course as before, running east during the six hours of flood, and west during the six of ebb.

There is another extraordinary irregularity in the tides, which never fails: that whereas between the vernal and autumnal equinox, that is, for six months together, the course of irregular tides about the quarter moons, is to run all day, 12 hours, as from about nine and a half to nine and a half or ten, exactly eastward; all night, that is, twelve hours more, westward; during the other six months, from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, the current runs all day westward, and all night eastward. I have observed the tides as above, for the space of some days both in April, May, July, and August.

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The natives have frequent opportunities to see this both day and night, and they all agree that the tides run as mentioned above.

There is a couple of ravens in this island, which beat away all ravenous fowls, and when their young are able to fly abroad, they beat them also out of the island, but not without many blows, and a great noise.

There are two chapels in this isle; to wit, St. Afaph's and St. Columbus's chapel. There is a stone erected near the former, which is eight feet high, and two feet thick.

About half a league from Bernera, to the westward, lies the island Pabbay, three miles in circumference, and having a mountain in the middle. The soil is sandy, and fruitful in corn and grass, and the natives have lately discovered here a white marble. The west end of this island, which looks to St. Kilda, is called the Wooden Harbour, because the sands at low-water discover several trees that have formerly grown there. Sir Normond Macleod told me, that he had seen a tree cut there, which was afterwards made into a harrow.

There are two chapels in this island, one of which is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the other to St. Muluag.

The steward of Kilda, who lives in Pabbay, is accustomed in time of a storm to tie a bundle of puddings, made of the fat of sea-fowl, to the end of his cable, and lets it fall into the sea behind the rudder; this, he says, hinders the waves from breaking, and calms the sea; but the scent of the grease attracts the whales, which put the vessel in danger.

About half a league to the north of Pabbay, lies the isle Sellay, a mile in circumference, that yields extraordinary pasturage for sheep, so that they become fat very soon; they have the biggest horns that ever I saw on sheep.

About a league farther to the north, lies the isle Taransay, very fruitful in corn and grass, and yields much yellow talk. It is three miles in circumference, and has two chapels; one dedicated to St. Tarran, the other to St. Keith.

There is an antient tradition among the natives here, that a man must not be buried in St. Tarran's, nor a woman in St. Keith's, because otherwise the corpse would be found above-ground the day after it is interred. I told them this was a most ridiculous fancy, which they might soon perceive by experience, if they would but put it to a trial. Roderick Campbell, who resides there, being of my opinion, resolved to embrace the first opportunity that offered, in order to undeceive the credulous vulgar; and accordingly a poor man in this island, who died a year after, was buried in St. Tarran's chapel, contrary to the ancient custom and tradition of this place, but his corpse is still in the grave, from whence it is not like to rise until the general resurrection. This instance has delivered the credulous natives from this unreasonable fancy. This island is a mile distant from the main land of Harries, and when the inhabitants go from this island to Harries, with a design to stay for any time, they agree with those that carry them over, on a particular motion of walking upon a certain piece of ground, unknown to every body but themselves, as a signal to bring them back.

Three leagues to the westward of this island lies Gasker, about half a mile in circumference; it excels any other plot of its extent for fruitfulness in grass and product of milk; it maintains eight or ten cows. The natives kill seals here, which are very big.

About two leagues farther north lies the island Scarp, two miles in circumference, and is a high land covered with heath and grass.

Between Bernera and the main land of Harries lies the island Ensay, which is above two miles in circumference, and for the most part arable ground, which is fruitful in corn



corn and grafs; there is an old chapel here for the use of the natives; and there was lately discovered a grave in the west end of the island, in which was found a pair of scales made of brafs, and a little hammer, both which were finely polished.

Between Ensay and the main land of Harries, lie several small islands, fitter for pasturage than cultivation.

The little island Quedam hath a vein of adamant stone, in the front of the rock. The natives say that mice do not live in this island, and when they chance to be carried thither among corn they die quickly after. Without these small islands, there is a tract of small isles in the same line with the east side of the Harries and North-Vist; they are in all respects of the same nature with those two islands, so that the sight of them is apt to dispose one to think that they have been once united together.

The most southerly of these islands, and the nearest to North-Vist is Hermetra, two miles in circumference: it is a moorish soil, covered all over almost with heath, except here and there a few piles of grafs, and the plant milk-wort; yet, notwithstanding this disadvantage, it is certainly the best spot of its extent for pasturage, among these isles, and affords great plenty of milk in January and February beyond what can be seen in the other islands.

I saw here the foundation of a house built by the English, in Charles the First's time, for one of their magazines to lay up the cask, salt, &c. for carrying on the fishery, which was then begun in the Western Islands; but this design miscarried because of the civil wars which then broke out.

The channel between Harries and North-Vist, is above three leagues in breadth, and abounds with rocks, as well under as above water; though at the same time vessels of three hundred tons have gone through it, from east to west, having the advantage of one of the natives for a pilot. Some sixteen years ago, one Captain Frost was safely conducted in this manner. The Harries belongs in property to the Laird of Macleod; he and all the inhabitants are Protestants, and observe the festivals of Christmas, Good-Friday, and St. Michael's day; upon the latter, they rendezvous on horseback, and make their cavalcade on the sands at low water.

The island of North-Vist lies about three leagues to the south of the island of Harries, being in form of a semicircle, the diameter of which looks to the east, and is mountainous and full of heath, and fitter for pasturage than cultivation. The west side is of a quite different soil, arable and plain; the whole is in length from south to north nine miles, and about thirty in circumference.

There are four mountains in the middle, two lie within less than a mile of each other, and are called South and North-Lee. All the hills and heath afford good pasturage, though it consists as much of heath as grafs. The arable ground hath a mixture of clay in some places, and it is covered all over in summer time and harvest with clover, daisy, and variety of other plants, pleasant to the sight, and of a very fragrant smell; and abounds with black cattle and sheep. The soil is very grateful to the husbandman, yielding a produce of barley, from ten to thirtyfold in a plentiful year; provided the ground be manured with sea-ware, and that it have rain proportionable to the soil. I have, upon several occasions, enquired concerning the produce of barley in this and the neighbouring islands; the same being much doubted in the south of Scotland, as well as in England; and, upon the whole, I have been assured by the most ancient and industrious of the natives, that the increase is the same as mentioned before in Harries.

They told me, likewise, that a plot of ground which hath lain unmanured for some years, would, in a very plentiful season produce fourteen ears of barley from one grain; several ridges were then shewed me of this extraordinary growth in different places.



The grain sown here is barley, oats, rye; and it is not to be doubted but the soil would also produce wheat. The way of tillage here is commonly by ploughing, and some by digging. The ordinary plough is drawn by four horses, and they have a little plough called ristle, *i. e.* a thing that cleaves, the coulter of which is in form of a sickle; and it is drawn sometimes by one, and sometimes by two horses, according as the ground is. The design of this little plough is to draw a deep line in the ground, to make it more easy for the big plough to follow, which otherwise would be much retarded by the strong roots bent lying deep in the ground, that are cut by the little plough. When they dig with spades, it produceth more increase; the little plough is likewise used to facilitate digging as well as ploughing. They continue to manure the ground until the tenth of June, if they have plenty of braggir, *i. e.* the broad leaves growing on the top of the *alga-marina*.

About a league and a half to the south of the island Hermetra in Harries, lies Loch-Maddy, so called from the three rocks without the entry on the south side. They are called Maddies, from the great quantity of big muscles, called Maddies, that grows upon them. This harbour is capacious enough for some hundreds of vessels of any burden: it hath several isles within it, and they contribute to the security of the harbour, for a vessel may safely come close to the quay. The seamen divide the harbour in two parts, calling the south-side Loch-Maddy, and the north side Loch-Partan. There is one island in the south loch, which for its commodiousness is, by the English, called Nonsuch. This loch hath been famous for the great quantity of herrings yearly taken in it within these fifty years last past. The natives told me, that in the memory of some yet alive, there had been four hundred sail loaded in it with herrings at one season; but it is not now frequented for fishing, though the herrings do still abound in it; and on this coast every summer and harvest, the natives sit angling on the rocks, and as they pull up their hooks, do many times bring up herrings. That they are always on the coast, appears from the birds, whales, and other fishes, that are their forerunners every where; and yet it is strange, that in all this island there is not one herring-net to be had: but if the natives saw any encouragement, they could soon provide them. Cod, ling, and all sorts of fish taken in these islands, abound in and about this lake.

In this harbour there is a small island called Vackfay, in which there is still to be seen the foundation of a house, built by the English, for a magazine to keep their cask, salt, &c. for carrying on a great fishery which was then begun there. The natives told me, that King Charles the First had a share in it. This lake, with the convenience of its fishings and islands, is certainly capable of great improvement; much of the ground about the bay is capable of cultivation, and affords a great deal of fuel, as turf, peats, and plenty of fresh water. It also affords a good quantity of oysters, and clam shell-fish; the former grow on rocks, and are so big that they are cut in four pieces before they are eat.

About half-a mile further south is Loch-Eport, having a rock without the mouth of the entry, which is narrow: the lake penetrates some miles towards the west, and is a good harbour, having several small isles within it. The seals are very numerous here. In the month of July the spring-tides carry in a great quantity of Mackrel, and at the return of the water they are found many times lying on the rocks. The vulgar natives make use of the ashes of burnt sea-ware, which preserves them for some time instead of salt.

About two miles to the south of Loch-Eport lies the bay called the Kyle of Rona; having the island of that name (which is a little hill) within the bay; there is a harbour on each side of it. This place hath been found of great convenience for the fishing of cod  
and



and ling, which abound on this coast. There is a little chapel in the island Rona, called the Lowlanders' chapel, because seamen who die in time of fishing are buried in that place.

There is a harbour on the south side the island Borera; the entry seems to be narrower than really it is: the island and the opposite point of land appear like two little promontories off at sea. Some vessels have been forced in there by storm, as was Captain Peters, a Dutchman, and after him an English ship, who both approved of this harbour. The former built a cock-boat there on a Sunday, at which the natives were much offended: the latter having landed in the island, happened to come into a house where he found only ten women, and they were employed (as he supposed) in a strange manner, viz. their arms and legs were bare, being five on a side; and between them lay a board, upon which they had laid a piece of cloth, and were thickening of it with their hands and feet, and singing all the while. The Englishman presently concluded it to be a little bedlam, which he did not expect in so remote a corner; and this he told to Mr. John Maclean, who possesses the island. Mr. Maclean answered, he never saw any mad people in those islands: but this would not satisfy him, till they both went to the place where the women were at work; and then Mr. Maclean having told him that it was their common way of thickening cloth, he was convinced, though surprised at the manner of it.

There is such a number of fresh-water lakes here as can hardly be believed: I myself and several others endeavoured to number them, but in vain, for they are so disposed into turnings, that it is impracticable. They are generally well stocked with trouts and eels, and some of them with salmon; and which is yet more strange, cod, ling, mackrel, &c. are taken in these lakes, into which they are brought by the spring-tides.

These lakes have many small islands, which in summer abound with variety of land and sea-fowls, that build and hatch there. There are also several rivers here which afford salmon: one sort of them is very singular, that is called marled salmon, or, as the natives call it, *ieskedruimin*, being lesser than the ordinary salmon, and full of strong large scales; no bait can allure it, and a shadow frights it away, being the wildest of fishes: it leaps high above the water, and delights to be on the surface of it.

There is great plenty of shell-fish round this island, more particularly cockles: the islands do also afford many small fish called eels, of a whitish colour; they are picked out of the sand with a small crooked iron made on purpose. There is plenty of lobsters on the west side of this island, and one sort bigger than the rest, having the toe shorter and broader.

There are several ancient forts in this island, built upon eminences, or in the middle of fresh-water lakes.

Here are likewise several cairns or heaps of stones: the biggest I observed was on a hill near to Loch-Eport. There are three stones erected, about a foot high, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from one another, on eminences, about a mile from Loch-Maddy, to amuse invaders; for which reason they are still called false sentinels.

There is a stone of twenty-four feet long and four in breadth in the hill Criniveal: the natives say, a giant of a month old was buried under it. There is a very conspicuous stone in the face of the hill above St. Peter's village, above eight feet high.

There is another about eight feet high at Down-rossel, which the natives call a cross. There are two broad stones, about eight feet high, on the hill two miles to the south of Valay.

There is another at the key, opposite to Kirkibast, twelve feet high: the natives say that delinquents were tied to this stone in time of divine service.



There is a stone in form of a cross in the row opposite to St. Mary's church, about five feet high: the natives call it the Water-cross, for the ancient inhabitants had a custom of erecting this sort of cross to procure rain, and when they had got enough, they laid it flat on the ground; but this custom is now disused. The inferior island is the island of Heiskir, which lies near three leagues westward of North-Vist, is three miles in circumference, of a sandy soil, and very fruitful in corn and grafs, and black cattle. The inhabitants labour under want of fuel of all sorts, which obliges them to burn cows' dung, barley-straw, and dried sea-ware: the natives told me, that bread baked by the fuel of sea-ware relishes better than that done otherwise. They are accustomed to salt their cheese with the ashes of barley-straw, which they suffer not to lie on it above twelve hours time, because otherwise it would spoil it. There was a stone chest lately discovered here, having an earthen pitcher in it which was full of bones, and as soon as touched they turned to dust.

There are two small islands separated by narrow channels from the north-west of this island, and are of the same mould with the big island. The natives say, that there is a couple of ravens there which suffer no other of their kind to approach this island, and if any should chance to come, this couple immediately drive them away, with such a noise as is heard by all the inhabitants: they are observed likewise to beat away their young as soon as they are able to purchase for themselves. The natives told me, that when one of this couple happened to be wounded by gun-shot, it lay still in the corner of a rock for a week or two, during which time its mate brought provision to it daily, until it recovered perfectly. The natives add further, that one of these two ravens having died some time after, the surviving one abandoned the island for a few days, and then was seen to return with about ten or twelve more of its kind, and having chosen a mate out of this number, all the rest went quite off, leaving these two in possession of their little kingdom. They do by a certain sagacity discover to the inhabitants any carcass, on the shore or in the fields, whereof I have seen several instances: the inhabitants pretend to know by their noise whether it be flesh or fish. I told them this was such nicety that I could scarcely give it credit; but they answered me, that they came to a knowledge of it by observation, and that they make their loudest noise for flesh. There is a narrow channel between the island of Heiskir and one of the lesser islands, in which the natives formerly killed many seals, in this manner: they twisted together several small ropes of horse-hair in form of a net, contracted at one end like a purse; and so by opening and shutting this hair-net, these seals were caught in the narrow channel. On the south side of North-Vist are the islands of Illeray, which are accessible at low water, each of them being three miles in compass, and very fertile in corn and cattle.

On the western coast of this island lies the rock Eousmil, about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and is still famous for the yearly fishing of seals there, in the end of October. This rock belongs to the farmers of the next adjacent lands: there is one who furnisheth a boat, to whom there is a particular share due on that account, besides his proportion as tenant. The parish minister hath his choice of all the young seals, and that which he takes is called by the natives Cullen-Mory, that is, the Virgin Mary's seal. The steward of the island hath one paid to him, his officer hath another, and this by virtue of their offices. These farmers man their boats with a competent number fit for the business, and they always embark with a contrary wind, for their security against being driven away by the ocean, and likewise to prevent them from being discovered by the seals, who are apt to smell the scent of them, and presently run to sea.

When this crew is quietly landed they surround the passes, and then the signal for the general attack is given from the boat, and so they beat them down with big staves.

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The seals at this onset make towards the sea with all speed, and often force their passage over the necks of the stoutest assailants, who aim always at the forehead of the seals, giving many blows before they are killed; and if they are not hit exactly on the front, they contract a lump on their forehead, which makes them look very fierce; and if they get hold of the staff with their teeth, they carry it along to sea with them. Those that are in the boat shoot at them as they run to sea, but few are caught that way. The natives told me, that several of the biggest seals lose their lives by endeavouring to save their young ones, whom they tumble before them towards the sea. I was told also, that three hundred and twenty seals, young and old, have been killed at one time in this place. The reason for attacking them in October is, because in the beginning of this month the seals bring forth their young on the ocean side; but these on the east side, who are of the lesser stature, bring forth their young in the middle of June.

The seals eat no fish till they first take off the skin: they hold the head of the fish between their teeth, and pluck the skin off each side with their sharp pointed nails; this I observed several times. The natives told me that the seals are regularly coupled, and resent an encroachment on their mates at an extraordinary rate. The natives have observed, that when a male had invaded a female, already coupled to another, the injured male, upon its return to its mate, would by a strange sagacity find it out, and resent it against the aggressor by a bloody conflict, which gives a red tincture to the sea in that part where they fight. This piece of revenge has been often observed by seal-hunters, and many others of unquestionable integrity, whose occasions obliged them to be much on this coast. I was assured by good hands, that the seals make their addresses to each other by kisses: this hath been observed often by men and women, as fishing on the coast in a clear day. The female puts away its young from sucking as soon as it is able to provide for itself; and this is not done without many severe blows.

There is a hole in the skin of the female, within which the teats are secured from being hurt, as it creeps along the rocks and stones; for which cause nature hath formed the point of the tongue of the young one cloven, without which it could not suck.

The natives salt the seals with the ashes of burnt sea-ware, and say they are good food: the vulgar eat them commonly in the spring-time with a long pointed stick instead of a fork, to prevent the strong smell which their hands would otherwise have for several hours after. The flesh and broth of fresh young seals is by experience known to be pectoral; the meat is astringent, and used as an effectual remedy against the diarrhea and dysentery: the liver of a seal being dried and pulverized, and afterwards a little of it drunk with milk, aquavita, or red wine, is also good against fluxes.

Some of the natives wear a girdle of the seal-skin about the middle, for removing the sciatica, as those of the shire of Aberdeen wear it to remove the chin-cough. This four-footed creature is reckoned one of the swiftest in the sea; they say likewise that it leaps in cold weather the height of a pike above water, and that the skin of it is white in summer, and darker in winter; and that their hair stands on end with the flood, and falls again at the ebb. The skin is by the natives cut in long pieces, and then made use of instead of ropes to fix the plough to their horses when they till the ground.

The seal, though esteemed fit only for the vulgar, is also eaten by persons of distinction, though under a different name, to wit, *ham*: this I have been assured of by good hands, and thus we see that the generality of men are as much led by fancy as judgment in their palates, as well as in other things. The popish vulgar, in the islands southward from this, eat these seals in Lent instead of fish. This occasioned a debate between a protestant gentleman and a papist of my acquaintance: the former alledged that the other had transgressed the rules of his church, by eating flesh in Lent: the



latter answered, that he did not ; for, says he, I have eat a sea-creature, which only lives and feeds upon fish. The protestant replied, that this creature is amphibious, lies, creeps, eats, sleeps, and so spends much of its time on land, which no fish can do and live. It hath also another faculty that no fish has, that is, it breaks wind backward so loudly, that one may hear it at a great distance. But the papist still maintained that he must believe it to be fish, till such time as the pope and his priests decide the question.

About three leagues and a half to the west lie the small islands called Hawsker-Rocks, and Hawsker-Eggath, and Hawsker-Nimannich, *id est*, Monks-Rock, which hath an altar in it. The first called so from the ocean, as being near to it ; for *haw* or *thau* in the ancient language signifies the ocean : the more southerly rocks are six or seven big ones nicked or indented, for *eggath* signifies so much. The largest island, which is northward, is near half a mile in circumference, and it is covered with long grass. Only small vessels can pass between this and the southern rocks, being nearest to St. Kilda of all the west islands ; both of them abound with fowls as much as any isles of their extent in St. Kilda. The coulteneb, guillemot, and scarts, are most numerous here ; the seals likewise abound very much in and about these rocks.

The island of Valay lies on the west, near the main land of North Vist ; it is about four miles in circumference, arable and a dry sandy soil, very fruitful in corn and grass, clover, and daisy. It hath three chapels ; one dedicated to St. Ulton, and another to the Virgin Mary. There are two crosses of stone, each of them about seven feet high, and a foot and a half broad.

There is a little font on an altar, being a big stone, round like a cannon-ball, and having in the upper end a little vacuity capable of holding two spoonfuls of water. Below the chapels there is a flat thin stone, called Brownies stone, upon which the ancient inhabitants offered a cow's milk every Sunday ; but this custom is now quite abolished. Some thirty paces on this side is to be seen a little stone house under ground ; it is very low and long, having an entry on the sea side : I saw an entry in the middle of it, which was discovered by the falling of the stones and earth.

About a league to the north-east of Valay is the island of Borera, about four miles in circumference : the mould in some places is sandy, and in others black earth ; it is very fruitful in cattle and grass. I saw a mare here which I was told brought forth a foal in her second year.

There is a cow here that brought forth two female calves at once, in all things so very like one another, that they could not be distinguished by any outward mark ; and had such a sympathy that they were never separate, except in time of sucking, and then they kept still their own side of their dam, which was not observed until a distinguishing mark was put about one of their necks by the milk-maid. In the middle of this island there is a fresh-water lake, well stocked with very big eels, some of them as long as cod or ling fish. There is a passage under the stony ground, which is between the sea and the lake, through which it is supposed the eels come in with the spring-tides : one of the inhabitants, called Mac-Vanich, i. e. Monks-Son, had the curiosity to creep naked through this passage.

This island affords the largest and best dulce for eating ; it requires less butter than any other of this sort, and has a mellowish taste.

The burial-place near the houses is called the monks-field, for all the monks that died in the islands that lie northward from Egg were buried in this little plot : each grave hath a stone at both ends, some of which are three, and others four feet high. There are big stones without the burial-place even with the ground ; several of them



have little vacancies in them as if made by art : the tradition is, that these vacancies were dug for receiving the monks' knees when they prayed upon them.

The island of Lingay lies half a league south on the side of Borera : it is singular in respect of the lands of Vist, and the other islands that surround it, for they are all composed of sand, and this on the contrary is altogether moss covered with heath, affording five peats in depth ; and is very serviceable and useful, furnishing the island Borera, &c. with plenty of good fuel. This island was held as consecrated for several ages, inso-much that the natives would not then presume to cut any fuel in it.

The cattle produced here are horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, generally of a low stature. The horses are very strong, and fit for pads, though exposed to the rigour of the weather all the winter and spring in the open fields. Their cows are also in the fields all the spring, and their beef is sweet and tender as any can be : they live upon sea-ware in the winter and spring, and are fattened by it ; nor are they slaughtered before they eat plentifully of it in December. The natives are accustomed to salt their beef in a cow's hide, which keeps it close from air, and preserves it as well, if not better, than barrels, and tastes they say best when this way used. This beef is transported to Glasgow, a city in the west of Scotland, and from thence (being put in barrels there) exported to the Indies in good condition. The hills afford some hundreds of deer, who eat sea-ware also in winter and spring-time.

The amphibia produced here are seals and otters. There is no fox or venomous creature in this island. The great eagles here fasten their talons in the back of fish, and commonly of salmon, which is often above water and on the surface. The natives, who in the summer-time live on the coast, do sometimes rob the eagle of its prey after its landing.

Here are hawks, eagles, pheasants, moor-fowls, tarmogan, plover, pigeons, crows, swans and all the ordinary sea-fowls in the west islands. The eagles are very destructive to the fawns and lambs, especially the black eagle, which is of a lesser size than the other. The natives observe, that it fixes its talons between the deers' horns, and beats its wings constantly about its eyes, which puts the deer to run continually till it fall into a ditch, or over a precipice, where it dies, and so becomes a prey to this cunning hunter. There are at the same time several other eagles of this kind, which fly on both sides of the deer, which fright it extremely, and contribute much to its more sudden destruction.

The forester and several of the natives assured me, that they had seen both sorts of eagles kill deer in this manner. The swans come hither in great numbers in the month of October, with north-east winds, and live in the fresh lakes, where they feed upon trout and water-plants till March, at which time they fly away again with a south-east wind. When the natives kill a swan, it is common for the eaters of it to make a negative vow (i. e. they swear never to do something that is in itself impracticable) before they taste of the fowl.

The bird corn-craker is about the bigness of a pigeon, having a longer neck, and being of a brown colour, but blacker in harvest than in summer : the natives say it lives by the water, and under the ice in winter and spring.

The colk is a fowl somewhat less than a goose, hath feathers of divers colours, as white, grey, green, and black, and is beautiful to the eye : it hath a tuft on the crown of its head like that of a peacock, and a train longer than that of a house-cock. This fowl loseth its feathers in time of hatching, and lives mostly in the remotest islands, as Heisker and Rona.



The gawlin is a fowl less than a duck, it is reckoned a true prognosticator of fair weather; for when it sings, fair and good weather always follows, as the natives commonly observe: the piper of St. Kilda plays the notes which it sings, and hath composed a tune of them, which the natives judged to be very fine music.

The rain-goofe, bigger than a duck, makes a doleful noise before a great rain: it builds its nest always upon the brink of fresh-water lakes, so as it may reach the water.

The bonnivochil, so called by the natives, and by the seamen bishop and carrara, as big as a goose, having a white spot on the breast, and the rest party-coloured; it seldom flies, but is exceedingly quick in diving. The minister of North-Vist told me that he killed one of them which weighed sixteen pounds and an ounce: there is about an inch deep of fat upon the skin of it, which the natives apply to the hip-bone, and by experience find it a successful remedy for removing the sciatica.

The bird goylir, about the bigness of a swallow, is observed never to land but in the month of January, at which time it is supposed to hatch; it dives with a violent swiftness. When any number of these fowls are seen together, it is concluded to be an undoubted sign of an approaching storm; and when the storm ceases, they disappear under the water. The seamen call them malingies, from mali-eggies, which they often find to be true.

The bird fereachan-aittin is about the bigness of a large mall, but having a longer body, and a bluish colour; the bill is of a carnation colour. This bird shrieks most hideously, and is observed to have a greater affection for its mate than any fowl whatsoever; for when the cock or hen is killed, the surviving one doth for eight or ten days afterward make a lamentable noise about the place.

The bird faskidar, about the bigness of a sea-maw of the middle size, is observed to fly with greater swiftness than any other fowl in those parts, and pursues lesser fowls, and forces them in their flight to let fall the food which they have got, and by its nimbleness catches it before it touches the ground.

The natives observe that an extraordinary heat without rain, at the usual time the sea fowls lay their eggs, hinders them from laying any eggs for about eight or ten days; whereas warm weather, accompanied with rain, disposes them to lay much sooner.

The wild geese are plentiful here, and very destructive to the barley, notwithstanding the many methods used for driving them away both by traps and gun-shot. There are some flocks of barren fowls of all kinds, which are distinguished by their not joining with the rest of their kind, and they are seen commonly upon the bare rocks, without any nests.

The air is here moist and moderately cold, the natives qualify it sometimes by drinking a glass of usquebaugh. The moisture of this place is such, that a loaf of sugar is in danger to be dissolved, if it be not preserved by being near the fire, or laying it among oatmeal, in some close place. Iron here becomes quickly rusty, and iron which is on the sea-side of a house grows sooner rusty than that which is on the land-side.

The greatest snow falls here with the south-west winds, and seldom continues above three or four days. The ordinary snow falls with the north and north-west winds, and does not lie so deep on the ground near the sea as on the tops of mountains.

The frost continues till the spring is pretty far advanced, the severity of which occasions great numbers of trouts and eels to die; but the winter frosts have not this effect, for which the inhabitants give this reason, viz. that the rains being more frequent in October, do, in their opinion, carry the juice and quintessence of the plants into the lakes, whereby they think the fish are nourished during the winter; and there being no such nourishment in the spring, in regard of the uninterrupted running of the water,  
which



which carries the juice with it to the sea, it deprives the fish of this nourishment, and consequently of life. And they add further, that the fish have no access to the superficies of the water, or to the brink of it, where the juice might be had. The natives are the more confirmed in their opinion, that the fishes in lakes and marshes are observed to out-live both winter and spring frosts. The east-north-east winds always procure fair weather here, as they do in all the north-west islands; and the rains are more frequent in this place in October and February than at any other time of the year.

Fountain-water drunk in winter is reckoned by the natives to be much more wholesome than in the spring; for in the latter it causeth the diarrhœa and dysenteria.

The diseases that prevail here are fevers, diarrhœa and dysenteria, stitch, cough, sciatica, megrim, the small-pox, which commonly comes once in seventeen years time. The ordinary cure for fevers is letting blood plentifully: the diarrhœa is cured by drinking aquavitæ, and the stronger the better. The flesh and liver of seals are used as above mentioned, both for diarrhœa and dysenteria. Milk wherein hectic-stone has been quenched, being frequently drunk, is likewise a good remedy for the two diseases last mentioned.

The kernel of the black nut found on the shore, being beat to powder, and drunk in milk or aquavitæ, is reckoned a good remedy for the said two diseases: stitches are cured sometimes by letting blood.

Their common cure for coughs is brochan, formerly mentioned. The case of the carrara-fowl, with the fat, being powdered a little and applied to the hip-bone, is an approved remedy for the sciatica. Since the great change of the seasons, which of late years is become more piercing and cold, by which the growth of the corn both in the spring and summer seasons are retarded, there are some diseases discovered which were not known here before, viz. a spotted fever, which is commonly cured by drinking a glass of brandy or aquavitæ liberally when the disease seizes them, and using it till the spots appear outwardly. This fever was brought hither by a stranger from the island of Mull, who infected these other islands. When the fever is violent, the spots appear the second day, but commonly on the fourth day, and then the disease comes to a crisis the seventh day: but if the spots do not appear the fourth day, the disease is reckoned mortal; yet it has not proved so here, though it has carried off several in the other adjacent islands. The vulgar are accustomed to apply *flamula jovis* for evacuating noxious humours, such as cause the head-ach, and pains in the arms or legs, and they find great advantage by it. The way of using it is thus: they take a quantity of it, bruised small and put into a patella, and apply it so to the skin a little below the place affected: in a small time it raises a blister about the bigness of an egg, which, when broke, voids all the matter that is in it; then the skin fills and swells twice again, and as often voids this matter. They use the sea-plant *linarich* to cure the wound, and it proves effectual for this purpose, and also for the megrim and burning.

The broth of a lamb, in which the plants *sbunniss* and *Alexander* have been boiled, is found by experience to be good against consumptions. The green sea-plant *linarich* is by them applied to the temples and forehead to dry up defluxions, and also for drawing up the tonsels. Neil Macdonald, in the island of Heiskir, is subject to the falling of the tonsels at every change of the moon, and they continue only for the first quarter. This infirmity hath continued with him all his days, yet he is now seventy-two years of age.

John Fake, who lives in Pabble, in the parish of Kilmoor, *alias* St. Mary's, is constantly troubled with a great sneezing a day or two before rain; and if the sneezing be more than usual, the rain is said to be greater; therefore he is called the rain-almanack. He has had this faculty these nine years past.



There is a house in the village called Ard-nin-boothin in the parish of St. Marys ; and the house-cock there never crows from the tenth of September till the middle of March. This was told me two years ago, and since confirmed to me by the natives, and the present minister of the parish.

The inhabitants of this island are generally well-proportioned, of an ordinary stature and a good complexion ; healthful, and some of them come to a great age : several of my acquaintance arrived at the age of ninety, and upwards ; John Mac-donald of Grinnis was of this number, and died lately in the ninety-third year of his age. Donald Roy, who lived in the isle of Sand, and died lately in the hundredth year of his age, was able to travel and manage his affairs till about two years before his death. They are a very charitable and hospitable people, as is any where to be found. There was never an inn here till of late, and now there is but one, which is not at all frequented for eating, but only for drinking ; for the natives by their hospitality render this new-invented house in a manner useless. The great produce of barley draws many strangers to this island, with a design to procure as much of this grain as they can ; which they get of the inhabitants gratis, only for asking, as they do horses, cows, sheep, wool, &c. I was told some months before my arrival there, that there had been ten men in that place at one time to ask corn gratis, and every one of these had some one, some two, and others three attendants ; and during their abode there, they were all entertained gratis, no one returning empty.

This is a great, yet voluntary tax, which has continued for many ages ; but the late general scarcity has given them an occasion to alter this custom, by making acts against liberality, except to poor natives and objects of charity.

The natives are much addicted to riding, the plainness of the country disposing both men and horses to it. They observe an anniversary cavalcade on Michaelmas day, and then all ranks of both sexes appear on horse-back. The place for this rendezvous is a large piece of firm sandy ground on the sea-shore, and there they have horse-racing for small prizes, for which they contend eagerly. There is an ancient custom, by which it is lawful for any of the inhabitants to steal his neighbour's horse the night before the race, and ride him all next day, provided he deliver him safe and sound to the owner after the race. The manner of running is by a few young men, who use neither saddles nor bridles, except two small ropes made of bent instead of a bridle, nor any sort of spurs, but their bare heels : and when they begin the race, they throw these ropes on their horses' necks, and drive them on vigorously with a piece of long sea-ware in each hand, instead of a whip ; and this is dried in the sun several months before for that purpose. This is a happy opportunity for the vulgar, who have few occasions for meeting, except on Sundays : the men have their sweet-hearts behind them on horse-back, and give and receive mutual presents ; the men present the women with knives and purses, the women present the men with a pair of fine garters of divers colours, they give them likewise a quantity of wild carrots. This isle belongs in property to Sir Donald Mac-donald of Sleat : he and all the inhabitants are protestants, one only excepted ; they observe Christmas, Good-Friday, and St. Michael's Day.

*The Isle Benbecula, its Distance, Length, Bay, Mold, Grain, Fish, Cattle, Fresh Lakes, Ports, a Stone Vault, Nunnery, Proprietor.*

THE island of Benbecula lies directly to the south of North Vist, from which it is two miles distant ; the ground being all plain and sandy between them, having two little rivers or channels no higher than one's knee at a tide of ebb : this passage is overflowed

by



by the sea every tide of flood; nor is it navigable except by boats. There are several small islands on the east-side of this channel. This island is three miles in length from south to north, and three from east to west, and ten miles in compass. The east-side is covered with heath; it hath a bay called Viskway, in which small vessels do sometimes harbour, and now and then herrings are taken in it.

The mountain Benbecula, from which the isle hath its name, lies in the middle of it; the eastern part of this island is all arable, but the soil sandy, the mould is the same with that of North-Vist, and affords the same corn, fish, cattle, amphibia, &c. There is no venomous creature here. It hath several fresh-water lakes well stocked with fish and fowl. There are some ruins of old forts to be seen in the small islands, in the lakes, and on the plain.

There are also some small chapels here, one of them at Bael-nin-killach, *id est*, Nuns-Town, for there were nunneries here in time of popery. The natives have lately discovered a stone vault on the east-side the town, in which there are abundance of small bones, which have occasioned many uncertain conjectures; some said they were the bones of birds, others judged them rather to be the bones of pigmies. The proprietor of the town inquiring Sir Normand Mackleod's opinion concerning them, he told him that the matter was plain as he supposed, and that they must be the bones of infants born by the nuns there. This was very disagreeable to the Roman catholick inhabitants, who laughed it over. But in the mean time the natives out of zeal took care to shut up the vault, that no access can be had to it since; so that it would seem they believe what Sir Normand said, or else feared that it might gain credit by such as afterward had occasion to see them. This island belongs properly to Ranal Mac-donald of Benbecula, who, with all the inhabitants, are Roman Catholicks; and I remember I have seen an old lay capuchin here, called in the language Brahir-bocht, that is, poor brother; which is literally true, for he answers this character, having nothing but what is given him; he holds himself fully satisfied with food and raiment, and lives in as great simplicity as any of his order; his diet is very mean, and he drinks only fair water; his habit is no less mortifying than that of his brethren elsewhere; he wears a short coat, which comes no further than his middle, with narrow sleeves like a waistcoat; he wears a plad above it girt about the middle, which reaches to his knee: the plad is fastened on his breast with a wooden pin, his neck bare, and his feet often so too: he wears a hat for ornament, and the string about it is a bit of fisher's line made of horse-hair. This plad he wears instead of a gown worn by those of his order in other countries. I told him he wanted the flaxen girdle that men of his order usually wear: he answered me, that he wore a leather one, which was the same thing. Upon the matter, if he is spoke to when at meat, he answers again; which is contrary to the custom of his order. This poor man frequently diverts himself with angling of trouts; he lies upon straw, and had no bell (as others have) to call him to his devotion, but only his conscience, as he told me.

The speckled salmons, described in North-Vist, are very plentiful on the west side of this island.

The island of South-Vist lies directly two miles to the south of Benbecula, being in length one and twenty miles, and three in breadth, and in some places four. The east-side is mountainous on the coast, and heathy for the most part: the west-side is plain arable ground, the soil is generally sandy, yielding a good produce of barley, oats, and rye, in proportion to that of North-Vist, and has the same sort of cattle. Both east and west sides of this island abound in fresh-water lakes, which afford trouts and eels,



besides variety of land and sea fowls. The arable land is much damaged by the overflowing of these lakes in divers places, which they have not hitherto been able to drain, though the thing be practicable. Several lakes have old forts built upon the small islands in the middle of them. About four miles on the south-east end of this island, is Loch-Eynord; it reaches several miles westward, having a narrow entry, which makes a violent current, and within this entry there's a rock, upon which there was staved to pieces a frigate of Cromwell's which he sent there to subdue the natives. Ambergrease hath been found by several of the inhabitants on the west coast of this island, and they sold it at Glasgow at a very low rate, not knowing the value of it at first; but when they knew it, they raised the price to the other extreme. Upon a thaw after a long frost the south-east winds cast many dead fishes on the shore. The inhabitants are generally of the same nature and complexion with those of the next adjacent northern islands; they wear the same habit, and use the same diet. One of the natives is very famous for his great age, being, as it is said, a hundred and thirty years old, and retains his appetite and understanding; he can walk abroad, and did labour with his hands as usually, till within these three years, and for any thing I know is yet living.

There are several big cairnes of stone on the east-side this island, and the vulgar retain the ancient custom of making a religious tour round them on Sundays and holidays.

There is a valley between two mountains on the east-side, called Glenflyte, which affords good pasturage. The natives who farm it, come thither with their cattle in the summer-time, and are possessed with a firm belief that this valley is haunted by spirits, who by the inhabitants are called the Great Men; and that whatsoever man or woman enters the valley, without making first an entire resignation of themselves to the conduct of the great men, will infallibly grow mad. The words by which he or she gives up himself to these men's conduct, are comprehended in three sentences, wherein the Glen is twice named; to which they add, that it is inhabited by these great men, and that such as enter depend on their protection. I told the natives, that this was a piece of silly credulity as ever was imposed upon the most ignorant ages, and that their imaginary protectors deserved no such invocation. They answered, that there had happened a late instance of a woman who went into that Glen without resigning herself to the conduct of these men, and immediately after she became mad; which confirmed them in their unreasonable fancy.

The people residing here in summer, say they sometimes hear a loud noise in the air, like men speaking. I inquired if their priest had preached or argued against this superstitious custom? They told me, he knew better things, and would not be guilty of dissuading men from doing their duty, which they doubted not he judged this to be; and that they resolved to persist in the belief of it, until they found better motives to the contrary, than have been shewed them hitherto. The protestant minister hath often endeavoured to undeceive them, but in vain, because of an implicit faith they have in their priest: and when the topicks of persuasion, though never so urgent, come from one they believe to be a heretick, there is little hope of success.

The island Erisca, about a mile in length, and three in circumference, is partly heathy, and partly arable, and yields a good produce. The inner-side hath a wide anchorage, there is excellent cod and ling in it; the natives begin to manage it better, but not to that advantage it is capable of. The small island near it was overgrown with heath, and about three years ago the ground threw up all that heath from the very root, so that there is not now one shrub of it in all this island. Such as have occasion to travel



by land between South-Vist and Benbecula, or Benbecula and North-Vist, had need of a guide to direct them, and to observe the tide when low, and also for crossing the channel at the right fords, else they cannot pass without danger.

There are some houses under-ground in this island, and they are in all points like those described in North-Vist; one of them is in the South Ferry-Town, opposite to Barray. The cattle produced here, are like those of North-Vist, and there are above three hundred deer in this island: it was believed generally, that no venomous creature was here, yet of late some little vipers have been seen in the south end of the island.

The natives speak the Irish tongue more perfectly here, than in most of the other islands; partly because of the remoteness, and the small number of those that speak English, and partly because some of them are scholars, and versed in the Irish language. They wear the same habit with the neighbouring islanders.

The more ancient people continue to wear the old dress, especially women: they are a hospitable well-meaning people, but the misfortune of their education disposes them to uncharitableness, and rigid thoughts of their protestant neighbours; though at the same time they find it convenient to make alliances with them. The churches here are St. Columba and St. Mary's in Hagh-more, the most central place in the island; St. Jeremy's chapel, St. Peter's, St. Bannan, St. Michael, St. Donnan.

There is a stone set up near a mile to the south of Columbus's church, about eight feet high, and two feet broad: it is called by the natives the Bowing-stone; for when the inhabitants had the first sight of the church, they set up this stone, and there bowed and said the Lord's Prayer. There was a buckle of gold found in Einort ground some twenty years ago, which was about the value of seven guineas.

As I came from South-Vist, I perceived about sixty horsemen riding along the sands, directing their course for the east sea; and being between me and the sun, they made a great figure on the plain sands: we discovered them to be natives of South-Vist, for they alighted from their horses, and went to gather cockles in the sands, which are exceeding plentiful there. This island is the property of Allan Mac-donald of Moydart, head of the tribe of Mac-donald, called Clanronalds; one of the chief families descended of Mac-donald, who was Lord and King of the islands. He and all the inhabitants are Papists, except sixty, who are Protestants: the Papists observe all the festivals of their church, they have a general cavalcade on All-Saints Day, and then they bake St. Michael's cake at night, and the family and strangers eat it at supper.

Fergus Beaton hath the following ancient Irish manuscripts in the Irish character; to wit, *Avicenna*, *Averroes*, *Joannes de Vigo*, *Bernardus Gordonus*, and several volumes of *Hypocrates*.

The island of Barray lies about two leagues and a half to the south-west of the island South-Vist; it is five miles in length, and three in breadth, being in all respects like the islands lying directly north from it. The east side is rocky, and the west arable ground, and yields a good produce of the same grain that both Vists do: they use likewise the same way for enriching their land with sea-ware. There is plenty of cod and ling got on the east and south-sides of this island: several small ships from Orkney come hither in summer, and afterward return laden with cod and ling.

There is a safe harbour on the north-east side of Barray, where there is great plenty of fish.

The rivers on the east side afford salmons, some of which are speckled like these mentioned in North-Vist, but they are more successful here in catching them. The natives go with three several herring-nets, and lay them cross-ways in the river where the salmon are most numerous, and betwixt them and the sea. These salmon at the sight or shadow



shadow of the people make towards the sea, and feeling the net from the surface to the ground, jump over the first, then the second, but being weakened, cannot get over the third net, and so are caught. They delight to leap above water, and swim on the surface: one of the natives told me, that he killed a salmon with a gun, as jumping above water.

They informed me also, that many barrels of them might be taken in the river above-mentioned, if there was any encouragement for curing and transporting them. There are several old forts to be seen here, in form like those in the other islands. In the south end of this island there is an orchard, which produces trees, but few of them bear fruit in regard of their nearness to the sea. All sorts of roots and plants grow plentifully in it; some years ago tobacco did grow here, being of all plants the most grateful to the natives, for the islanders love it mightily.

The little island Kismul lies about a quarter of a mile from the south of this isle; it is the seat of Mac-neil of Barray, there is a stone wall round it two stories high, reaching the sea, and within the wall there is an old tower and an hall, with other houses about it. There is a little magazine in the tower, to which no stranger has access. I saw the officer called the Cockman, and an old cock-he is: when I bid him ferry me over the water to the island, he told me that he was but an inferior officer, his business being to attend in the tower; but if (says he) the constable, who then stood on the wall, will give you access, I'll ferry you over. I desired him to procure me the constable's permission, and I would reward him; but having waited some hours for the constable's answer, and not receiving any, I was obliged to return without seeing this famous fort. Macniel and his lady being absent, was the cause of this difficulty, and of my not seeing the place. I was told some weeks after, that the constable was very apprehensive of some design I might have in viewing the fort, and thereby to expose it to the conquest of a foreign power; of which I supposed there was no great cause of fear. The natives told me there is a well in the village Tangstill, the water of which being boiled, grows thick like puddle. There is another well not far from Tangstill, which the inhabitants say in a fertile year throws up many grains of barley in July and August. And they say that the well of Kilbar throws up embryos of cockles, but I could not discern any in the rivulet, the air being at that time foggy. The church in this island is called Kilbarr, i. e. St. Barr's church. There is a little chapel by it, in which Macneil, and those descended of his family, are usually interred. The natives have St. Barr's wooden image standing on the altar, covered with linen in form of a shirt: all their greatest asseverations are by this saint. I came very early in the morning with an intention to see this image, but was disappointed; for the natives prevented me, by carrying it away, lest I might take occasion to ridicule their superstition, as some protestants have done formerly: and when I was gone, it was again exposed on the altar. They have several traditions concerning this great saint. There is a chapel (about half a mile on the south side of the hill near St. Barr's church) where I had occasion to get an account of a tradition concerning this saint, which was thus: "the inhabitants having begun to build the church, which they dedicated to him, they laid this wooden image within it, but it was invisibly transported (as they say) to the place where the church now stands, and found there every morning." This miraculous conveyance is the reason they give for desisting to work where they first began. I told my informer that this extraordinary motive was sufficient to determine the case, if true, but asked his pardon to dissent from him, for I had not faith enough to believe this miracle; at which he was surprized, telling me in the mean time that this tradition hath been faithfully conveyed by the priests and natives successively to this day. The southern islands are, 1. Muldonish, about a mile in circumference;



cumference; it is high in the middle, covered over with heath and grafs, and is the only forest here for maintaining the deer, being commonly about seventy or eighty in number. 2. The island Sandreray lies southerly of Barray, from which it is separated by a narrow channel, and is three miles in circumference, having a mountain in the middle; it is designed for pasturage and cultivation. On the south side there is an harbour convenient for small vessels, that come yearly here to fish for cod and ling, which abound on the coast of this island. 3. The island Sandreray, two miles in circumference is fruitful in corn and grafs, and separated by a narrow channel from Vatterfay. 4. To the south of these lies the island Benera, about two miles in circumference; it excels other islands of the same extent for cultivation and fishing. The natives never go a fishing while Macneil or his steward is in the island, lest seeing their plenty of fish, perhaps they might take occasion to raise their rents. There is an old fort in this island, having a vacuity round the walls, divided in little apartments. The natives endure a great fatigue in manuring their ground with sea-ware, which they carry in ropes upon their backs over high rocks. They likewise fasten a cow to a stake, and spread a quantity of sand on the ground, upon which the cow's dung falls, and this they mingle together, and lay it on the arable land. They take great numbers of sea-fowls from the adjacent rocks, and salt them with the ashes of burnt sea-ware in cows' hides, which preserves them from putrefaction.

There is a fort of stone in this island, with which the natives frequently rub their breasts by way of prevention, and say it is a good preservative for health. This is all the medicine they use; providence is very favourable to them, in granting them a good state of health, since they have no physician among them.

The inhabitants are very hospitable, and have a custom, that when any strangers from the northern islands resort thither, the natives, immediately after their landing, oblige them to eat, even though they should have liberally eat and drunk but an hour before their landing there. And this meal they call *Bieyta'v*; i. e. Ocean Meat; for they presume that the sharp air of the ocean, which indeed surrounds them, must needs give them a good appetite. And whatever number of strangers come there, or of whatsoever quality or sex, they are regularly lodged according to ancient custom, that is, one only in a family; by which custom a man cannot lodge with his own wife, while in this island. Mr. John Campbell, the present minister of Harries, told me, that his father being then parson of Harries, and minister of Barray (for the natives at that time were Protestants) carried his wife along with him, and resided in this island for some time, and they disposed of him, his wife and servants in manner above-mentioned: and suppose Macneil of Barray and his lady should go thither, he would be obliged to comply with this ancient custom.

There is a large root grows among the rocks of this island lately discovered, the natives call it Curran-Petris, of a whitish colour, and upwards of two feet in length, where the ground is deep, and in shape and size like a large carrot; where the ground is not so deep, it grows much thicker, but shorter: the top of it is like that of a carrot.

The rock Linmull, about half a mile in circumference, is indifferently high, and almost inaccessible, except in one place, and that is by climbing, which is very difficult. This rock abounds with sea-fowls that build and hatch here in summer; such as the guillemot, coultier-neb, puffin, &c. The chief climber is commonly called gingich, and this name imports a big man having strength and courage proportionable. When they approach the rock with the boat, Mr. Gingich jumps out first upon a stone on the rock-side, and then by the assistance of a rope of horse-hair, he draws his fellows out of the boat upon this high rock, and draws the rest up after him with the rope, till they all

arrive



arrive at the top, where they purchase a considerable quantity of fowls and eggs. Upon their return to the boat, this *gingich* runs a great hazard, by jumping first into the boat again, where the violent sea continually rages; having but a few fowls more than his fellows, besides a greater esteem to compensate his courage. When a tenant's wife in this or the adjacent islands dies, he then addresses himself to Macneil of Barray, representing his loss, and at the same time desires that he would be pleased to recommend a wife to him, without which he cannot manage his affairs, nor beget followers to Macneil, which would prove a public loss to him. Upon this representation, Macneil finds out a suitable match for him; and the woman's name being told him, immediately he goes to her, carrying with him a bottle of strong waters for their entertainment at marriage, which is then consummated.

the  
marriage

When a tenant dies, the widow addresseth herself to Macneil in the same manner, who likewise provides her with a husband, and they are married without any further courtship. There is in this island an altar dedicated to St. Christopher, at which the natives perform their devotion. There is a stone set up here, about seven feet high; and when the inhabitants come near it, they take a religious turn round it.

If a tenant chance to lose his milk-cows by the severity of the season, or any other misfortune; in this case Macneil of Barray supplies him with the like number that he lost.

When any of these tenants are so far advanced in years that they are incapable to till the ground, Macneil takes such old men into his own family, and maintains them all their lives after. The natives observe, that if six sheep are put a grazing in the little island Pabbay, five of them still appear fat, but the sixth a poor skeleton; but any number in this island not exceeding five are always very fat. There is a little island not far from this, called Micklay, of the same extent as Pabbay, and hath the same way of feeding sheep. These little islands afford excellent hawks.

The isles above mentioned, lying near to the south of Barray, are commonly called the Bishop's Isles, because they are held of the bishop. Some isles lie on the east and north of Barray, as Fiaray, Mellisay, Buya Major and Minor, Lingay, Fuda; they afford pasturage, and are commodious for fishing; and the latter being about two miles in circumference, is fertile in corn and grass. There is a good anchoring place next to the isle on the north-east side.

The steward of the lesser and southern islands is reckoned a great man here, in regard of the perquisites due to him; such as a particular share of all the lands, corn, butter, cheese, fish, &c. which these islands produce: the measure of barley paid him by each family yearly is an omer, as they call it, containing about two pecks.

There is an inferior officer, who also hath a right to a share of all the same products. Next to these come in course those of the lowest posts, such as the cockman and porter, each of whom hath his respective due, which is punctually paid.

Macneil of Barray, and all his followers, are Roman Catholics, one only excepted, viz. Murdock Macneil; and it may perhaps be thought no small virtue in him to adhere to the Protestant communion, considering the disadvantages he labours under by the want of his chief's favour, which is much lessened for being a heretic, as they call him. All the inhabitants observe the anniversary of St. Barr, being the 27th of September; it is performed riding on horseback, and the solemnity is concluded by three turns round St. Barr's church. This brings into my mind a story which was told me concerning a foreign priest, and the entertainment he met with after his arrival there some years ago, as follows: this priest happened to land here upon the very day, and at the particular hour of this solemnity, which was the more acceptable to the inhabitants, who



who then desired him to preach a commemoration sermon to the honour of their patron St. Barr, according to the ancient custom of the place. At this the priest was surprised, he never having heard of St. Barr before that day; and therefore knowing nothing of his virtues, could say nothing concerning him: but told them, that if a sermon to the honour of St. Paul or St. Peter could please them, they might have it instantly. This answer of his was so disagreeable to them, that they plainly told him he could be no true priest, if he had not heard of St. Barr, for the pope himself had heard of him; but this would not persuade the priest, so that they parted much dissatisfied with one another. They have likewise a general cavalcade on St. Michael's day in Kilbar village, and do then also take a turn round their church. Every family, as soon as the solemnity is ended, is accustomed to bake St. Michael's cake, as above described; and all strangers, together with those of the family, must eat the bread that night.

This island, and the adjacent lesser islands, belong in property to Macneil, being the thirty-fourth of that name by lineal descent that has possessed this island, if the present genealogers may be credited. He holds his lands in vassalage of Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate, to whom he pays 40l. per ann. and a hawk, if required, and is obliged to furnish him a certain number of men upon extraordinary occasions.

*The ancient and modern Customs of the Inhabitants of the Western Islands of Scotland.*

EVERY heir, or young chieftain of a tribe, was obliged in honour to give a public specimen of his valour, before he was owned and declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him upon all occasions.

This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men of quality, who had not beforehand given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalize themselves.

It was usual for the captain to lead them, to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other that they were in feud with; and they were obliged to bring by open force the cattle they found in the lands they attacked, or to die in the attempt.

After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by this essay of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen: but I have not heard an instance of this practice for these sixty years past.

The formalities observed at the entrance of these chieftains upon the government of their clans were as follow:

A heap of stones was erected in form of a pyramid, on the top of which the young chieftain was placed, his friends and followers standing in a circle round about him, his elevation signifying his authority over them, and their standing below their subjection to him. One of his principal friends delivered into his hands the sword wore by his father, and there was a white rod delivered to him likewise at the same time.

Immediately after the chief druid (or orator) stood close to the pyramid, and pronounced a rhetorical panegyrick, setting forth the ancient pedigree, valour, and liberality of the family, as incentives to the young chieftain, and fit for his imitation.

It was their custom, when any chieftain marched upon a military expedition, to draw some blood from the first animal that chanced to meet them upon the enemy's ground, and thereafter to sprinkle some of it upon their colours. This they reckoned as a good omen of future success.

They



They had their fixed officers, who were ready to attend them upon all occasion, whether military or civil. Some families continue them from father to son, particularly Sir Donald Macdonald has his principal standard-bearer and quarter-master. The latter has a right to all the hides of cows killed upon any of the occasions mentioned above; and this I have seen exacted punctually, though the officer had no charter for the same, but only custom.

They had a constant centinel on the top of their houses called *gockmin*, or, in the English tongue, cockman; who was obliged to watch day and night, and, at the approach of any body, to ask, "Who comes there?" This officer is continued in Barray still, and has the perquisites due to his place paid him duly at two terms in the year.

There was a competent number of young gentlemen, called *Luchktaeb*, or *Guard de Corps*, who always attended the chieftain at home and abroad. They were well trained in managing the sword and target, in wrestling, swimming, jumping, dancing, shooting with bows and arrows, and were stout seamen.

Every chieftain had a bold armour-bearer, whose business was always to attend the person of his master night and day to prevent any surprize, and this man was called *Galloglach*; he had likewise a double portion of meat assigned him at every meal. The measure of meat usually given him, is called to this day *bieyfir*, that is, a man's portion; meaning thereby an extraordinary man, whose strength and courage distinguished him from the common sort.

Before they engaged the enemy in battle, the chief druid harangued the army to excite their courage. He was placed on an eminence, from whence he addressed himself to all of them standing about him, putting them in mind of what great things were performed by the valour of their ancestors, raised their hopes with the noble rewards of honour and victory, and dispelled their fears by all the topics that natural courage could suggest. After this harangue, the army gave a general shout, and then charged the enemy stoutly. This, in the ancient language, was called *brösnichiy kab*, i. e. an incentive to war. This custom of shouting aloud is believed to have taken its rise from an instinct of nature, it being attributed to most nations that have been of a martial genius: as by Homer to the Trojans, by Tacitus to the Germans, by Livy to the Gauls. Every great family in the isles had a chief druid, who foretold future events, and decided all causes civil and ecclesiastical. It is reported of them that they wrought in the night-time, and rested all day. Cæsar says they worshipped a deity under the name of Taramis, or Taran, which, in Welsh signifies thunder; and in the ancient language of the Highlanders, Torin signifies thunder also.

Another God of the Britons was Belus, or Belinus, which seems to have been the Assyrian God Bel, or Belus; and probably from this Pagan deity comes the Scots term of Beltin, the day of May, having its first rise from the custom practised by the druids in the isles, of extinguishing all the fires in the parish until the tythes were paid; and upon payment of them, the fires were kindled in each family, and never till then. In those days malefactors were burnt between two fires; hence when they would express a man to be in a great strait, they say, "he is between two fires of Bel," which in their language they express thus, *Edir da hin Veaul or Bel*. Some object that the druids could not be in the isles, because no oaks grow there. To which I answer, that in those days oaks did grow there, and to this day there be oaks growing in some of them, particularly in Sleat, the most southern part of the isle of Skie. The houses named after those druids shall be described elsewhere.

The manner of drinking used by the chief men of the isles, is called in their language *Areah*, i. e. a round; for the company sat in a circle, the cup-bearer filled the drink round



round to them, and all was drank out, whatever the liquor was, whether strong or weak; they continued drinking sometimes twenty-four, sometimes forty-eight hours; it was reckoned a piece of manhood to drink until they became drunk, and there were two men with a barrow attending punctually on such occasions. They stood at the door until some became drunk, and they carried them upon the barrow to bed, and returned again to their post as long as any continued fresh, and so carried off the whole company one by one as they became drunk. Several of my acquaintance have been witnesses to this custom of drinking, but it is now abolished. *drinks*

Among persons of distinction it was reckoned an affront upon any company to broach a piece of wine, ale, or *aquavita*, and not to see it all drank out at one meeting. If any man chance to go out from the company, though but for a few minutes, he is obliged upon his return, and before he take his seat, to make an apology for his absence in rhyme; which, if he cannot perform, he is liable to such a share of the reckoning as the company thinks fit to impose; which custom obtains in many places still, and is called *beanchiy bard*, which, in their language, signifies the poet's congratulating the company.

It hath been an antient custom in these isles, and still continues, when any number of men retire into a house, either to discourse of serious business, or to pass some time in drinking; upon these occasions the door of the house stands open, and a rod is put across the same, which is understood to be a sign to all persons without distinction not to approach: and if any should be so rude as to take up this rod, and come in uncalled, he is sure to be no welcome guest; for this is accounted such an affront to the company, that they are bound in honour to resent it; and the person offending may come to have his head broken, if he do not meet with a harsher reception.

The chieftain is usually attended with a numerous retinue when he goes a hunting the deer, this being his first specimen of manly exercise. All his clothes, arms, and hunting-equipage are, upon his return from the hills, given to the forester, according to custom.

Every family had commonly two stewards, which, in their language, were called *marisball taeb*: the first of these served always at home, and was obliged to be well versed in the pedigree of all the tribes in the isles, and in the Highlands of Scotland; for it was his province to assign every man at table his seat according to his quality; and this was done without one word speaking, only by drawing a score with a white rod which this *marisball* had in his hand, before the person who was bid by him to sit down: and this was necessary to prevent disorder and contention; and, though the *marisball* might sometimes be mistaken, the master of the family incurred no censure by such an escape; but this custom has been laid aside of late. They had also cup-bearers, who always filled and carried the cup round the company, and he himself drank off the first draught. They had likewise purse-masters, who kept their money. Both these officers had an hereditary right to their office in writing, and each of them had a town and land for his service: for some of those rights I have seen fairly written on good parchment.

Besides the ordinary rent paid by the tenant to his master, if a cow brought forth two calves at a time, which indeed is extraordinary, or an ewe two lambs, which is frequent, the tenant paid to the master one of the calves or lambs; and the master, on his part, was obliged, if any of his tenants' wives bore twins, to take one of them, and breed him in his own family. I have known a gentleman who had sixteen of these twins in his family at a time. *twins*



Their ancient leagues of friendship were ratified by drinking a drop of each other's blood, which was commonly drawn out of the little finger. This was religiously observed as a sacred bond; and if any person after such an alliance happened to violate the same, he was from that time reputed unworthy of all honest men's conversation. Before money became current, the chieftains in the isles bestowed the cow's head, feet, and all the entrails upon their dependents; such as the physician, orator, poet, bard, musicians, &c. and the same was divided thus: the finith had the head, the piper had the, &c.

It was an ancient custom among the islanders to hang a he-goat to the boat's mast, hoping thereby to procure a favourable wind: but this is not practised at present; though I am told it hath been done once by some of the vulgar within these thirteen years last past.

They had an universal custom of pouring a cow's milk upon a little hill, or big stone, where the spirit called Brownyn was believed to lodge: this spirit always appeared in the shape of a tall man, having very long brown hair. There was scarce any the least village in which this superstitious custom did not prevail. I enquired the reason of it from several well-meaning women, who until of late had practised it; and they told me that it had been transmitted to them by their ancestors successfully, who believed it was attended with good fortune, but the most credulous of the vulgar had now laid it aside. It was an ordinary thing among the over-curious to consult an invisible oracle concerning the fate of families and battles, &c. This was performed three different ways: the first was by a company of men, one of whom being detached by lot, was afterwards carried to a river, which was the boundary between two villages; four of the company laid hold of him, and having shut his eyes, they took him by the legs and arms, and then tossing him to and again, struck his hips with force against the bank. One of them cried out, "What is it you have got here?" Another answers, "A log of birch-wood." The other cries again, "Let his invisible friends appear from all quarters, and let them relieve him by giving an answer to our present demands;" and in a few minutes after a number of little creatures came from the sea, who answered the question, and disappeared suddenly. The man was then set at liberty, and they all returned home, to take their measures according to the prediction of their false prophets; but the poor deluded fools were abused, for the answer was still ambiguous. This was always practised in the night, and may literally be called the works of darkness.

I had an account from the most intelligent and judicious men in the isle of Skie, that about sixty-two years ago the oracle was thus consulted only once, and that was in the parish of Kilmartin, on the east side, by a wicked and mischievous race of people, who are now extinguished both root and branch:

The second way of consulting the oracle was by a party of men, who first retired to solitary places, remote from any house, and there they singled out one of their number, and wrapt him in a big cow's hide, which they folded about him: his whole body was covered with it except his head, and so left in this posture all night, until his invisible friends relieved him, by giving a proper answer to the question in hand; which he received, as he fancied, from several persons that he found about him all that time. His consorts returned to him at break of day, and then he communicated his news to them; which often proved fatal to those concerned in such unwarrantable enquiries.

There was a third way of consulting, which was a confirmation of the second above mentioned. The same company who put the man into the hide, took a live cat and put him on a spit; one of the number was employed to turn the spit, and one of his con-



forts enquired of him, "What are you doing?" He answered, "I roast this cat until his friends answer the question;" which must be the same that was proposed by the man shut up in the hide. And afterwards a very big cat comes, attended by a number of lesser cats, desiring to relieve the cat turned upon the spit, and then answers the question. If this answer proved the same that was given to the man in the hide, then it was taken as a confirmation of the other, which in this case was believed infallible.

Mr. Alexander Cooper, present minister of North-Vist, told me that one John Erach, in the isle of Lewis, assured him that it was his fate to have been led by his curiosity with some who consulted this oracle, and that he was a night within the hide, as above mentioned; during which time he felt and heard such terrible things, that he could not express them: the impression it made on him was such as could never go off, and he said that for a thousand worlds he would never again be concerned in the like performance, for this had disordered him to a high degree. He confessed it ingenuously, and with an air of great remorse, and seemed to be very penitent under a just sense of so great a crime: he declared this about five years since, and is still living in the island of Lewis, for any thing I know. The inhabitants here did also make use of a fire called *Tin-egin*, i. e. a forced fire, or fire of necessity, which they used as an antidote against the plague or murrain in cattle; and it was performed thus: all the fires in the parish were extinguished, and then eighty-one married men, being thought the necessary number for effecting this design, took two great planks of wood, and nine of them were employed by turns, who by their repeated efforts rubbed one of the planks against the other until the heat thereof produced fire; and from this forced fire each family is supplied with new fire, which is no sooner kindled than a pot full of water is quickly set on it, and afterwards sprinkled upon the people infected with the plague, or upon the cattle that have the murrain. And this they all say they find successful by experience: it was practised in the main land, opposite to the south of Skie, within these thirty years.

They preserve their boundaries from being liable to any debates by their successors thus: they lay a quantity of the ashes of burnt wood in the ground, and put big stones above the same; and for conveying the knowledge of this to posterity, they carry some boys from both villages next the boundary, and there whip them soundly, which they will be sure to remember, and tell it to their children. A debate having risen betwixt the villages of Ose and Groban in Skie, they found ashes as above mentioned under a stone, which decided the controversy. It was an ancient custom in the islands, that a man should take a maid to his wife, and keep her the space of a year without marrying her; and if she pleased him all the while, he married her at the end of the year, and legitimated these children; but if he did not love her, he returned her to her parents and her portion also; and if there happened to be any children, they were kept by the father: but this unreasonable custom was long ago brought into disuse.

It is common in these islands when a tenant dies, for the master to have his choice of all the horses which belonged to the deceased; and this was called the *cachfuin borizeida*, i. e. a lord's gift: for the first use of it was from a gift of a horse granted by all the subjects in Scotland for relieving King . . . . from his imprisonment in England. There was another duty payable by all the tenants to their chief, though they did not live upon his lands; and this is called *calpich*: there was a standing law for it also, called *calpich-law*; and I am informed that this is exacted by some in the main land to this day.

Women were anciently denied the use of writing in the islands, to prevent love intrigues: their parents believed that nature was too skilful in that matter, and needed not



the help of education ; and therefore that writing would be of dangerous consequence to the weaker sex.

The orators, in their language called *If-dane*, were in high esteem both in these islands and the continent ; until within these forty years they sat always among the nobles and chiefs of families in the *streak* or circle. Their houses and little villages were sanctuaries, as well as churches, and they took place before doctors of physic. The orators, after the druids were extinct, were brought in to preserve the genealogy of families, and to repeat the same at every succession of a chief ; and upon the occasion of marriages and births, they made epithalamiums and panegyrics, which the poet or bard pronounced. The orators by the force of their eloquence had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time ; for if any orator did but ask the habit, arms, horse, or any other thing belonging to the greatest men in these islands, it was readily granted them, sometimes out of respect, and sometimes for fear of being exclaimed against by a satire, which in those days was reckoned a great dishonour : but these gentlemen becoming insolent, lost ever since both the profit and esteem which was formerly due to their character ; for neither their panegyrics nor satires are regarded to what they have been, and they are now allowed but a small salary. I must not omit to relate their way of study, which is very singular : they shut their doors and windows for a day's time, and lie on their backs, with a stone upon their belly, and plaids about their heads, and their eyes being covered, they pump their brains for rhetorical encomium or panegyric ; and indeed they furnish such a style from this dark cell as is understood by very few ; and if they purchase a couple of horses as the reward of their meditation, they think they have done a great matter. The poet or bard had a title to the bridegroom's upper garb, that is, the plaid and bonnet ; but now he is satisfied with what the bridegroom pleases to give him on such occasions.

There was an ancient custom in the island of Lewis, to make a fiery circle about the houses, corn, cattle, &c. belonging to each particular family : a man carried fire in his right hand, and went round, and it was called *deffil*, from the right hand, which in the ancient language is called *deffs*. An instance of this round was performed in the village Shadir, in Lewis, about sixteen years ago (as I was told), but it proved fatal to the practiser, called Mac-Callum ; for after he had carefully performed this round, that very night following he and his family were sadly surprised, and all his houses, corn, cattle, &c. were consumed with fire. This superstitious custom is quite abolished now, for there has not been above this one instance of it in forty years past.

There is another way of the *deffil*, or carrying fire round about women before they are churched, after child-bearing ; and it is used likewise about children until they are christened ; both which are performed in the morning and at night. This is only practised now by some of the ancient midwives : I enquired their reason for this custom, which I told them was altogether unlawful ; this disoblged them mightily, inasmuch that they would give me no satisfaction. But others, that were of a more agreeable temper, told me that fire-round was an effectual means to preserve both the mother and the infant from the power of evil spirits, who are ready at such times to do mischief, and sometimes carry away the infant ; and when they get them once in their possession, return them poor meagre skeletons : and these infants are said to have voracious appetites, constantly craving for meat. In this case it was usual with those who believed that their children were thus taken away, to dig a grave in the fields upon quarter-day, and there to lay the fairy skeleton till next morning ; at which time the parents went to the place, where they doubted not to find their own child instead of this



this skeleton. Some of the poorer sort of people in these islands retain the custom of performing these rounds sun-ways about the persons of their benefactors three times, when they bless them, and with good success to all their enterprizes. Some are very careful when they set out to sea that the boat be first rowed about sun-ways; and if this be neglected, they are afraid their voyage may prove unfortunate. I had this ceremony paid me (when in the island of Ila) by a poor woman, after I had given her an alms: I desired her to let alone that compliment, for I did not care for it; but she insisted to make these three ordinary turns, and then prayed that God and Mac-Charmig, the patron saint of that island, might bless and prosper me in all my designs and affairs.

I attempted twice to go from Ila to Collonsay, and at both times they rowed about the boat sun-ways, though I forbid them to do it; and by a contrary wind the boat and those in it were forced back. I took boat again a third time from Jura to Collonsay, and at the same time forbid them to row about their boat, which they obeyed, and then we landed safely at Collonsay without any ill adventure, which some of the crew did not believe possible, for want of the round; but this one instance hath convinced them of the vanity of this superstitious ceremony. Another ancient custom observed on the second of February, which the papists there yet retain, is this: the mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats, and dress it up in women's apparel, put it in a large basket, and lay a wooden club by it, and this they call *Briids-bed*; and then the mistress and servants cry three times, *Briid is come, briid is welcome*. This they do just before going to bed, and when they rise in the morning they look among the ashes, expecting to see the impression of *Briid's* club there; which if they do, they reckon it a true presage of a good crop and prosperous year, and the contrary they take as an ill omen.

It has been an ancient custom amongst the natives, and now only used by some old people, to swear by their chief or laird's hand.

When a debate arises between two persons, if one of them assert the matter by your father's hand, they reckon it a great indignity; but if they go a degree higher, and out of spite say, by your father and grandfather's hand, the next word is commonly accompanied with a blow.

It is a received opinion in these islands, as well as in the neighbouring part of the main land, that women by a charm, or some other secret way, are able to convey the increase of their neighbour's cows milk to their own use; and that the milk so charmed doth not produce the ordinary quantity of butter; and the curds made of that milk are so tough, that it cannot be made so firm as other cheese, and is also much lighter in weight. The butter so taken away, and joined to the charmer's butter, is evidently discernible by a mark of separation, viz. the diversity of colours; that which is charmed being still paler than that part of the butter which hath not been charmed; and if butter having these marks be found with a suspected woman, she is presently said to be guilty. Their usual way of recovering this loss, is to take a little of the rennet from all the suspected persons, and put it in an egg-shell full of milk, and when that from the charmer is mingled with it, it presently curdles, and not before.

This was asserted to me by the generality of the most judicious people in these islands; some of them having, as they told me, come to the knowledge of it to their cost. Some women make use of the root of groundsel as an amulet against such charms, by putting it among their cream.

Both men and women in those islands, and in the neighbouring main land, affirm that the increase of milk is likewise taken away by trouts, if it happen that the dishes or pails wherein the milk is kept, be washed in the rivulets where trouts are: and the way  
to



to recover this damage is by taking a live trout and pouring milk into its mouth ; which they say doth presently curdle, if was taken away by trouts, but otherwise they say it is not.

They affirm likewise that some women have an art to take away the milk of nurfes.

I saw four women whose milk were tried, that one might be chosen for a nurse ; and the woman pitched upon was after three days' suckling deprived of her milk ; whereupon she was sent away, and another put in her place ; and on the third day after, she that was first chosen recovered her milk again. This was concluded to be the effect of witchcraft by some of her neighbours.

They also say that some have an art of taking away the increase of malt, and that the drink made of this malt hath neither life nor good taste in it ; and on the contrary, the charmer hath very good ale all this time. A gentleman of my acquaintance, for the space of a year, could not have a drop of good ale in his house ; and having complained of it to all that conversed with him, he was at last advised to get some yeast from every alehouse in the parish ; and having got a little from one particular man, he put it among his wort, which became as good ale as could be drank, and so defeated the charm. After which the gentleman in whose land this man lived banished him thirty-six miles from thence.

They say there are women who have an art of taking a mote out of one's eye, though at some miles distance from the party grieved ; and this is the only charm these women will avouch themselves to understand, as some of them told me, and several of these men, out of whose eyes motes were then taken, confirmed the truth of it to me.

All these islanders, and several thousands on the neighbouring continent, are of opinion, that some particular persons have an evil eye, which affects children and cattle ; this they say occasions frequent mischances, and sometimes death. I could name some who are believed to have this unhappy faculty, though at the same time void of any ill design. This hath been an ancient opinion, as appears from that of the poet :

*Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fassinat agnos.*

#### *Courts of Judicatory.*

AT the first plantation of these isles, all matters were managed by the sole authority of the heads of tribes, called in the Irish *thiarna*, which was the same with *tyrannus*, and now it signifies lord or chief, there being no standard of equity or justice but what flowed from them ; and when their numbers increased, they erected courts called *mode*, and in the English, baron courts.

The proprietor has the nomination of the members of this court ; he himself is president of it, and in his absence his bailiff ; the minister of the parish is always a member of it. There are no attornies to plead the cause of either party, for both men and women represent their respective causes ; and there is always a speedy decision, if the parties have their witnesses present, &c.

There is a peremptory sentence passes in court for ready payment ; and if the party against whom judgment is given prove refractory, the other may send the common officer, who has power to distrain, and at the same time to exact a fine of twenty pounds Scots, for the use of the proprietor, and about two marks for himself.

The heads of tribes had their offensive and defensive leagues, called bonds of man-drade and manrent in the Lowlands, by which each party was obliged to assist one another upon all extraordinary emergencies : and though the differences between those chieftains



chieftains involved several confederates in a civil war, yet they obliged themselves by the bond mentioned above to continue stedfast in their duty to their sovereign.

When the proprietor gives a farm to his tenant, whether for one or more years, it is customary to give the tenant a stick of wood, and some straw in his hand: this is immediately returned by the tenant again to his master, and then both parties are as much obliged to perform their respective conditions, as if they had signed a lease or any other deed.

### *Church Discipline.*

EVERY parish in the western isles has a church judicature, called the consistory, or kirk-session, where the minister presides, and a competent number of laymen, called elders, meet with him. They take cognizance of scandals, censure faulty persons, and with that strictness, as to give an oath to those who are suspected of adultery or fornication; for which they are to be proceeded against according to the custom of the country. They meet after divine service; the chief heretor of the parish is present, to concur with them, and enforce their acts by his authority, which is irresistible within the bounds of his jurisdiction.

### *A Form of Prayer used by many of the Islanders at Sea after the Sails are hoisted.*

[This Form is contained in the Irish Liturgy composed by Mr. John Kerfwell, afterwards Bishop of Argyll, printed in the year 1566, and dedicated to the Earl of Argyll. I have set down the original, for the satisfaction of such readers as understand it.]

MODH bendaighto luingo ag dul dìonfa idhe na fairrge.

Abrah aon da chaeh marfo.

Da.

*An Stioradair.* Beanighidh ar long.

*Fregra Chaich.* Go mbeandaighe dia athair i.

*An Stioradair.* Beanaidhidh ar long.

*Fregra.* Go mbeandaigh Josa Crìosd i.

*An Stioradair.* Beanaidhidh ar long.

*Fregra.* Go mbeandaighe an fhìorad naomh i.

*An Stioradair.* Cred is egail libh is dhia athair libh.

*Fregra.* Nì heagal en nì.

*An Stioradair.* Cred is' egil libh is dia an mac libh.

*Fregra.* Nì heagal en nì.

*An Stioradair.* Cred is egail libh is dia an fhìorod naomh libh.

*Fregra.* Nì heagal en nì.

*An Stioradair.* Dia athair vile chumbachtach ar gradh a mhic Josa Crìosd, le comh shurtach an fìoraid naomh, an taon dhia tug cland Israèl trid an muir ruaigh go mirbhuileach, agas tug Jonas ad tìr ambroind an mhill mhoic, & tug Pol Easpol, agas a long gon, fòirind o an fadh iomarcach, agas o dheartan dominde dar sa oradhne, agas dar senadh, agas dar mbeandrghadh, agas dar mbreith le sen, agas le fòinind, agas le solas do chum chnain, agas chalaidh do reir a theile diadha fein.

Ar nì iarrmoia air ag radha.

Ar nathairne ata ar neamh, &c.

Abradh cach vile.

Bionh amhlvidh.



*The Manner of blessing the Ship when they put to Sea.*

*The Steersman says,* Let us blefs our ship.

*The Answer by all the Crew.* God the father blefs her.

*Steersman.* Let us blefs our ship.

*Answer.* Jesus Christ blefs her.

*Steersman.* Let us blefs our ship.

*Answer.* The Holy Ghost blefs her.

*Steersman.* What do you fear, since God the Father is with you ?

*Answer.* We do not fear any thing.

*Steersman.* What do you fear, since God the Son is with you ?

*Answer.* We do not fear any thing.

*Steersman.* What are you afraid of, since God the Holy Ghost is with you ?

*Answer.* We do not fear any thing.

*Steersman.* God the Father Almighty, for the love of Jesus Christ his Son, by the comfort of the Holy Ghost, the one God, who miraculously brought the children of Israel through the Red Sea, and brought *Jonas* to land out of the belly of the whale, and the Apostle *St. Paul* and his ship to safety from the troubled raging sea, and from the violence of a tempestuous storm ; deliver, sanctify, blefs and conduct us peaceably, calmly, and comfortably through the sea to our harbour, according to his Divine will : which we beg, saying, *Our Father*, &c.

*A Description of the Isle of Skie.*

SKIE (in the ancient language *Skianach*, i. e. winged) is so called because the two opposite northern promontories (Vaterness lying north-west, and Trotterness north-east) resemble two wings. This isle lies for the most part half-way in the western sea, between the main land on the east, the shire of Ross, and the western isle of Lewis, &c.

The isle is very high land, as well on the coast, as higher up in the country ; and there are seven high mountains near one another, almost in the centre of the isle.

This island is forty miles in length from south to north, and in some places twenty, and in others thirty in breadth ; the whole may amount to a hundred miles in circumference.

The channel between the south of Skie and opposite main land (which is part of the shire of Innerness) is not above three leagues in breadth ; and where the ferry boat crosseth to Glenelg it is so narrow, that one may call for the ferry-boat, and be easily heard on the other side. This isle is a part of the sheriffdom of Innerness, and formerly of the diocese of the isles, which was united to that of Argyle : a south-east moon causeth a spring-tide here.

The mold is generally black, especially in the mountains ; but there is some of a red colour, in which iron is found.

The arable land is for the most part black, and yet affords clay of different colours ; as white, red, and blue : the rivulet at Dunvegan church, and that of Nisboft, have fullers-earth.

The villages Borge and Glenmore afford two very fine sorts of earth, the one red, the other white ; and they both feel and cut like melted tallow. There are other places that afford plenty of very fine white marle, which cuts like butter ; it abounds most in *Corchattachan*, where an experiment has been made of its virtue ; a quantity of it being spread on a sloping hill covered with heath, soon after all the heath fell to the ground,



ground, as if it had been cut with a knife. They afterwards sowed barley on the ground, which though it grew but unequally, some places producing no grain, because perhaps it was unequally laid on; yet the produce was thirty-five fold, and many stalks carried five ears of barley. This account was given me by the present possessor of the ground, Lachlin Mac-kinon.

There are Marcasites black and white, resembling silver ore, near the village Sartle: there are likewise in the same place several stones, which in bigness, shape, &c. resemble nutmeg, and many rivulets here afford variegated stones of all colours. The Appleglen near Loch-fallart has aggat growing in it of different sizes and colours; some are green on the out side, some are of a pale sky-colour, and they all strike fire as well as flint: I have one of them by me, which in shape and bigness is proper for a sword-handle. Stones of a purple colour flow down the rivulets here after great rains.

There is chrystal in several places of this island, as at Pottery, Quillin, and Mingnis; it is of different sizes and colours, some is sex-angular, as that of Quillin, and Mingnis; and there is some in Minrinels of a purple colour. The village Torrin in Strath affords a great deal of good white and black marble; I have seen cups made of the white, which is very fine. There are large quarries of free-stone in several parts of this isle, as at Snifness in Strath, in the south of Borrie, and isle of Rafay. There is abundance of lime-stone in Strath and Trotternels: some banks of clay on the east coast are overflowed by the tide, and in these grow the *Lapis Ceranius*, or *Cerna Amomis*, of different shapes; some of the breadth of a crown-piece, bearing an impression resembling the sun; some are as big as a man's finger, in form of a semi-circle, and furrowed on the inner side; others are less, and have furrows of a yellow colour on both sides. These stones are by the natives called cramp-stones, because (as they say) they cure the cramp in cows, by washing the part affected with water in which this stone has been steeped for some hours. The Velumintes grow likewise in these banks of clay; some of them are twelve inches long and tapering towards one end: the natives call them Bot Stones, because they believe them to cure the horses of worms which occasion that distemper, by giving them water to drink, in which this stone has been steeped for some hours.

This stone grows likewise in the middle of a very hard grey stone on the shore. There is a black stone in the surface of the rock on Rig-shore, which resembles goats horns.

The *lapis hecticus*, or white Hectick stone, abounds here both in the land and water: the natives use this stone as a remedy against the *dysenteria* and *diarrhea*; they make them red-hot in the fire, and then quench them in milk, and some in water, which they drink with good success. They use this stone after the same manner for consumptions, and they likewise quench these stones in water, with which they bathe their feet and hands.

The stones on which the scurf called Corkir grows, are to be had in many places on the coast, and in the hills. This scurf dyes a pretty crimson colour; first well dried, and then ground to powder, after which it is steeped in urine, the vessel being well secured from air; and in three weeks it is ready to boil with the yarn that is to be dyed. The natives observe the decrease of the moon for scraping this scurf from the stone, and say it is ripest in August.

There are many white scurfs on stone, somewhat like these on which the Corkir grows, but the Corkir is white, and thinner than any other that resembles it.

There is another coarser scurf called Crostil; it is of a dark colour, and only dyes a philamot.

The rocks in the village Ord, have much talk growing on them like the Venice-talk.



This isle is naturally well provided with variety of excellent bays and harbours. In the south of it lies the peninsula called Oronso, *alias* Island Dierman; it has an excellent place for anchorage on the east-side, and is generally known by most Scots seamen. About a league more easterly on the same coast there is a small rock, visible only at half low-water, but may be avoided by steering through the middle of the channel. About a league more easterly on the same coast, there is an anchorage pretty near the shore: within less than a mile further is the narrow sound called the Kyle, in order to pass which it is absolutely necessary to have the tide of flood for such as are northward bound, else they will be obliged to retire in order, because of the violence of the current; for no wind is able to carry a vessel against it. The quite contrary course is to be observed by vessels coming from the north. A mile due east from the Kyle, there is a big rock, on the south side the point of land on Skie side, called Kaillach, which is overflowed by the tide of flood; a vessel may go near its out side. Above a mile further due north, there are two rocks in the passage through the Kyle; they are on the castle side, and may be avoided by keeping the middle of the channel. About eight miles more to the northward, or the east of Skie, there is secure anchorage between the isle Scalpa and Skie in the middle of the channel; but one must not come to it by the south entry of Scalpa: and in coming between Rafay and this isle, there are rocks without the entry, which may be avoided best, by having a pilot of the country. More to the north is Locksligichan, on the coast of Skie, where is good anchorage; the entry is not deep enough for vessels of any burden, except at high water: but three miles further north lies Loch-Portry, a capacious and convenient harbour of above a mile in length.

The island Tulm, which is within half a mile of the northermost point of Skie, has an harbour on the inside. The entrance between the isle and Duntulm castle is the best.

On the west of the same wing of Skie, and about five miles more southerly, lies Loch-Uge, about a mile in length, and a very good harbour for vessels of the greatest burden. About two miles on the coast further south is Loch-snisfort; it is three miles in length, and half a mile in breadth; it is free from rocks, and has convenient anchorage.

On the west side of the promontory, at the mouth of Loch-snisfort, lies Loch-arnisfort, being about two miles in length, and half a mile in breadth: there are two small isles in the mouth of the entry, and a rock near the west side, a little within the entry.

Some five miles to the west of Arnisfort lies Loch-fallart; the entry is between Vater-nishead on the east side, and Dunvegan-head on the west side. The loch is six miles in length, and about a league in breadth for some miles: it hath the island Isfa about the middle, on the east side. There is a rock between the north end and the land, and there vessels may anchor between the N. E. side of the isle and the land; there is also good anchorage near Dunvegan-castle, two miles further to the southward.

Loch-Brakadil lies two miles south of Loch-fallart; it is seven miles in length, and has several good anchoring-places: on the north side the entry lie two rocks, called Macleod's Maidens. About three miles southwest is Loch-einard, a mile in length; it has a rock in the entry, and is not visible but at an ebb.

About two miles to the eastward, there is an anchoring-place for barks, between Skie and the isle of Soa.

About a league further east lie Loch-flapan and Loch-effort; the first reaches about four miles to the north, and the second about six miles to the east.

There are several mountains in the isle of a considerable height and extent; as Quillin, Scornisfey, Bein-store, Bein-vore-scowe, Bein-chro, Bein-nin, Kaillach: some of them are covered with snow on the top in summer, others are almost quite covered



with sand in the top, which is much washed down with the great rains. All these mountains abound with heath and grass, which serve as good pasturage for black cattle and sheep.

The Quillin, which exceeds any of those hills in height, is said to be the cause of much rain, by breaking the clouds that hover about it; which quickly after pour down in rain upon that quarter on which the wind then blows. There is a high ridge of one continued mountain of considerable height, and fifteen miles in length, running along the middle of the east wing of Skie, called Troternes; and that part above the sea is faced with a steep rock.

The arable ground is generally along the coast, and in the valleys between the mountains, having always a river running in the middle; the soil is very grateful to the husbandman. I have been shewed several places that had not been tilled for seven years before, which yielded a good product of oats by digging, though the ground was not dunged; particularly near the village Kilmartin, which the natives told me had not been dunged these forty years last. Several pieces of ground yield twenty, and some thirty fold, when dunged with sea-ware. I had an account, that a small tract of ground in the village of Skerybreck, yielded an hundred fold of barley.

The isle of Altig, which is generally covered with heath, being manured with sea-ware, the owner sowed barley in the ground, and it yielded a very good product; many stalks had five ears growing upon them. In plentiful years, Skie furnishes the opposite continent with oats and barley. The way of tillage here is after the same manner that is already described in the isles of Lewis, &c. and digging doth always produce a better increase here than ploughing.

All the mountains in this isle are plentifully furnished with variety of excellent springs and fountains; some of them have rivulets, with water-mills upon them. The most celebrated well in Skie, is Loch-siant well; it is much frequented by strangers, as well as by the inhabitants of the isle, who generally believe it to be a specific for several diseases; such as stiches, head-aches, stone, consumption, megrim. Several of the common people oblige themselves by a vow to come to this well, and make the ordinary tour about it, called Dessil, which is performed thus: they move thrice round the well, proceeding sun-ways from east to west, and so on. This is done after drinking of the water; and when one goes away from the well, it is a never-failing custom, to leave some small offering on the stone which covers the well. There are nine springs issuing out of the hill above the well, and all of them pay the tribute of their water to a rivulet that falls from the well. There is a little fresh-water lake within ten yards of the said well; it abounds with trouts, but neither the natives nor strangers will ever presume to destroy any of them, such is the esteem they have for the water.

There is a small coppice near to the well, and there is none of the natives dare venture to cut the least branch of it, for fear of signal judgment to follow upon it.

There are many wells here esteemed effectual to remove several distempers. The lightest and wholesomest water in all the isle is that of Tombir Tellibreck in Uge: the natives say that the water of this well, and the sea-plant called Dulse, would serve instead of food for a considerable time, and own that they have experienced it in time of war. I saw a little well in Kilbride in the south of Skie, with one trout only in it; the natives are very tender of it, and though they often chance to catch it in their wooden pales, they are very careful to preserve it from being destroyed; it has been seen there for many years: there is a rivulet not far distant from the well, to which it hath probably had access through some narrow passage.



There are many rivers on all quarters of the isle, about thirty of them afford salmon, and some of them black muscles, in which pearl do breed; particularly the river of Kilmartin, and the river Ord. The proprietor told me, that some years ago a pearl had been taken out of the former, valued at twenty pounds sterling. There are several cataracts, as that in Sker-horen, Holm, Rig and Tont. When the river makes a great noise in time of fair weather, it is a sure prognostick here of rain to ensue.

There are many fresh-water lakes in Skie, and generally well stocked with trout and eels. The common fly and the earth-worms are ordinarily used for angling trout; the best season for it is a calm, or a south-west wind.

The largest of the fresh-water lakes is that named after St. Columbus, on the account of the chapel dedicated to that Saint; it stands in the isle about the middle of the lake.

There is a little fresh-water lake near the south side of Loch einordstard, in which muscles grow that breed pearl.

This isle hath anciently been covered all over with woods, as appears from the great trunks of Fir-trees, &c. dug out of the bogs frequently, &c. There are several coppices of wood, scattered up and down the isle; the largest called Lettir-hurr, exceeds not three miles in length.

Herrings are often taken in most or all the bays mentioned above: Loch-effort, Slapan, Loch-fallart, Loch-scowfar, and the Kyle of Scalpa, are generally known to strangers, for the great quantities of herring taken in them. This sort of fish is commonly seen without the bay, and on the coast all the summer. All other fish follow the herring and their fry, from the whale to the least fish that swims; the biggest still destroying the lesser.

The fishers and others told me, that there is a big herring almost double the size of any of its kind, which leads all that are in a bay, and the shoal follows it wherever it goes. This leader is by the fishers called the king of herring, and when they chance to catch it alive, they drop it carefully into the sea; for they judge it petty treason to destroy a fish of that name.

The fishers say, that all sorts of fish, from the greatest to the least, have a leader, who is followed by all of its kind.

It is a general observation all Scotland over, that if a quarrel happen on the coast where herring is caught, and that blood be drawn violently, then the herring go away from the coast, without returning during that season. This, they say, has been observed in all past ages, as well as at present; but this I relate only as a common tradition, and submit it to the judgment of the learned.

The natives preserve and dry their herring without salt, for the space of eight months, provided they be taken after the tenth of September: they use no other art in it, but take out their guts, and then tying a rush about their necks, hang them by pairs upon a rope made of heath cross a house; and they eat well, and free from putrefaction, after eight months keeping in this manner. Cod, ling, herring, mackrel, haddock, whiting, turbot, together with all other fish that are in the Scots seas, abound on the coasts of this island.

The best time of taking fish with an angle is in warm weather, which disposes them to come near the surface of the water; whereas in cold weather, or rain, they go to the bottom. The best bait for cod and ling is a piece of herring, whiting, thornback, haddock, or eel. The grey lord, *alias* black-mouth, a fish of the size and shape of a salmon, takes the limpet for bait. There is another way of angling for this fish, by fastening a short white down of a goose behind the hook; and the boat being continually rowed,



rowed, the fish run greedily after the down, and are easily caught. The grey-lord swims in the surface of the water, and then is caught with a spear; a rope being tied to the further end of it, and secured in the fisherman's hand.

All the bays and places of anchorage here abound with most kinds of shell-fish. The Kyle of Scalpa affords oysters in such plenty, that commonly a spring-tide of ebb leaves fifteen, sometimes twenty horse-load of them on the sands.

The sands on the coast of Bernstall village at the spring-tides afford daily such plenty of muscles, as is sufficient to maintain sixty persons per day: and this was a great support to many poor families in the neighbourhood, in the late years of scarcity. The natives observe that all shell-fish are plumper at the increase than decrease of the moon; they observe likewise, that all shell-fish are plumper during a south-west wind, than when it blows from the north or north-east quarters.

The limpet being parboiled with a very little quantity of water, the broth is drank to increase milk in nurses, and likewise when the milk proves astringent to the infants. The broth of the black periwinkle is used in the same cases. It is observed, that limpets being frequently eat in June, are apt to occasion the jaundice; the outside of the fish is coloured like the skin of a person that has the jaundice: the tender yellow part of the limpet, which is next to the shell, is reckoned good nourishment, and very easy of digestion.

I had an account of a poor woman, who was a native of the isle of Jura, and by the troubles in King Charles the First's reign was almost reduced to a starving condition; so that she lost her milk quite, by which her infant had nothing proper for its sustenance; upon this she boiled some of the tender fat of the limpets, and gave it to her infant, to whom it became so agreeable, that it had no other food for several months together; and yet there was not a child in Jura, or any of the adjacent isles, wholomer than this poor infant, which was exposed to so great a strait.

The limpet creeps on the stone and rock in the night-time, and in a warm day; but if any thing touch the shell, it instantly clings to the stone, and then no hand is able to pluck it off without some instrument; and, therefore, such as take them have little hammers, called limpet-hammers, with which they beat it from the rock; but if they watch its motions, and surprize it, the least touch of the hand pulls it away: and this that is taken creeping, they say, is larger and better than that which is pulled off by force. The motion, fixation, taste, and feeding, &c. of this little animal being very curious, I have here exhibited its figure, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive reader.

I have likewise here exhibited the figure of the balanos, growing on stone and shells; in which very small wilks are found to lodge and grow.

The pale wilk, which in length and smallness exceeds the black periwinkle, and by the natives called gil-siunt, is by them beat in pieces, and both shell and fish boiled; the broth being strained, and drank for some days together, is accounted a good remedy against the stone; it is called a dead-man's-eye at Dover. It is observed of cockles and spout-fish, that they go deeper in the sands with north winds than any other; and on the contrary, they are easier reached with south winds, which are still warmest.

It is a general observation of all such as live on the sea-coast, that they are more prolific than any other people whatsoever.

*The Sea-Plants here, are as follows:*

L'NARICH, a very thin small green plant, about eight, ten, or twelve inches in length; it grows on stone, on shells, and on the bare sand. This plant is applied  
plaiter-



plaster-wise to the forehead and temples, to procure sleep for such as have a fever, and they say it is effectual for this purpose.

The *linarich* is likewise applied to the crown of the head and temples, for removing the megrim, and also to heal the skin after a blister-plaster of *flammula Jovis*.

Slake, a very thin plant, almost round, about ten or twelve inches in circumference, grows on the rocks and sands; the natives eat it boiled, and it dissolves into oil; they say that if a little butter be added to it, one might live many years on this alone, without bread, or any other food, and at the same time undergo any laborious exercise. This plant, boiled with some butter, is given to cows in the spring, to remove costiveness.

Dulse is of a reddish brown colour, about ten or twelve inches long, and above half an inch in breadth; it is eat raw, and then reckoned to be loosening, and very good for the sight; but if boiled, it proves more loosening, if the juice be drank with it. This plant applied plaster-wise to the temples, is reckoned effectual against the megrim: the plant boiled, and eat with its infusion, is used against the cholic and stone; and dried without washing it in water, pulverized and given in any convenient vehicle fasting, it kills worms; the natives eat it boiled with butter, and reckon it very wholesome. The dulse recommended here is that which grows on stone, and not that which grows on the *alga marina*, or sea-tangle; for though that may be likewise eaten, it will not serve in any of the cases above mentioned.

The *alga marina*, or sea-tangle, or, as some call it, sea-ware, is a rod about four, six, eight, or ten feet long; having at the end a blade commonly slit into seven or eight pieces, and about a foot and a half in length; it grows on stone, the blade is eat by the vulgar natives. I had an account of a young man who had lost his appetite, and taken pills to no purpose; and being advised to boil the blade of the *alga*, and drink the infusion boiled with a little butter, was restored to his former state of health.

There is abundance of white and red coral growing on the south and west coast of this isle; it grows on the rocks, and is frequently interwoven with the roots of the *alga*; the red seems to be a good fresh colour when first taken out of the sea, but in a few hours after it becomes pale. Some of the natives take a quantity of the red coral, adding the yolk of an egg roasted to it, for the diarrhea. Both the red and white coral here is not above five inches long, and about the bigness of a goose-quill.

There are many caves to be seen on each quarter of this isle, some of them are believed to be several miles in length: there is a big cave in the village Bornskittag, which is supposed to exceed a mile in length. The natives told me that a piper, who was over-curious, went into the cave with a design to find out the length of it; and after he entered, began to play on his pipe, but never returned to give an account of his progress.

There is a cave in the village Kigg, wherein drops of water that issue from the roof petrify into a white limy substance, and hang down from the roof and sides of the cave.

There is a cave in the village Holm, having many petrified twigs hanging from the top; they are hollow from one end to the other, and from five to ten inches in length.

There is a big cave in the rock on the east side of Portry, large enough for eighty persons; there is a well within it, which, together with its situation and narrow entry, renders it an inaccessible fort; one man only can enter it at a time, by the side of a rock, so that with a staff in his hand he is able by the least touch to cast over the rock as many as shall attempt to come into the cave.



On the south side Loch-Portry, there is a large cave, in which many sea-cormorants do build; the natives carry a bundle of straw to the door of the cave in the night-time, and there setting it on fire, the fowls fly with all speed to the light, and so are caught in baskets laid for that purpose. The golden cave in Sleat is said to be seven miles in length, from the west to east.

There are many cairns, or heaps of stones in this island. Some of the natives say they were erected in the times of Heathenism, and that the ancient inhabitants worshipped about them. In Popish countries, the people still retain the ancient custom of making a tour round them.

Others say, these cairns were erected where persons of distinction, killed in battle, had been buried, and that their urns were laid in the ground under the cairns. I had an account of a cairn in Knapdale in the shire of Argyle, underneath which an urn was found. There are little cairns to be seen in some places on the common road, which were made only where corpses happened to rest for some minutes; but they have laid aside the making such cairns now.

There is an erected stone in Kilbride in Strath, which is ten feet high, and one and a half broad.

There is another of five feet high placed in the middle of the Cairn, on the south side Loch-Uge, and is called the high stone of Uge.

There are three such stones on the sea-coast opposite to Skerinefs, each of them three feet high; the natives have a tradition, that upon these stones a big cauldron was set, for boiling Fin-Mac-Coul's meat. This gigantic man is reported to have been general of a militia that came from Spain to Ireland, and from thence to those isles: all his soldiers are called Fiénty from Fiun. He is believed to have arrived in the isles, in the reign of King Evan: the natives have many stories of this general and his army, with which I will not trouble the reader. He is mentioned in Bishop Lesly's History.

There are many forts erected on the coast of this isle, and supposed to have been built by the Danes; they are called by the name of Dun, from Dain, which in the ancient language signified a fort; they are round in form, and they have a passage all round within the wall; the door of them is low, and many of the stones are of such bulk, that no number of the present inhabitants could raise them without an engine.

All these forts stand upon eminences, and are so disposed, that there is not one of them, which is not in view of some other; and by this means, when a fire is made upon a beacon in any one fort, it is in a few moments after communicated to all the rest: and this hath been always observed upon sight of any number of foreign vessels, or boats approaching the coast.

The forts are commonly named after the place where they are, or the person that built them; as Dun-Skudborg, Dun Derig, Dun-Skerinefs, Dun-David, &c.

There are several little stone houses, built under ground, called earth-houses, which served to hide a few people and their goods in time of war; the entry to them was on the sea or river-side: there is one of them in the village Lachsay, and another in Camstinvag.

There are several little stone houses built above ground, capable only of one person, and round in form; one of them is to be seen in Portry, another at Lincro, and at Culuknock: they are called *Tey-nin-druinich*, i. e. Druid's-house. *Druinich* signifies a retired person, much devoted to contemplation.

The fuel used here is peats dug out of the heaths; there are cakes of iron found in the ashes of some of them, and at Flodgery village there are peats from which salt-petre sparkles. There is a coal lately discovered at Holm in Portry, some of which I have seen;



feen; there are pieces of coal dug out likewise of the sea-sand in Heldersta of Vaternis, and some found in the village Mogstát.

The cattle produced here are horses, cows, sheep, goats, and hogs. The common work-horses are exposed to the rigour of the season during the winter and spring; and though they have neither corn, hay, or but seldom straw, yet they undergo all the labour that other horses better treated are liable to.

The cows are likewise exposed to the rigour of the coldest seasons, and become mere skeletons in the spring, many of them not being able to rise from the ground without help; but they recover as the season becomes more favourable, and the grass grows up: then they acquire new beef, which is both sweet and tender; the fat and lean is not so much separated in them as in other cows, but as it were larded, which renders it very agreeable to the taste. A cow in this isle may be twelve years old, when at the same time its beef is not above four, five, or six months old. When a calf is slain, it is an usual custom to cover another calf with its skin, to suck the cow whose calf hath been slain, or else she gives no milk, nor suffers herself to be approached by any body; and if she discover the cheat, then she grows enraged for some days, and the last remedy used to pacify her, is to use the sweetest voice, and sing all the time of milking her. When any man is troubled with his neighbour's cows, by breaking into his inclosures, he brings all to the utmost boundary of his ground, and there drawing a quantity of blood from each cow, he leaves them upon the spot, from whence they go away, without ever returning again to trouble him, during all that season. The cows often feed upon the *alga marina*, or sea-ware; and they can exactly distinguish the tide of ebb from the tide of flood, though at the same time they are not within view of the sea; and if one meet them running to the shore at the tide of ebb, and offer to turn them again to the hills to graze, they will not return. When the tide has ebbed about two hours, so as to uncover the sea-ware, then they steer their course directly to the nearest coast, in their usual order, one after another whatever their number be: there are as many instances of this, as there are tides of ebb on the shore. I had occasion to make this observation thirteen times in one week; for, though the natives gave me repeated assurances of the truth of it, I did not fully believe it, till I saw many instances of it in my travels along the coast. The natives have a remark, that when the cows belonging to one person do of a sudden become very irregular, and run up and down the fields, and make a loud noise, without any visible cause, it is a preface of the master's or mistress's death; of which there were several late instances given me. James Macdonald of Capstil having been killed at the battle of Kelicranky, it was observed that night, that his cows gave blood instead of milk; his family and other neighbours concluded this a bad omen. The minister of the place, and the mistress of the cows, together with several neighbours, assured me of the truth of this.

There was a calf brought forth in Vaternis without legs; it leaped very far, bellowed louder than any other calf, and drank much more milk: at last the owner killed it. Kenneth the carpenter, who lives there, told me that he had seen the calf. I was also informed, that a cow in Vaternis brought forth five calves at a time, of which three died.

There was a calf at Skerinefs, having all its legs double, but the bones had but one skin to cover both; the owner fancying it to be ominous, killed it, after having lived nine months. Several of the natives thereabouts told me that they had seen it.

There are several calves that have a slit in the top of their ears, and these the natives fancy to be the issue of a wild bull, that comes from the sea or fresh lakes; and this calf is by them called *corky fyre*.



There is plenty of land and water-fowl in this isle; as hawks, eagles of two kinds, the one grey and of a larger size, the other much less and black, but more destructive to young cattle; black-cock, heath hen, plovers, pigeons, wild-geese, tarmagan, and cranes: of this latter sort, I have seen sixty on the shore in a flock together. The sea-fowls are malls of all kinds, coulterneb, guillamot, sea-cormorant, &c. The natives observe that the latter, if perfectly black, makes no good broth, nor is its flesh worth eating; but that a cormorant, which has any white feathers or down, makes good broth, and the flesh of it is good food, and the broth is usually drunk by nurses to increase their milk.

The natives observe, that this fowl flutters with its wings towards the quarter from which the wind is soon after to blow.

The sea-fowl bunivochil, or, as some seamen call it, carara, and others bishop, is as big as a goose, of a brown colour, and the inside of the wings white; the bill is long and broad, and it is footed like a goose; it dives quicker than any other fowl whatever; it is very fat. The case of this fowl being flayed off with the fat, and a little salt laid on to preserve it, and then applied to the thigh-bone, where it must lie for several weeks together, is an effectual remedy against the sciatica, of which I saw two instances. It is observed of fire-arms that are rubbed over (as the custom is here) with the oil or fat of sea-fowls, that they contract rust much sooner, than when done with the fat of land-fowl; the Fulmar oil from St. Kilda only excepted, which preserves iron from contracting rust much longer than any other oil or grease whatsoever. The natives observe, that, when the sea-pye warbles its notes incessantly, it is a sure presage of fair weather to follow in a few hours after.

The *amphibia* to be seen in this isle, are seals, otters, vipers, frogs, toads, and asps. The otter shuts its eyes when it eats; and this is a considerable disadvantage to it, for then several ravenous fowls lay hold on this opportunity, and rob it of its fish.

The hunters say, there is a big otter above the ordinary size, with a white spot on its breast, and this they call the king of otters; it is rarely seen, and very hard to be killed; seamen ascribe great virtues to the skin, for they say that it is fortunate in battle, and that victory is always on its side. Serpents abound in several parts of this isle; there are three kinds of them, the first black and white spotted, which is the most poisonous, and if a speedy remedy be not made use of after the wound given, the party is in danger. I had an account that a man at Glenmore, a boy at Portry, and a woman at Loch-scach-vag, did all die of wounds given by this sort of serpents. Some believe that the serpents wound with the sting only, and not with their teeth; but this opinion is founded upon a bare conjecture, because the sting is exposed to view, but the teeth very rarely seen: they are secured within a hose of flesh, which prevents their being broke; the end of them being hooked and exceeding small, would soon be destroyed, if it had not been for this fence that nature has given them. The longest of the black serpents mentioned above, is from two to three, or at most four feet long.

The yellow serpent with brown spots is not so poisonous, nor so long as the black and white one.

The brown serpent is of all three the least poisonous, and smallest and shortest in size.

The remedies used here to extract the poison of serpents are various. The rump of a house-cock stripped of its feather, and applied to the wound, doth powerfully extract the poison, if timely applied. The cock is observed after this to swell to a great bulk, far above its former size, and being thrown out into the fields, no ravenous bird or beast will ever offer to taste of it.



The forked sting taken out of an adder's tongue is by the natives steeped in water, with which they wash and cure the wound.

The serpent's head that gives the wound being applied, is found to be a good remedy.

New cheese applied timely extracts the poison well.

There are two sorts of weasles in the isle, one of which exceeds that of the common size in bigness; the natives say that the breath of it kills calves and lambs, and that the lesser sort is apt to occasion a decay in such as frequently have them tame about them; especially such as suffer them to suck and lick about their mouths.

*The inferior Isles about Skie.*

SOA-BRETTIL lies within a quarter of a mile to the south of the mountain Quillin; it is five miles in circumference, and full of bogs, and fitter for pasturage than cultivation. About a mile on the west side it is covered with wood, and the rest consists of heath and grass, having a mixture of the *mertillo* all over. The red garden-currants grow in this isle, and are supposed to have been carried thither by birds. There has been no venomous creature ever seen in this little isle until within these two years last, that a black and white big serpent was seen by one of the inhabitants, who killed it; they believe it came from the opposite coast of Skie, where there are many big serpents. There is abundance of cod and ling round this isle.

On the south of Sleat lies island Oranfa, which is a peninsula at low water; it is a mile in circumference, and very fruitful in corn and grass. As for the latter, it is said to excel any piece of ground of its extent in those parts.

In the north entry to Kyle-Akin lie several small isles; the biggest and next to Skie is Ilan Nin Gillin, about half a mile in circumference, covered all over with long heath, and the *erica baccifera*: there is abundance of seals and sea-fowls about it.

A league further north lies the isle Pabbay, about two miles in circumference; it excels in pasturage, the cows in it afford near double the milk that they yield in Skie. In the dog-days there is a big fly in this isle which infests the cows, makes them run up and down, discomposes them exceedingly, and hinders their feeding, insomuch that they must be brought out of the isle to the isle of Skie. This isle affords abundance of lobsters, limpets, wilks, crabs, and ordinary sea-plants.

About half a league further north lies the small isle Gilliman, being a quarter of a mile in circumference; the whole is covered with long heath, and the *erica baccifera*. Within a call further north lies the isle of Scalpa, very near to Skie, five miles in circumference; it is mountainous from the south end almost to the north end, it has wood in several parts of it; the south end is most arable, and is fruitful in corn and grass.

About a mile further north is the isle Rasay, being seven miles in length, and three in breadth, sloping on the west and east sides; it has some wood on all the quarters of it, the whole is fitter for pasturage than cultivation, the ground being generally very unequal, but very well watered with rivulets and springs. There is a spring running down the face of a high rock on the east side of the isle; it petrifies into a white substance, of which very fine lime is made, and there is a great quantity of it. There is a quarry of good stone on the same side of the isle; there is abundance of caves on the west side, which serve to lodge several families, who, for their convenience in grazing, fishing, &c., resort thither in the summer. On the west side, particularly near to the village Clachan, the shore abounds with smooth stones of different sizes, variegated all over. The same cattle, fowl, and fish are produced here that are found in the isle of Skie. There is a law observed by the natives, that all their fishing-lines must be equal



equal length ; for the longest is always supposed to have best access to the fish, which would prove a disadvantage to such as might have shorter ones.

There are some forts in this isle, the highest is in the south end, it is a natural strength, and in form like the crown of a hat ; it is called Dunn-Cann, which the natives will needs have to be from one Canne, cousin to the King of Denmark. The other lies on the side, is an artificial fort, three stories high, and is called Castle Vreokle.

The proprietor of the isle is Mr. Mac-Leod, a cadet of the family of that name ; his seat is in the village Clachan, the inhabitants have as great veneration for him as any subjects can have for their king. They preserve the memory of the deceased ladies of the place, by erecting a little pyramid of stone for each of them, with the lady's name. These pyramids are by them called crosses ; several of them are built of stone and lime, and have three steps of gradual ascent to them. There are eight such crosses about the village, which is adorned with a little tower, and lesser houses, and an orchard with several sorts of berries, pot-herbs, &c. The inhabitants are all protestants, and use the same language, habit, and diet with the natives of Skie.

About a quarter of a mile further north lies the isle Rona, which is three miles in length : vessels pass through the narrow channel between Rosay and Rona. This little isle is the most unequal rocky piece of ground to be seen any where ; there is but very few acres fit for digging, the whole is covered with long heath, *erica baccifera*, *mertillus*, and some mixture of grass ; it is reckoned very fruitful in pasturage ; most of the rocks consist of the hectic stone, and a considerable part of them is of a red colour.

There is a bay on the south-west end of the isle, with two entries, the one is on the west side, the other on the south, but the latter is only accessible ; it has a rock within the entry, and a good fishing.

About three leagues to the north-west of Rona is the isle Fladda, being almost joined to Skie ; it is all plain arable ground, and about a mile in circumference.

About a mile to the north lies the isle Altwig, it has a high rock facing the east, is near two miles in circumference, and is reputed fruitful in corn and grass ; there is a little old chapel in it, dedicated to St. Turos. There is a rock of about forty yards in length at the north end of the isle, distinguished for its commodiousness in fishing. Herrings are seen about this rock in great numbers all summer, insomuch that the fisher-boats are sometimes as it were entangled among the shoals of them.

The isle of Troda lies within half a league to the northernmost point of Skie, called Hunish ; it is two miles in circumference, fruitful in corn and grass, and had a chapel dedicated to St. Columbus. The natives told me that there is a couple of ravens in the isle, which suffer none other of their kind to come thither ; and when their own young are able to fly, they beat them also away from the isle.

Fladda-Chuan, i. e. Fladda of the Ocean, lies about two leagues distant from the west side of Hunish point ; it is two miles in compass, the ground is boggy, and but indifferent for corn and grass : the isle is much frequented for the plenty of fish of all kinds on each quarter of it. There are very big whales which pursue the fish on the coast ; the natives distinguish one whale for its bigness above all others, and told me that it had many big limpets growing upon its back, and that the eyes of it were of such a prodigious bigness, as struck no small terror into the beholders. There is a chapel in the isle dedicated to St. Columbus, it has an altar in the east end, and there is a blue stone of a round form on it, which is always moist. It is an ordinary custom, when any of the fishermen are detained in the isle by contrary winds, to wash the blue stone with water all round, expecting thereby to procure a favourable wind, which the credulous tenant living in the isle says never fails, especially if a stranger wash the stone : the stone



is likewise applied to the sides of people troubled with stitches, and they say it is effectual for that purpose: and so great is the regard they have for this stone, that they swear decisive oaths on it.

The monk O'Gorgon is buried near to this chapel, and there is a stone five feet high at each end of his grave. There is abundance of sea-fowl that come to hatch their young in the isle; the coulter-nebs are very numerous here, it comes in the middle of March, and goes away in the middle of August: it makes a tour round the isle sun-ways before it settles on the ground, and another at going away in August; which ceremony is much approved by the tenant of the isle, and is one of the chief arguments he made use of for making the like round, as he sets out to sea with his boat.

There is a great flock of plovers, that come to this isle from Skie, in the beginning of September; they return again in April, and are said to be near two thousand in all: I told the tenant he might have a couple of these at every meal during the winter and spring, but my motion seemed very disagreeable to him; for he declared that he had never once attempted to take any of them, though he might if he would: and at the same time told me, he wondered how I could imagine that he would be so barbarous as to take the lives of such innocent creatures as came to him only for self-preservation.

There are six or seven rocks within distance of a musket-shot on the south-east side the isle, the sea running between each of them: that lying more easterly is the fort called Bord Cruin, i. e. a round table, from its round form; it is about three hundred paces in circumference, flat on the top, has a deep well within it, the whole is surrounded with a steep rock, and has only one place that is accessible by climbing, and that only by one man at a time: there is a violent current of a tide on each side of it, which contributes to render it an impregnable fort, it belongs to Sir Donald Macdonald. One single man above the entry, without being exposed to shot, is able, with a staff in his hand, to keep off five hundred attackers; for only one can climb the rock at a time, and that not without difficulty.

There is a high rock on the west side the fort, which may be secured also by a few hands.

About half a league on the south side the round table lies the rock Jeskar, i. e. Fisher, because many fishing-boats resort to it; it is not higher than a small vessel under sail. This rock affords a great quantity of scurvy-grass, of an extraordinary size, and very thick; the natives eat it frequently; as well boiled as raw: two of them told me that they happened to be confined there for the space of thirty hours by a contrary wind; and being without victuals, fell to eating this scurvy-grass, and finding it of a sweet taste, far different from the land scurvy-grass, they eat a large basket full of it, which did abundantly satisfy their appetites until their return home: they told me also that it was not in the least windy, or any other way troublesome to them.

Island Tulum on the west of the wing of Skie, called Troterness, lies within a musket-shot of the castle of the name; it is a hard rock, and clothed with grass; there are two caves on the west side, in which abundance of sea cormorants build and hatch.

About five leagues to the south-west from Tulum lies the island Ascrib, which is divided into several parts by the sea; it is about two miles in compass, and affords very good pasturage; all kinds of fish abound in the neighbouring sea. On the south-west side of the isle Ascrib, at the distance of two leagues, lie the two small isles of Timan, directly in the mouth of Loch-arnisfort; they are only fit for pasturage.

On the west side of Vaternis promontory, within the mouth of Loch-fallart, lies Isa, two miles in compass, being fruitful in corn and grass, and is commodious for fishing of cod and ling.

There



There are two small isles, called Mingoy, on the north-east side of this isle, which afford good pasturage.

There is a red short kind of dulse growing in the south end of the isle, which occasions a pain in the head when eaten; a property not known in any other dulse whatever.

The two isles Bnia and Harlas lie in the mouth of Loch-Brackadil; they are both pretty high rocks, each of them about a mile in circumference; they afford good pasturage, and there are red currants in these small isles, supposed to have been carried there at first by birds.

The southern parts of Skie, as Sleat and Strath, are a month earlier with their grass than the northern parts; and this is the reason that the cattle and sheep, &c. bring forth their young sooner than in the north side.

The days in summer are much longer here than in the south of England or Scotland, and the nights shorter, which about the summer solstice is not above an hour and an half in length; and the further we come south, the contrary is to be observed in proportion.

The air here is commonly moist and cold: this disposes the inhabitants to take a larger dose of brandy or other strong liquors than in the south of Scotland, by which they fancy that they qualify the moisture of the air: this is the opinion of all strangers, as well as of the natives, since the one as well as the other drinks at least treble the quantity of brandy in Skie and the adjacent isles, than they do in the more southern climate.

The height of the mountains contributes much to the moisture of the place, but more especially the mountain Quillin, which is the husbandman's almanack; for it is commonly observed that if the heavens above that mountain be clear and without clouds in the morning, then it is not doubted but the weather will prove fair; *et à contra*, the height of that hill reaching to the clouds breaks them, and then they presently after fall down in great rains according as the wind blows: thus when the wind blows from the south, then all the ground lying to the north of Quillin hills is wet with rains, whereas all the other three quarters are dry.

The south-west winds are observed to carry more rain with them than any other, and blow much higher in the most northern point of Skie than they do two miles further south; for which I could perceive no visible cause, unless it be the height of the hill, about two miles south from that point; for after we come to the south side of it, the wind is not perceived to be so high as on the north side by half.

It is observed of the east wind, that though it blow but very gentle in the isle of Skie, and on the west side of it, for the space of about three or four leagues towards the west, yet as we advance more westerly it is sensibly higher; and when we come near to the coast of the more western isles of Uist, Harries, &c. it is observed to blow very fresh, though at the same time it is almost calm on the west side the isle Skie. The wind is attended with fair weather, both in this and other western isles.

The sea in the time of a calm is observed to have a rising motion, before the north wind blows, which it has not before the approaching of any other wind.

The north wind is still colder, and more destructive to corn, cattle, &c. than any other.

Women observe that their breasts contract to a lesser bulk when the wind blows from the north, and that then they yield less milk than when it blows from any other quarter; and they make the like observation in other creatures that give milk.

They observe that when the sea yields a kind of pleasant and sweet scent, it is a sure presage of fair weather to ensue.

The wind in summer blows stronger by land than by sea, and the contrary in winter.

In



In the summer the wind is sometimes observed to blow from different quarters at the same time : I have seen two boats sail quite contrary ways, until they came within less than a league of each other, and then one of them was becalmed, and the other continued to sail forward.

The tide of ebb here runs southerly, and the tide of flood northerly, where no headlands or promontories are in the way to interpose ; for in such cases the tides are observed to hold a course quite contrary to the ordinary motion in these isles, and the opposite main land : this is observed between the east side of Skie and the opposite continent, where the tide of ebb runs northerly, and the tide of flood southerly, as far as Killach-stone, on the south-east of Skie ; both tides running directly contrary to what is to be seen in all the western isles and opposite continent. The natives at Kylakin told me that they had seen three different ebbings successively on that part of Skie.

The tide of ebb is always greater with north winds, than when it blows from any other quarter ; and the tide of flood is always higher with south winds than any other.

The two chief spring-tides are on the tenth of September, and on the tenth or twentieth of March.

The natives are very much disposed to observe the influence of the moon on human bodies, and for that cause they never dig their peats but in the decrease ; for they observe that if they are cut in the increase, they continue still moist, and never burn clear, nor are they without smoke, but the contrary is daily observed of peats cut in the decrease.

They make up their earthen dykes in the decrease only, for such as are made at the increase are still observed to fall.

They fell their timber, and cut their rushes in time of the decrease.

*The Diseases known and not known in Skie and the adjacent Isles.*

THE gout, corns in the feet, convulsions, madness, fits of the mother, vapours, palsy, lethargy, rheumatisms, wens, ganglions, king's-evil, ague, surfeits, and consumptions are not frequent, and barrenness and abortion very rare.

The diseases that prevail here are fevers, stiches, cholic, head-ach, megrim, jaundice, sciatica, stone, small-pox, measles, rickets, scurvy, worms, fluxes, tooth-ach, cough, and squinancy.

The ordinary remedies used by the natives are taken from plants, roots, stones, animals, &c.

To cure a pleurisy, the letting of blood plentifully is an ordinary remedy.

Whey, in which violets have been boiled, is used as a cooling and refreshing drink for such as are ill of fevers. When the patient has not a sweat duly, their shirt is boiled in water, and afterwards put on them, which causes a speedy sweat. When the patient is very costive, and without passage by stool or urine, or passes the ordinary time of sweating in fevers, two or three handfuls of the sea-plant called dulse, boiled in a little water, and some fresh butter with it, and the infusion drunk, procures a passage both ways, and sweat shortly after : the dulse, growing on stone, not that on the seaware, is only proper in this case.

To procure sleep after a fever, the feet, knees, and ancles of the patient are washed in warm water, into which a good quantity of chick-weed is put, and afterwards some of the plant is applied warm to the neck, and between the shoulders, as the patient goes to bed.



The tops of nettles, chopped small, and mixed with a few whites of raw eggs, applied to the forehead and temples, by way of a frontel, is used to procure sleep.

Foxglove, applied warm plaisterwise to the part affected, removes pains that follow after fevers.

The sea-plant linarich is used to procure sleep, as is mentioned among its virtues.

*Erica-baccifera* boiled a little in water, and applied warm to the crown of the head and temples, is used likewise as a remedy to procure sleep.

To remove stiches, when letting blood does not prevail, the part affected is rubbed with an ointment made of camomile and fresh butter, or of brandy with fresh butter; and others apply a quantity of raw scurvy-grass chopped small.

The scarlet-fever, which appeared in this isle only within these two years last, is ordinarily cured by drinking now and then a glass of brandy. If an infant happen to be taken with it, the nurse drinks some brandy, which qualifies the milk, and proves a successful remedy.

The common alga, or sea-ware, is yearly used with success, to manure the fruit-trees in Sir Donald Macdonald's orchard at Armidill: several affirm that if a quantity of sea-ware be used about the roots of fruit-trees, whose growth is hindered by the sea air, this will make them grow and produce fruit.

Head-ach is removed by taking raw dulse and linarich applied cold by way of plaister to the temples. This likewise is used as a remedy to remove the megrim.

The jaundice is cured by the vulgar as follows: the patient being stripped naked behind to the middle of the back, he who acts the surgeon's part marks the eleventh bone from the rump on the back with a black stroke, in order to touch it with his tongs, as mentioned already.

Sciatica is cured by applying the case with the fat of the carara-fowl to the thigh bone; and it must not be removed from thence till the cure is performed.

*Flamula-jovis*, or spire-wort, being cut small, and a limpet-shell filled with it, and applied to the thigh bone, causes a blister to rise about the bigness of an egg; which being cut, a quantity of watery matter issues from it: the blister rises three times, and being emptied as often, the cure is performed. The sea-plant linarich is applied to the place, to cure and dry the wound.

Crow-foot of the moor is more effectual for raising a blister, and curing the sciatica, than *flamula-jovis*; for that sometimes fails of breaking or raising the skin, but the crow-foot seldom fails.

Several of the common people have the boldness to venture upon the *flamula-jovis*, instead of a purge: they take a little of the infusion, and drink it in melted fresh butter, as the properest vehicle; and this preserves the throat from being excoriated.

For the stone they drink water-gruel without salt: they likewise eat allium, or wild garlick, and drink the infusion of it boiled in water, which they find effectual both ways. The infusion of the sea plant dulse boiled is also good against the stone; as is likewise the broth of wilks and limpets: and against the cholic, costiveness, and stiches, a quantity of scurvy-grass boiled in water, with some fresh butter added, and eaten for some days, is an effectual remedy.

To kill worms, the infusion of tansy in whey or aquavita, taken fasting, is an ordinary medicine with the islanders.

*Caryophyllata alpina chamedreos fol*: it grows on marble in divers parts, about Christ Church in Strath; never observed before in Britain, and but once in Ireland, by Mr. Hiaton. Morison's Hist. Ray Synopsis, 137.

Carmel,



Carmel, *alias* Knaphard, by Mr. James Sutherland called *Argatilis Sylvaticus*: it has a blue flower in July; the plant itself is not used, but the root is eaten to expel wind: and they say it prevents drunkenness, by frequent chewing of it; and being so used, gives a good relish to all liquors, milk only excepted. It is aromattick, and the natives prefer it to spice, for brewing *Aquavita*; the root will keep for many years: some say that it is cordial, and allays hunger.

Shunnis is a plant highly valued by the natives, who eat it raw, and also boiled with fish, flesh, and milk: it is used as a sovereign remedy to cure the sheep of the cough; the root eaten fasting, expels wind: it was not known in Britain, except in the north west isles, and some parts of the opposite continent. Mr. James Sutherland sent it to France some years ago.

A quantity of wild sage chewed between one's teeth, and put into the ears of cows or sheep that become blind, cures them, and perfectly restores their sight; of which there are many fresh instances both in Skie and Harries, by persons of great integrity.

A quantity of wild sage chopped small, and eaten by horses mixed with their corn, kills worms; the horse must not drink for ten hours after eating it.

The infusion of wild sage after the same manner, produces the like effect.

Wild sage cut small, and mixed among oats given to a horse fasting, and kept without drink for seven or eight hours after, kills worms.

Fluxes are cured by taking now and then a spoonful of the syrup of blue berries that grow on the Mertillus.

Plantain boiled in water, and the hectic-stone heated red hot quenched in the same, is successfully used for fluxes.

Some cure the tooth-ach, by applying a little of the *flamula jovis*, in a limpet-shell, to the temples.

A green turf heated among embers, as hot as can be endured, and by the patient applied to the side of the head affected, is likewise used for the tooth-ach.

For coughs and colds, water gruel with a little butter is the ordinary cure.

For coughs and hoarseness, they use to bathe the feet in warm water, for the space of a quarter of an hour at least; and then rub a little quantity of deer's grease (the older the better) to the soles of their feet by the fire; the deer's grease alone is sufficient in the morning: and this method must be continued until the cure is performed. And it may be used by young or old, except women with child, for the first four months, and such as are troubled with vapours.

Harts-tongue and Maiden-hair, boiled in wort, and the ale drunk, is used for coughs and consumptions.

Milk or water, wherein the hectic-stone hath been boiled or quenched red-hot, and being taken for ordinary drink, is also efficacious against a consumption.

The hands and feet often washed in water, in which the hectic-stone has been boiled, is esteemed restorative.

Yarrow with the hectic-stone boiled in milk, and frequently drunk, is used for consumptions.

Water-gruel is also found by experience to be good for consumptions; it purifies the blood, and procures appetite, when drunk without salt.

There is a smith in the parish of Kil-martin, who is reckoned a doctor for curing faintness of the spirits. This he performs in the following manner:

*Non-mens* The patient being laid on the anvil with his face uppermost, the smith takes a big hammer in both hands, and making his face all grimace, he approaches his patient; and then drawing his hammer from the ground, as if designed to hit him with his full strength



strength on his forehead, he ends in a feint, else he would be sure to cure the patient of all diseases: but the smith being accustomed to the performance, has a dexterity of managing his hammer with discretion; though at the same time he must do it so as to strike terror in the patient: and this they say has always the designed effect.

The smith is famous for his pedigree; for it has been observed of a long time, that there has been but one only child born in the family, and that always a son, and when he arrived to man's estate, the father died presently after: the present smith makes up the thirteenth generation of that race of people who are bred to be smiths, and all of them pretend to this cure.

*Iliaca passio*, or twisting of the guts, has been several times cured by drinking a draught of cold water, with a little oatmeal in it, and then hanging the patient by the heels for some time. The last instance in Skie was by John Morrison, in the village of Talisker, who by this remedy alone cured a boy of fourteen years of age. Dr. Pitcairn told me, that the like cure had been performed in the shire of Fife for the same disease. A cataplasm of hot dulse, with its juice, applied several times to the lower part of the belly, cured the *iliac passion*.

The sea plant dulse is used, as is said above, to remove cholicks; and to remove that distemper and costiveness, a little quantity of fresh butter, and some scurvy-grass boiled, and eaten with its infusion, is an usual and effectual remedy.

A large handful of the sea-plant dulse, growing upon stone, being applied outwardly, as is mentioned above, against the *iliaca passio*, takes away the after-birth with great ease and safety; this remedy is to be repeated until it produce the desired effect, though some hours may be intermitted: the fresher the dulse is, the operation is the stronger; for if it is above two or three days old, little is to be expected from it in this case. This plant seldom or never fails of success, though the patient had been delivered several days before; and of this I have lately seen an extraordinary instance at Edinburgh in Scotland, when the patient was given over as dead.

Dulse, being eaten raw or boiled, is by daily experience found to be an excellent antiscorbutic; it is better raw in this case, and must be first washed in cold water.

For a fracture, the first thing they apply to a broken bone, is the white of an egg, and some barley meal; and then they tie splinters round it, and keep it so tied for some days. When the splinters are untied, they make use of the following ointment, viz. a like quantity of *betonica pauli*, St. John's wort, golden-rod, all cut and bruised in sheeps' grease, or fresh butter, to a consistence; some of this they spread on a cloth, and lay on the wound, which continues untied for a few days.

Giben of St. Kilda, i. e. the fat of sea fowls made into a pudding in the stomach of the fowl, is also an approved vulnerary for man or beast.

The vulgar make purges of the infusion of scurvy-grass, and some fresh butter; and this they continue to take for the space of a week or two, because it is mild in its operation.

They use the infusion of the sea-plant dulse, after the same manner, instead of a purge.

Eyes that are blood-shot, or become blind for some days, are cured here by applying some blades of the plant fern, and the yellow is by them reckoned best; this they mix with the white of an egg, and lay it on some coarse flax — and the egg next to the face and brows, and the patient is ordered to lie on his back.

To ripen a tumor, or boil, they cut female jacobea small, mix it with some fresh butter on a hot stone, and apply it warm; and this ripens and draws the tumor quickly,



and without pain: the same remedy is used for women's breasts that are hard, or swelled.

For taking the syroms out of the hands, they use ashes of burnt sea-ware, mixed with salt water; and washing their hands in it, without drying them, it kills the worms.

Burnt ashes of sea-ware preserve cheefe instead of salt; which is frequently practised in this isle. Ashes of burnt sea-ware scower flaxen thread better, and make it whiter than any thing else.

When their feet are swelled and benumbed with cold, they scarify their heels with a lancet.

They make glisters of the plant Mercury, and some of the vulgar use it as a purge, for which it serves both ways.

They make glisters also of the roots of flags, water, and salt butter.

They have found out a strange remedy for such as could never ease nature at sea by stool or urine: there were three such men in the parish of St. Mary's in Trotterness; two of them I knew, to wit, John Mac-Phade, and Finlay Mac-Phade; they lived on the coast, and went often a fishing, and after they had spent some nine or ten hours at sea, their bellies would swell: for after all their endeavours to get passage either ways, it was impracticable until they came to land, and then they found no difficulty in the thing. This was a great inconvenience to any boat's crew in which either of these three men had been fishing, for it obliged them often to forbear when the fishing was most plentiful, and to row to the shore with any of these men that happened to become sick; for landing was the only remedy. At length one of their companions thought of an experiment to remove this inconvenience; he considered, that when any of these men had got their feet on dry ground, they could then ease nature with as much freedom as any other person; and therefore he carried a large green turf of earth to the boat, and placed the green side uppermost, without telling the reason. One of these men who was subject to the infirmity above-mentioned, perceiving an earthen turf in the boat, was surprized at the sight of it, and enquired for what purpose it was brought thither? He that laid it there answered, that he had done it to serve him, and that when he was disposed to ease nature, he might find himself on land, though he was at sea. The other took this as an affront, so that from words they came to blows: their fellows with much ado did separate them, and blamed him that brought the turf into the boat, since such a fancy could produce no other effect than a quarrel. All of them employed their time eagerly in fishing, until some hours after, that the angry man, who before was so much affronted at the turf, was so ill of the swelling of his belly as usual, that he begged the crew to row to the shore, but this was very disobliging to them all. He that intended to try the experiment with the turf, bid the sick man stand on it, and he might expect to have success by it; but he refused, and still resented the affront which he thought was intended upon him: but at last all the boat's crew urged him to try what the turf might produce, since it could not make him worse than he was. The man being in great pain, was by their repeated importunities prevailed upon to stand with his feet on the turf; and it had the wished effect, for nature became obedient both ways: and then the angry man changed his note, for he thanked his doctor, whom he had some hours before beat. And from that time none of these three men ever went to sea without a green turf in the boat, which proved effectual. This is matter of fact sufficiently known and attested by the better part of the parishioners still living upon the place.



The ancient way the islanders used to procure sweat, was thus: a part of an earthen floor was covered with fire, and when it was sufficiently heated, the fire was taken away, and the ground covered with a heap of straw; upon this straw a quantity of water was poured, and the patient lying on the straw; the heat of it put his whole body into a sweat.

To cause any particular part of his body to sweat, they dig an hole in an earthen floor, and fill it with hazel sticks, and dry rushes; above these they put a heftick-stone red hot, and pouring some water into the hole, the patient holds the part affected over it, and this procures a speedy sweat.

Their common way of procuring sweat is by drinking a large draught of water-gruel with some butter, as they go to bed.

*Of the various Effects of Fishes on several Constitutions in these Islands.*

Dongal Mac-Ewan became feverish always after eating of fish of any kind, except thornback and dog-fish.

A ling fish having brown spots on the skin, causes such as eat of its liver, to cast their skin from head to foot. This happened to three children in the hamlet of Taliskir, after eating the liver of a brown spotted ling.

Finlay Ross and his family, in the parish of Uge, having eaten a fresh ling fish, with brown spots on its skin, he and they became indisposed and feverish for some few days, and in a little time after they were blistered all over. They say that when the fresh ling is salted a few days, it has no such effect.

There was a horse in the village Bretill, which had the erection backward, contrary to all other of its kind.

A weaver in Portrie has a faculty of erecting and letting fall his ears at pleasure, and opens and shuts his mouth on such occasions.

A boy in the castle of Duntulm, called Mister to a by-name, hath a pain and swelling in his great toe at any change of the moon, and it continues only for the space of one day, or two at most.

Allen Mac-leod, being about ten years of age, was taken ill of a pain which moved from one part of his body to another, and where it was felt, the skin appeared blue; it came to his toe, thigh, testicles, arms and head: when the boy was bathed in warm water, he found most ease. The hinder part of his head, which was last affected, had a little swelling; and a woman endeavouring to squeeze the humour out of it, by bruising it on each side with her nails, she forced out at the same time a little animal near an inch in length, having a white head sharp pointed, the rest of its body of a red colour, and full of small feet on each side. Animals of this sort have been seen in the head and legs of several persons in the isles, and are distinguished by the name of Fillian.

*Yeast, how preserved by the Natives.*

A rod of oak, of four, five, six or eight inches about, twisted round like a wythe, boiled in wort, and well dried and kept in a little bundle of barley-straw, and being steeped again in wort, causeth it to ferment, and procures yeast: the rod is cut before the middle of May, and is frequently used to furnish yeast; and being preserved and used in this manner, it serves for many years together. I have seen the experiment tried, and was shewed a piece of a thick wythe, which hath been preserved for making ale with, for about twenty or thirty years.



*The Effects of eating Hemlock-Root.*

Fergus Kaird, an empiric, living in the village Talisker, having by a mistake eaten a hemlock-root instead of the white wild carrot; his eyes did presently roll about, his countenance became very pale, his sight had almost failed him, the frame of his body was all in a strange convulsion, and his *pudenda* retired so inwardly, that there was no discerning whether he had then been male or female. All the remedy given him in this state was a draught of hot milk, and a little *aqua-vitæ* added to it; which he no sooner drank, but he vomited presently after, yet the root still remained in his stomach. They continued to administer the same remedy for the space of four or five hours together, but in vain; and about an hour after they ceased to give him any thing he voided the root by stool, and then was restored to his former state of health: he is still living, for any thing I know, and is of a strong healthful constitution.

Some few years ago, all the flax in the barony of Troterness was over-run with a great quantity of green worms, which in a few days would have destroyed it, had not a flock of ravens made a tour round the ground where the flax grew, for the space of fourteen miles, and eat up the worms in a very short time.

The inhabitants of this isle are generally well proportioned, and their complexion is for the most part black. They are not obliged to art in forming their bodies, for nature never fails to act her part bountifully to them; and perhaps there is no part of the habitable globe where so few bodily imperfections are to be seen, nor any children that go more early. I have observed several of them walk alone before they were ten months old: they are bathed all over every morning and evening, some in cold, some in warm water; but the latter is most commonly used, and they wear nothing strait about them. The mother generally suckles the child, failing of which, a nurse is provided, for they seldom bring up any by hand: they give new-born infants fresh butter to take away the *miconium*, and this they do for several days; they taste neither sugar nor cinnamon, nor have they any daily allowance of sack bestowed on them, as the custom is elsewhere, nor is the nurse allowed to taste ale.

The generality wear neither shoes nor stockings before they are seven, eight, or ten years old; and many among them wear no night-caps before they are sixteen years old; and upwards; some use none all their life-time, and these are not so liable to headaches as others that keep their heads warm.

They use nothing by way of prevention of sickness, observing it as a rule to do little or nothing of that nature. The abstemiousness of the mothers is no small advantage to the children: they are a very prolific people, so that many of their numerous issue must seek their fortune on the continent, and not a few in foreign countries, for want of employment at home. When they are any way fatigued by travel, or otherways, they fail not to bathe their feet in warm water, wherein red moss has been boiled, and rub them with it going to bed.

The ancient custom of rubbing the body by a warm hand opposite to the fire, is now laid aside, except from the lower part of the thigh downwards to the ankle; this they rub before and behind, in cold weather, and at going to bed. Their simple diet contributes much to their state of health, and long life; several among them of my acquaintance arrived at the age of eighty, ninety, and upwards; but the Lady Macleod lived to the age of one hundred and three years: she had then a comely head of hair, and a case of good teeth, and always enjoyed the free use of her understanding, until the week in which she died.

The



The inhabitants of this and all the Western Isles do wear their shoes after Mr. Locke's mode, in his Book of Education; and, among other great advantages by it, they reckon these two, that they are never troubled with the gout, or corns in their feet.

They lie for the most part on beds of straw, and some on beds of heath; which latter being made after their way, with the tops uppermost, are almost as soft as a feather-bed, and yield a pleasant scent after lying on them once. The natives by experience have found it to be effectual for drying superfluous humours, and strengthening the nerves. It is very refreshing after a fatigue of any kind. The Picts are said to have had an art of brewing curious ale with the tops of heath, but they refused to communicate it to the Scots, and so it is quite lost.

A native of this isle requires treble the dose of physic that will serve one living in the south of Scotland for a purge; yet an islander is easier purged in the south than at home. Those of the best rank are easier wrought on by purging medicines than the vulgar.

The inhabitants are of all people easiest cured of green wounds; they are not so liable to fevers as others on such occasions; and they never cut off arm or leg, though never so ill broke, and take the freedom to venture on all kind of meat and drink, contrary to all rule in such cases, and yet commonly recover of their wounds.

Many of the natives, upon occasion of sickness, are disposed to try experiments, in which they succeed so well, that I could not hear of the least inconvenience attending their practice. I shall only bring one instance more of this, and that is of the illiterate empiric Neil Beaton in Skie; who of late is so well known in the isles and continent, for his great success in curing several dangerous distempers, though he never appeared in the quality of a physician until he arrived at the age of forty years, and then also without the advantage of education. He pretends to judge of the various qualities of plants and roots, by their different tastes; he has likewise a nice observation on the colours of their flowers, from which he learns their astringent and loosening qualities; he extracts the juice of plants and roots, after a chymical way peculiar to himself, and with little or no charge.

He considers his patients' constitution before any medicine is administered to them; and he has formed such a system for curing diseases, as serves for a rule to him upon all occasions of this nature.

He treats Riverius's *Lilium Medicinæ*, and some other practical pieces that he has heard of, with contempt; since in several instances it appears that their methods of curing has failed where his had good success.

Some of the diseases cured by him are as follows: running sores in legs and arms, grievous head-aches; he had the boldness to cut a piece out of a woman's skull broader than half a crown, and by this restored her to perfect health. A gentlewoman of my acquaintance having contracted a dangerous pain in her belly, some days after her delivery of a child, and several medicines being used, she was thought past recovery, if she continued in that condition a few hours longer; at last this doctor happened to come there, and being employed, applied a simple plant to the part affected, and restored the patient in a quarter of an hour after the application.

One of his patients told me that he sent him a cap interlined with some seeds, &c. to wear for the cough, which it removed in a little time; and it had the like effect upon his brother.

The success attending this man's cures was so extraordinary, that several people thought his performances to have proceeded rather from a compact with the devil, than from the virtue of simples. To obviate this, Mr. Beaton pretends to have had some education



education from his father, though he died when he himself was but a boy. I have discoursed with him seriously at different times, and am fully satisfied, that he uses no unlawful means for obtaining his end.

His discourse of the several constitutions, the qualities of plants, &c. was more solid than could have been expected from one of his education. Several sick people from remote isles came to him; and some from the shire of Ross, at seventy miles distance, sent for his advice: I left him very successful, but can give no further account of him since that time.

They are generally a very sagacious people, quick of apprehension, and even the vulgar exceed all those of their rank and education I ever yet saw in any other country. They have a great genius for music and mechanics. I have observed several of their children, that, before they could speak, were capable to distinguish and make choice of one tune before another upon the violin; for they always appeared uneasy until the tune which they fancied best was played, and then they expressed their satisfaction by the motions of their head and hands.

There are several of them who invent tunes very taking in the south of Scotland, and elsewhere: some musicians have endeavoured to pass for first inventors of them by changing their name, but this has been impracticable; for whatever language gives the modern name, the tune still continues to speak its true original: and of this I have been shewed several instances.

Some of the natives are very dexterous in engraving trees, birds, deer, dogs, &c. upon bone, and horn, or wood, without any other tool than a sharp-pointed knife.

Several of both sexes have a quick vein of poetry, and, in their language, (which is very emphatic) they compose rhyme and verse, both which powerfully affect the fancy: and, in my judgment, (which is not singular in this matter,) with as great force as that of any ancient or modern poet I ever yet read. They have generally very retentive memories, they see things at a great distance. The unhappiness of their education, and their want of converse with foreign nations, deprives them of the opportunity to cultivate and beautify their genius, which seems to have been formed by Nature for great attainments. And, on the other hand, their retiredness may be rather thought an advantage, at least to their better part: according to that of the historian; *Plus valuit apud hos ignorantia vitiorum, quam apud Græcos omnia precepta philosophorum*: "The ignorance of vices is more powerful among those, than all the precepts of philosophy are among the Greeks."

For they are to this day happily ignorant of many vices that are practised in the learned and polite world: I could mention several, for which they have not as yet got a name, or so much as a notion of them.

The diet generally used by the natives consists of fresh food, for they seldom taste any that is salted, except butter; the generality eat but little flesh, and only persons of distinction eat it every day, and make three meals, for all the rest eat only two, and they eat more boiled than roasted. Their ordinary diet is butter, cheese, milk, potatoes, colworts, brochan, *i. e.* oatmeal and water boiled; the latter taken with some bread is the constant food of several thousands of both sexes in this and other isles, during the winter and spring: yet they undergo many fatigues both by sea and land, and are very healthful. This verifies what the poet saith, *Populis sat est lymphæque Ceresque*: Nature is satisfied with bread and water.

There is no place so well stored with such great quantity of good beef and mutton, where so little is consumed by eating. They generally use no fine sauces to entice a false appetite, nor brandy or tea for digestion; the purest water serves them in such



cases: this, together with their ordinary exercise, and the free air, preserves their bodies and minds in a regular frame, free from the various convulsions that ordinarily attend luxury. There is not one of them too corpulent, nor too meagre.

The men-servants have always double the quantity of bread, &c. that is given to women-servants; at which the latter are no ways offended, in regard of the many fatigues by sea and land, which the former undergo.

*Oon*, which in English signifies froth, is a dish used by several of the islanders, and some on the opposite main-land, in time of scarcity, when they want bread; it is made in the following manner: a quantity of milk or whey is boiled in a pot, and then it is wrought up to the mouth of the pot with a long stick of wood, having a cross at the lower-end; it is turned about like the stick for making chocolate; and being thus made, it is supped with spoons. It is made up five or six times, in the same manner, and the last is always reckoned best, and the first two or three frothings the worst: the milk or whey that is in the bottom of the pot is reckoned much better in all respects than simple milk. It may be thought that such as feed after this rate, are not fit for action of any kind; but I have seen several that lived upon this sort of food, made of whey only, for some months together, and yet they were able to undergo the ordinary fatigue of their employments, whether by sea or land; and I have seen them travel to the tops of high mountains, as briskly as any I ever saw.

Some who live plentifully make this dish as abovesaid of goats' milk, which is said to be nourishing; the milk is thickened, and tastes much better after so much working; some add a little butter and nutmeg to it. I was treated with this dish in several places, and, being asked whether this said dish or chocolate was best? I told them that if we judged by the effects, this dish was preferable to chocolate; for such as drink often of the former, enjoy a better state of health, than those who use the latter.

#### *Graddan.*

The ancient way of dressing corn, which is yet used in several isles, is called *graddan*, from the Irish word *grad*; which signifies quick. A woman sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame; she has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating off the grain at the very instant, when the husk is quite burnt; for if she miss of that she must use the kiln, but experience has taught them this art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked, within an hour after reaping from the ground. The oat bread dressed as above is loosening, and that dressed in the kiln astringent, and of greater strength for labourers; but they love the *graddan*, as being more agreeable to their taste. This barbarous custom is much laid aside, since the number of their mills increased. Capt. Fairweather, master of an English vessel, having dropt anchor at Bernera of Glenleg over against Skie, saw two women at this employment, and, wondering to see so much flame and smok, he came near, and finding that it was corn they burnt, he run away in great haste, telling the natives that he had seen two mad women very busy burning corn: the people came to see what the matter was, and laughed at the Captain's mistake, though he was not a little surpris'd at the strangeness of a custom that he had never seen or heard of before.

There are two fairs of late held yearly at Portry on the east side of Skie: the convenience of the harbour, which is in the middle of the isle, made them choose this for the fittest place. The first holds about the middle of June, the second about the beginning



beginning of September. The various products of this and the adjacent isles and continent are sold here, viz. horses, cows, sheep, goats, hides, skins, butter, cheese, fish, wool, &c.

All the horses and cows sold at the fair swim to the main land over one of the ferries or sounds called *Kyles*, one of which is on the east, the other on the south side of Skie. That on the east is about a mile broad, and the other on the south is half a mile: they begin when it is near low water, and fasten a twisted wyth about the lower jaw of each cow, the other end of the wyth is fastened to another cow's tail, and the number so tied together is commonly five. A boat with four oars rows off, and a man sitting in the stern, holds the wyth in his hand to keep up the foremost cow's head; and thus all the five cows swim as fast as the boat rows; and in this manner above an hundred may be ferried over in one day. These cows are sometimes drove above four hundred miles further south; they soon grow fat, and prove sweet and tender beef.

#### *Their Habit.*

The first habit wore by persons of distinction in the islands was the *leni-croich*, from the Irish word *leni*, which signifies a shirt, and *croich* saffron, because their shirt was dyed with that herb: the ordinary number of ells used to make this robe was twenty-four; it was the upper garb, reaching below the knees, and was tied with a belt round the middle: but the islanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago.

They now generally use coat, waistcoat, and breeches, as elsewhere; and on their heads wear bonnets made of thick cloth, some blue, some black, and some grey.

Many of the people wear trowis: some have them very fine woven like stockings of those made of cloth; some are coloured, and others striped: the latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before. The measure for shaping the trowis is a stick of wood, whose length is a cubit, and that divided into the length of a finger, and half a finger; so that it requires more skill to make it than the ordinary habit.

The shoes anciently wore were a piece of the hide of a deer, cow, or horse, with the hair on, being tied behind and before with a point of leather. The generality now wear shoes, having one thin sole only, and shaped after the right and left foot; so that what is for one foot will not serve the other.

But persons of distinction wear the garb in fashion in the south of Scotland.

The plaid, wore only by the men, is made of fine wool, the thread as fine as can be made of that kind; it consists of divers colours, and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at great pains first to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double ells; the one end hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also: the right hand above it is to be at liberty to do any thing upon occasion. Every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids, as to the stripes in breadth, and colours. This humour is as different through the main land of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places are able, at the first view of a man's plaid, to guess the place of his residence.

When they travel on foot, the plaid is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood (just as the *spina* wore by the Germans, according to the description of C. Tacitus):

the



the plad is tied round the middle with a leather belt ; it is plaited from the belt to the knee very nicely : this drefs for footmen is found much eafier and lighter than breeches or trowis.

The ancient drefs wore by the women, and which is yet wore by fome of the vulgar, called *arifad*, is a white plad, having a few fmall ftripes of black, blue, and red ; it reached from the neck to the heels, and was tied before on the breaft with a buckle of filver or brafs, according to the quality of the perfon. I have feen fome of the former of an hundred marks value ; it was broad as an ordinary pewter plate, the whole curioufly engraven with various animals, &c. There was a leffer buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces weight ; it had in the centre a large piece of chrystal, or fome finer ftone, and this was fet all round with feveral finer ftones of a leffer fize.

The plad being plaited all round, was tied with a belt below the breaft ; the belt was of leather, and feveral pieces of filver intermixed with the leather like a chain. The lower end of the belt has a piece of plate about eight inches long, and three in breadth, curioufly engraven ; the end of which was adorned with fine ftones, or pieces of red coral. They wore sleeves of fcarlet cloth, clofed at the end as men's veltis, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons fet with fine ftones. The head-drefs was a fine kerchief of linen ftrait about the head, hanging down the back taper-wife ; a large lock of hair hangs down their cheeks above their breaft, the lower end tied with a knot of ribbands.

The iflanders have a great refpect for their chiefs and heads of tribes, and they conclude grace after every meal with a petition to God for their welfare and profperity. Neither will they, as far as in them lies, fuffer them to fink under any misfortune ; but in cafe of a decay of eftate, make a voluntary contribution on their behalf, as a common duty, to fupport the credit of their families.

### *Way of Fighting.*

The ancient way of fighting was by fet battles ; and for arms, fome had broad two-handed fwords and head-pieces, and others bows and arrows. When all their arrows were fpent, they attacked one another with fword in hand. Since the invention of guns, they are very early accuftomed to ufe them, and carry their pieces with them wherever they go : they likewise learn to handle the broad fword and target. The chief of each tribe advances with his followers within fhoot of the enemy, having firft laid afide their upper garments ; and after one general difcharge, they attack them with fword in hand, having their target on their left hand (as they did at Killieranky), which foon brings the matter to an iffue, and verifies the obfervation made of them by your hiftorians :

### *Aut mors cito, aut victoria lata.*

This ifle is divided into three parts, which are poffeffed by different proprietors. The fouthern part, called Slait, is the property and title of Sir Donald Macdonald, knight and baronet : his family is always diftinguifhed from all the tribes of his name, by the Irish as well as English, and called Mac-Donald abfolutely, and by way of excellence, he being reckoned by genealogifts and all others the firft for antiquity among all the ancient tribes, both in the ifles and continent. He is lineally defcended from Sommerled, who, according to Buchanan, was thane of Argyle. He got the ifles into his poffeffion by virtue of his wife's right ; his fon was called Donald, and from him all the families



of the name Mac-Donald are descended. He was the first of that name who had the title of King of the Isles. One of that name subscribing a charter granted by the King of Scots to the family of Roxburgh, writes as follows: "Donald, King of the Isles, witness." He would not pay homage to the King for the isles, but only for the lands which he held of him on the continent.

One of Donald's successors married a daughter of King Robert II., the first of the name of Stuart, by whom he acquired several lands in the Highlands. The earldom of Ross came to this family, by marrying the heiress of the house of Lesly. One of the Earls of Ross, called John, being of an easy temper, and too liberal to the church, and to his vassals and friends, his son Æneas (by Buchanan called Donald) was so opposite to his father's conduct, that he gathered together an army to oblige him from giving away any more of his estate. The father raised an army against his son, and fought him at sea, on the coast of Mull; the place is since called the Bloody-bay: the son however had the victory. This disposed the father to go straight to the King, and make over the right of all his estate to him. The son kept possession some time after; however this occasioned the fall of that great family, though there are yet extant several ancient tribes of the name, both in the isles and continent. Thus far the genealogist Mac-Vurich, and Hugh Mac-Donald, in their manuscripts.

The next adjacent part to Slait, and joining it on the north side, is Strath; it is the property of the laird of Mac-Kinnon, head of an ancient tribe.

On the north-west side of Strath lies that part of Skie called Macleod's country, possessed by Macleod. Genealogists say he is lineally descended from Leod, son to the black prince of Man; he is head of an ancient tribe.

The barony of Troterness, on the north side of Skie, belongs to Sir Donald Mac-Donald; the proprietors and all the inhabitants are protestants, except twelve, who are Roman Catholics. The former observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Good-Friday, and that of St. Michael's. Upon the latter they have a cavalcade in each parish, and several families bake the cake called St. Michael's bannock.

#### *Boot.*

THE isle of Boot, being ten miles in length, lies on the west side of Cowal, from which it is separated by a narrow channel, in several parts not a mile broad. The north end of this isle is mountainous and heathy, being more designed for pasturage than cultivation: the mould is brown or black, and in some parts clayey; the ground yields a good produce of oats, barley, and pease: there is but little wood growing there, yet there is a coppice at the side of Loch-fad. The ground is arable from the middle to the southward, the heftic-stone is to be had in many parts of this isle; and there is a quarry of red stone near the town of Rosa, by which the fort there, and the chapel on its north side, have been built. Rothsay, the head town of the shire of Boot and Arran, lies on the east coast of Boot, and is one of the titles of the Prince of Scotland: King Robert III. created his son Duke of Rothsay, and steward of Scotland; and afterwards Queen Mary created the Lord Darnley Duke of Rothsay, before her marriage with him. This town is a very ancient royal borough, but thinly peopled, there not being above a hundred families in it, and they have no foreign trade. On the north side of Rothsay there is a very ancient ruinous fort, round in form, having a thick wall, and about three stories high, and passages round within the wall; it is surrounded with a wet ditch; it has a gate on the south, and a double gate on the east, and a bastion on each side the gate, and without these there is a draw-bridge, and the sea-flows within  
forty



forty yards of it. The fort is large enough for exercising a battalion of men; it has a chapel and several little houses within, and a large house of four stories-high fronting the eastern gate. The people here have a tradition, that this fort was built by King Rofa, who is said to have come to this isle before King Fergus I. The other forts are Down-Owle and Down-Allin, both on the west side.

The churches here are as follow: Kilmichel, Kil-Blain, and Kil-Chattan, in the south parish; and Lady-Kirk in Rothsay is the most northerly parish: all the inhabitants are protestants.

The natives here are not troubled with any epidemical disease: the small-pox visits them commonly once every sixth or seventh year. The oldest man now living in this isle is one Fleming, a weaver, in Rothsay; his neighbours told me that he could never ease nature at sea, who is ninety years of age. The inhabitants generally speak the English and Irish tongue, and wear the same habit with those of the other islands; they are very industrious fishers, especially for herring, for which use they are furnished with about eighty large boats: the tenants pay their rent with the profit of herrings, if they are to be had any where on the western coast.

The principal heretors here are Stuart of Boot, who is hereditary sheriff of this shire, and hath his seat in Rofa: Ballantine of Keams, whose seat is at the head of the bay of that name, and has an orchard by it: Stuart of Estick, whose seat has a park and orchard. And about a mile to the south of Rothsay, next lies two isles called Cumbray the Greater, and the Lesser; the former is within a league of Boot. This island has a chapel and a well, which the natives esteem a catholicon for all diseases. This isle is a mile in length, but the other isle is much less in compass. Both isles are the property of Montgomery of Skelmorly.

#### *Arran.*

THE name of this isle is by some derived from *arran*, which in the Irish language signifies bread: others think it comes more probably from *arin* or *arfyne*, which in their language is as much as the place of the giant Fin-Mac-Coul's slaughter or execution; for *aar* signifies slaughter, and so they will have *arin* only the contraction of *arrin* or *fin*. The received tradition of the great giant Fin-Mac-Coul's military valour, which he exercised upon the ancient natives here, seems to favour this conjecture; this they say is evident from the many stones set up in divers places of the isle, as monuments upon the graves of persons of note that were killed in battle. This isle is twenty-four miles from south to north, and seven miles from east to west: it lies between the isle of Boot and Kyntyre, in the opposite main land. The isle is high and mountainous, but slopes on each side round the coast, and the glen is only made use of for tillage. The mountains near Brodick-bay are of a considerable height; all the hills generally afford a good pasturage, though a great part of them be covered only with heath.

The mould here is of divers colours, being black and brown near the hills, and clayey and sandy upon the coast.

The natives told me that some places of the isle afford fullers earth. The coast on the east side is rocky near the shore; the stones on the coast, for some miles beneath Brodick, are all of a red colour, and of these the castle of Brodick is built. The natives say that the mountains near the castle of Brodick afford crystal, and that the Duchess of Hamilton put so great a value on it, as to be at the charge of cutting a necklace of it; which the inhabitants take as a great honour done them, because they have a great veneration for her Grace. There is no considerable woods here, but a few coppices, yet



that in the glen towards the west is above a mile in length. There are capacious fields of arable ground on each side Brodick-bay, as also on the opposite western coast. The largest and best field for pasturage is that on the south-west side.

Several rivers on each side this isle afford salmon, particularly the two rivers on the west called Mackir-side, and the two in Kirkmichel and Brodick-bay.

The air here is temperately cold and moist, which is in some measure qualified by the fresh breezes that blow from the hills; but the natives think a dram of strong-waters is a good corrective.

There are several caves on the coast of this isle: those on the west are pretty large, particularly that in Druim-cruey, a hundred men may sit or lie in it; it is contracted gradually from the floor upwards to the roof. In the upper end there is a large piece of rock formed like a pillar; there is engraven on it a deer, and underneath it a two-handed sword; there is a void space on each side this pillar.

The south side of the cave has a horse-shoe engraven on it. On each side the door there is a hole cut out, and that they say was for holding big trees, on which the cauldrons hang for boiling their beef and venison. The natives say that this was the cave in which Fin-Mac-Coul lodged during the time of his residence in this isle, and that his guards lay in the lesser caves, which are near this big one: there is a little cave joining to the largest, and this they call the cellar.

There is a cave some miles more southerly on the same coast, and they told me that the minister preached in it sometimes, in regard of its being more central than the parish church.

Several erected stones are to be seen on each side this isle: four of these are near Brodick-bay, about the distance of seventy yards from the river, and are seven feet high each. The highest of these stones that fell under my observation was on the south-side of Kirkmichel river, and is above fifteen feet high; there is a stone coffin near it, which has been filled with human bones, until of late that the river washed away the earth, and the bones that were in the coffin: Mac-Louis, who had seen them, says they were of no larger size than those of our own time. On the west side there are three stones erected in Baelliminich, and a fourth at some distance from these, about six feet high each. In the moor on the east side Druim-cruey there is a circle of stones, the area is about thirty paces; there is a stone of the same shape and kind about forty paces to the west of the circle: the natives say that this circle was made by the giant Fin-Mac-Coul, and that to the single stone, Bran, Fin-Mac-Coul's hunting-dog, was usually tied. About half a mile to the north side Baelliminich there are two stones erected, each of them eight feet high.

There is a circle of big stones a little to the south of Druim-cruey, the area of which is about twelve paces; there is a broad thin stone in the middle of this circle, supported by three lesser stones: the ancient inhabitants are reported to have burnt their sacrifices on the broad stone in time of heathenism.

There is a thin broad stone tapering towards the top, erected within a quarter of a mile of the sea, near Machir river, and is nine feet high; and at some little distance from the river there is a large cavern of stones.

There is an eminence of about a thousand paces in compass on the sea-coast in Druim-cruey village, and it is fenced about with a stone wall: of old it was a sanctuary, and whatever number of men or cattle could get within it were secured from the assaults of their enemies, the place being privileged by universal consent.

The only good harbour in this isle is Lamlass, which is in the south-east end of the isle of that name.

There



There is a great fishing of cod and whiting in and about this bay.

The whole isle is designed by nature more for pasturage than cultivation; the hills are generally covered all over with heath, and produce a mixture of the *erica-baccifera*, cat's-tail, and juniper, all which are very agreeable to the eye in the summer. The highest hills of this island are seen at a considerable distance from several parts of the continent and north-west isles, and they serve instead of a forest to maintain the deer, which are about four hundred in number, and they are carefully kept by a forester, to give sport to the Duke of Hamilton, or any of his family that go a hunting there; for if any of the natives happen to kill a deer without licence, which is not often granted, he is liable to a fine of twenty pounds Scots for each deer: and when they grow too numerous, the forester grants licences for killing a certain number of them, on condition they bring the skins to himself.

The cattle here are horses and cows of a middle size, and they have also sheep and goats. This isle affords the common sea and land fowls that are to be had in the western isles. The black cock is not allowed to be killed here without a licence; the transgressors are liable to a fine.

The castle of Brodick, on the north side of the bay of that name, stands on a plain, from which there is about four hundred paces of a gradual descent towards the sea.

This castle is built in a long form; from south to north there is a wall of two stories high, that encompasses the castle and tower: the space within the wall on the south side the castle is capable of mustering a battalion of men.

The castle is four stories high, and has a tower of great height joined to the north side, and that has a bastion close to it, to which a lower bastion is added. The south and west sides are surrounded with a broad wet ditch, but the east and north sides have a descent which will not admit of a wet ditch. The gate looks to the east. This castle is the Duke of Hamilton's seat, when his Grace or any of the family make their summer visit to this island. The bailiff or steward has his residence in this castle, and he has a deputation to act with full power to levy the rents, give leases of the lands, and hold courts of justice.

There is another castle belonging to the Duke in the north side of the isle, at the head of Loch-Kenistil, in which there is a harbour for barks and boats. The isle of Arran is the Duke of Hamilton's property (a very small part excepted); it lies in the sheriffdom of Boot, and made part of the diocese of Argyle.

The inhabitants of this island are composed of several tribes. The most ancient family among them is by the natives reckoned to be Mac-Louis, which in the ancient language signifies the son of Lewis: they own themselves to be descended of French parentage, their surname in English is Fullerton, and their title Kirk-Michell, the place of their residence. If tradition be true, this little family is said to be of seven hundred years standing. The present possessor obliged me with the sight of his old and new charters, by which he is one of the King's coroners within this island, and as such, he hath a halbert peculiar to his office; he has his right of late from the family of Hamilton, wherein his title and perquisites of coroner are confirmed to him and his heirs. He is obliged to have three men to attend him upon all public emergencies, and he is bound by his office to pursue all malefactors, and to deliver them to the steward, or in his absence to the next judge. And if any of the inhabitants refuse to pay their rents at the usual term, the coroner is bound to take him personally, or to seize his goods. And if it should happen that the coroner with his retinue of three men is not sufficient to put his office in execution, then he summons all the inhabitants to concur with him; and immediately they rendezvous to the place, where he fixes his coroner's staff. The perquisites



quifites due to the coroner are a firlet or bufhel of oats, and a lamb from every village in the ifle; both which are punctually paid him at the ordinary terms.

The inhabitants of this ifle are well proportioned, generally brown, and fome of a black complexion: they enjoy a good ftate of health, and have a genius for all callings or employments, though they have but few mechanicks: they wear the fame habit with thofe of the neareft ifles, and are very civil; they all fpeak the Irifh language, yet the Englifh tongue prevails on the eaft fide, and ordinarily the minifters preach in it, and in Irifh on the weft fide. Their ordinary afseveration is by Nale, for I did not hear any oath in the ifland.

*The Churches in this Ifle are,*

Kilbride in the fouth-eaft, Kilmore in the fouth, Cabel-Uual a chapel, Kilmichel in the village of that name, St. James's church at the north end.

The natives are all protestants, they obferve the festivals of Chriftnas, Good-Friday, and Eaſter. I had like to have forgot a valuable curioſity in this ifle, which they call *baul muluy*, i. e. *molingus* his ſtone globe: this ſaint was chaplain to Mac-donald of the ifles; his name is celebrated here on the account of this globe, ſo much eſteemed by the inhabitants. This ſtone for its intrinsic value has been carefully tranſmitted to poſterity for ſeveral ages. It is a green ſtone much like a globe in figure, about the bignefs of a gooſe egg.

The virtue of it is to remove ſitches from the ſides of ſick perſons, by laying it cloſe to the place affected; and if the patient does not out-live the diſtemper, they ſay the ſtone removes out of the bed of its own accord, and *ẽ contra*. The natives uſe this ſtone for ſwearing decifive oaths upon it.

They aſcribe another extraordinary virtue to it, and it is this: the credulous vulgar firmly believe that if this ſtone is caſt among the front of an enemy, they will all run away; and that as often as the enemy rallies, if this ſtone is caſt among them, they ſtill loſe courage, and retire. They ſay that Mac-donald of the ifles carried this ſtone about him, and that victory was always on his ſide when he threw it among the enemy. The cuſtody of this globe is the peculiar privilege of a little family called Clan-chattons, *alias* Mac-intosh; they were ancient followers of Mac-donald of the ifles. This ſtone is now in the cuſtody of Margaret Miller, *alias* Mac-intosh: ſhe lives in Baellmianich, and preſerves the globe with abundance of care; it is wrapped up in fair linen cloth, and about that there is a piece of woollen cloth, and ſhe keeps it ſtill locked up in her cheſt, when it is not given out to exert its qualities.

*Iſleſay,*

IS a big rock, about fix leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Arran; it riſes in form of a fugar-loaf, but the top is plain, and large enough for drawing up a thouſand men in ranks: there is a freſh water lake in the middle of the plain, the whole ifle is covered with long graſs, and is inacceſſible, except on the ſouth-weſt ſide, by a ſtair cut out in the rock; in the middle of it there is a ſmall tower of three ſtories high with the top. There is a freſh water ſpring iſſuing out of the ſide of this great rock; below the entry there is a place where the fiſhers take up their reſidence during their ſtay about this rock in queſt of cod and ling; and there is a good anchorage for their veſſels, very near their tents.

This



This rock in the summer time abounds with variety of sea-fowl; that build and hatch in it. The Solan geese and culterneb are most numerous here; the latter are by the fishers called *Albanich*, which in the ancient Irish language signifies Scotsmen.

The isle hath a chapel on the top called Fiunnáy, and an ancient pavement, or causeway.

Islesay is the Earl of Cassil's property, the tenant who farms it pays him one hundred merks Scots yearly; the product of the isle is hogs, fowl, down, and fish. The isle Avon, above a mile in circumference, lies to the south of Kintyre Mule; it hath a harbour for barks on the north.

### *The Isle Gigay.*

THE isle Gigay lies about a league from Lergie on the west side of Kintyre; it is four miles in length, and one in breadth, was formerly in the diocese, and is still part of the sheriffdom of Argyle. This isle is for the most part arable; but rocky in other parts: the mold is brown and clayey, inclining to red; it is good for pasturage and cultivation. The corn growing here is oats and barley. The cattle bred here are cows, horses, and sheep. There is a church in this island called Kil-chattan, it has an altar in the east-end, and upon it a font of stone which is very large, and hath a small hole in the middle which goes quite through it. There are several tomb-stones in and about this church; the family of the Mac-neils, the principal possessors of this isle, are buried under the tomb-stones on the east side the church, where there is a plat of ground set apart for them. Most of all the tombs have a two handed sword engraven on them, and there is one that has the representation of a man upon it.

Near the west side the church there is a stone of about sixteen feet high, and four broad, erected upon the eminence. About sixty yards distance from the chapel there is a square stone erected about ten feet high; at this the ancient inhabitants bowed, because it was there where they had the first view of the church.

There is a cross four feet high at a little distance, and a cavern of stone on each side of it.

This isle affords no wood of any kind, but a few bushes of juniper on the little hills. The stones, upon which the scurf corkir grows, which dyes a crimson colour, are found here; as also those that produce the crottill, which dyes a philamot colour. Some of the natives told me that they used to chew nettles, and hold them to their nostrils to stanch bleeding at the nose; and that nettles being applied to the place, would also stop bleeding at a vein, or otherwise.

There is a well in the north end of this isle called Toubir-more, *i. e.* a great well, because of its effects, for which it is famous among the islanders; who together with the inhabitants use it as a catholicon for diseases. It is covered with stone and clay, because the natives fancy that the stream that flows from it might overflow the isle; and it is always opened by a Diroch, *i. e.* an inmate, else they think it would not exert its virtues. They ascribe one very extraordinary effect to it, and it is this; that when any foreign boats are wind bound here (which often happens) the master of the boat ordinarily gives the native that lets the water run, a piece of money; and they say, that immediately afterwards the wind changes in favour of those that are thus detained by contrary winds. Every stranger that goes to drink of the water of this well, is accustomed to leave on its stone cover a piece of money, a needle, pin, or one of the prettiest variegated stones they can find.



The inhabitants are all protestants, and speak the Irish tongue generally, there being but few that speak English: they are grave and reserved in their conversation; they are accustomed not to bury on Friday; they are fair or brown in complexion, and use the same habit, diet, &c. that is made use of in the adjacent continent and isles. There is only one inn in this isle.

The isle Caray lies a quarter of a mile south from Gigay; it is about a mile in compass, affords good pasturage, and abounds with coney. There is a harbour for barks on the north-east end of it. This island is the property of Mac-Alester of Lergy, a family of the Macdonalds.

### *Jurah.*

THE isle of Jurah is, by a narrow channel of about half a mile broad, separated from Ila. The natives say that Jurah is so called from Dih and Rah, two brethren, who are believed to have been Danes: the names Dih and Rah signifying as much as without grace or prosperity. Tradition says, that these two brethren fought and killed one another in the village Knock-Cronm, where there are two stones erected of seven feet high each, and under them, they say, there are urns with the ashes of the two brothers; the distance between them is about sixty yards. The isle is mountainous along the middle, where there are four hills of a considerable height; the two highest are well known to sea-faring men, by the name of the Paps of Jurah: they are very conspicuous from all quarters of sea and land in those parts.

This isle is twenty-four miles long, and in some places six or seven miles in breadth; it is the Duke of Argyle's property, and part of the sheriffdom of Argyle.

The mold is brown and greyish on the coast, and black in the hills, which are covered with heath, and some grass, that proves good pasturage for their cattle, which are horses, cows, sheep, and goats. There is variety of land and water-fowl here. The hills ordinarily have about three hundred deer grazing on them, which are not to be hunted by any, without the steward's licence. This isle is perhaps the wholesomest plat of ground either in the isles or continent of Scotland, as appears by the long life of the natives, and their state of health; to which the height of the hills is believed to contribute in a large measure, by the fresh breezes of wind that come from them to purify the air: whereas Ilay and Gigay on each side this isle, are much lower, and are not so wholesome by far, being liable to several diseases that are not here. The inhabitants observe, that the air of this place is perfectly pure, from the middle of March till the end or middle of September. There is no epidemical disease that prevails here: fevers are but seldom observed by the natives, and any kind of flux is rare; the gout and agues are not so much as known by them, neither are they liable to sciatica. Convulsions, vapours, palsies, surfeits, lethargies, megrims, consumptions, rickets, pains of the stomach, or coughs, are not frequent here, and none of them are at any time observed to become mad. I was told by several of the natives, that there was not one woman died of child-bearing there these thirty-four years past. Blood-letting and purging are not used here.

If any contract a cough, they use brochan only to remove it. If after a fever one chance to be taken ill of a stitch, they take a quantity of lady-wrack, and half as much of red-fog, and boil them in water; the patients sit upon the vessel, and receive the fume, which by experience they find effectual against this distemper. Fevers and the diarrheas are found here only when the air is foggy and warm, in winter or summer.



The inhabitants for their diet make use of beef and mutton in the winter and spring ; as also of fish, butter, chœse, and milk. The vulgar take brochan frequently for their diet during the winter and spring ; and brochan and bread used for the space of two days, restores lost appetite.

The women of all ranks eat a lesser quantity of food than the men : this and their not wearing any thing strait about them, is believed to contribute much to the health both of the mothers and children.

There are several fountains of excellent water in this isle : the most celebrated of them is that of the mountain Beinbrek in the Tarbat, called Toubir ni Lechkin, that is, the well in a stony descent ; it runs easterly, and they commonly reckon it to be lighter by one half than any other water in this isle : for though one drink a great quantity of it at a time, the belly is not swelled, or any ways burdened by it. Natives and strangers find it efficacious against nauſeousness of the stomach, and the stone. The river Niffa receives all the water that issues from the well, and this is the reason they give why salmon here are in goodness and taste far above those of any other river whatever. The river of Crockbreck affords salmon also, but they are not esteemed so good as those of the river Niffa.

Several of the natives have lived to a great age : I was told that one of them, called Gillour Mac-crain, lived to have kept one hundred and eighty Christmasses in his own house ; he died about fifty years ago, and there are several of his acquaintance living to this day, from whom I had this account.

Bailiff Campbell lived to the age of one hundred and six years, he died three years ago, he passed the thirty-three last years before his death in this isle. Donald Mac N'Mill, who lives in the village of Killearn at present, is arrived at the age of ninety years.

A woman of the isle of Scorba, near the north end of this isle, lived sevenscore years, and enjoyed the free use of her senses and understanding all her days : it is now two years since she died.

There is a large cave, called King's Cave, on the west side of the Tarbat, near the sea ; there is a well at the entry, which renders it the more convenient for such as may have occasion to lodge in it.

About two miles further from the Tarbat, there is a cave at Corpich which hath an altar in it ; there are many small pieces of petrified substance hanging from the roof of this cave.

There is a place where vessels use to anchor on the west side of this island called Whitfarlan, about one hundred yards north from the porter's house.

About four leagues south from the north end of this isle, lies the bay Da'l Yaul, which is about half a mile in length ; there is a rock on the north side of the entry, which they say is five fathom deep, and but three fathom within.

About a league further to the south on the same coast, lies the small isles of Jurah, within which, there is a good anchoring place ; the south entry is the best : island Nin Gowir must be kept on the left hand ; it is easily distinguished by its bigness from the rest of the isles. Conney isle lies to the north of this island. There are black and white spotted serpents in this isle ; their head being applied to the wound, is by the natives used as the best remedy for their poison. Within a mile of the Tarbat there is a stone erected about eight feet high. Loch-Tarbat on the west side runs easterly for about five miles, but is not a harbour for vessels, or lesser boats, for it is altogether rocky.

The shore on the west side affords coral and coraline. There is a sort of dulse growing on this coast, of a white colour.



Between the north end of Jurah, and the isle Scarba, lies the famous and dangerous gulph, called Cory Vrekan, about a mile in breadth; it yields an impetuous current, not to be matched any where about the isle of Britain. The sea begins to boil and ferment with the tide of flood, and resembles the boiling of a pot; and then increases gradually, until it appear in many whirlpools, which form themselves in sort of pyramids, and immediately after spout up as high as the mast of the little vessel, and at the same time make a loud report. These white waves run two leagues with the wind before they break: the sea continues to repeat these various motions from the beginning of the tide of flood, until it is more than half flood, and then it decreases gradually until it hath ebbed about half an hour, and continues to boil till it is within an hour of low water. This boiling of the sea is not above a pistol-shot distant from the coast of Scarba Isle, where the white waves meet and spout up: they call it the Kaillach, *i. e.* an old hag; and they say that when she puts on her herchief, *i. e.* the whitest waves, it is then reckoned fatal to approach her. Notwithstanding this great ferment of the sea, which brings up the least shell from the ground, the smallest fisher boat may venture to cross this gulph at the last hour of the tide of flood, and at the last hour of the tide of ebb.

This gulph hath its name from Brekan, said to be son to the King of Denmark, who was drowned here, cast ashore in the north of Jurah, and buried in a cave, as appears from the tomb stone and altar there.

The natives told me, that about three years ago an English vessel happened inadvertently to pass through this gulph at the time when the sea began to boil: the whiteness of the waves, and their spouting up, was like the breaking of the sea upon a rock; they found themselves attracted irresistibly to the white rock, as they then supposed it to be: this quickly obliged them to consult their safety, and so they betook themselves to the small boat with all speed, and thought it no small happiness to land safe in Jurah, committing the vessel under all her sails to the uncertain conduct of tide and wind. She was driven to the opposite continent of Knapdale, where she no sooner arrived, than the tide and wind became contrary to one another, and so the vessel was cast into a creek, where she was safe; and then the master and crew were by the natives of this isle conducted to her, where they found her as safe as they left her, though all her sails were still hoisted.

The natives gave me an account, that some years ago a vessel had brought some rats hither, which increased so much, that they became very uneasy to the people, but on a sudden they all vanished; and now there is not one of them in the isle.

There is a church here called Killearn, the inhabitants are all protestants, and observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Michaelmas; they do not open a grave on Friday, and bury none on that day, except the grave has been opened before.

The natives here are very well proportioned, being generally black of complexion, and free from bodily imperfections. They speak the Irish language, and wear the plaid, bonnet, &c. as other islanders.

The isle of Ila lies to the west of Jurah, from which it is separated by a narrow channel: it is twenty-four miles in length from south to north, and eighteen from east to west; there are some little mountains about the middle on the east side. The coast is for the most part heathy and uneven, and by consequence not proper for tillage; the north end is also full of heaths and hills. The south-west and west is pretty well cultivated, and there is six miles between Kilrow on the west, and Port Escok in the east, which is arable, and well inhabited. There is about one thousand little hills on this road, and all abound with lime-stone; among which there is lately discovered a lead



mine in three different places, but it has not turned to any account as yet. The corn growing here is barley and oats.

There is only one harbour in this isle, called Loch-Dale; it lies near the north end, and is of a great length and breadth; but the depth being in the middle, few vessels come within half a league of the land-side.

There are several rivers in this isle affording salmon. The fresh-water lakes are well stocked with trouts, eels, and some with salmon; as Loch-Guirm, which is four miles in circumference, and hath several forts built on an island that lies in it.

Loch-Finlagan, about three miles in circumference, affords salmon, trouts, and eels: this lake lies in the center of the isle. The isle Finlagan, from which this lake hath its name, is in it. It is famous for being once the court in which the great Mac-Donald, king of the isles, had his residence; his houses, chapel, &c. are now ruinous. His guards *de corps*, called Lucht-tach, kept guard on the lake-side nearest to the isle; the walls of their houses are still to be seen there.

The high court of judicature, consisting of fourteen, sat always here; and there was an appeal to them from all the courts in the isles: the eleventh share of the sum in debate was due to the principal judge. There was a big stone of seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Mac-Donald; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing in this stone, and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hand. The bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him King, in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the isles and continent, and were his vassals: at which time the orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors, &c.

There are several forts built in the isles that are in fresh-water lakes, as in Ilan Lochguirn, and Ilan Viceain: there is a fort called Dunnivag, in the south-west side of the isle, and there are several caves in different places of it. The largest that I saw was in the north end, and is called Vah Vearnag; it will contain two hundred men to stand or sit in it. There is a kiln for drying corn made on the east side of it; and on the other side there is a wall built close to the side of the cave, which was used for a bed-chamber: it had a fire on the floor, and some chairs about it, and the bed stood close to the wall. There is a stone without the cave-door, about which the common people make a tour sunways.

A mile on the south-west side of the cave is the celebrated well, called Tonbir in Knahar, which in the antient language is as much as to say, the well that sallied from one place to another: for it is a received tradition among the vulgar inhabitants of this isle, and the opposite isle of Collonsay, that this well was first in Collonsay, until an imprudent woman happened to wash her hands in it, and that immediately after, the well being thus abused, came in an instant to Ila, where it is like to continue, and is ever since esteemed a catholicon for diseases by the natives and adjacent islanders; and the great resort to it is commonly every quarter-day.

It is common with sick people to make a vow to come to the well, and, after drinking, they make a tour sunways round it, and then leave an offering of some small token, such as a pin, needle, farthing, or the like, on the stone cover which is above the well. But if the patient is not like to recover, they send a proxy to the well, who acts as above-mentioned, and carries home some of the water to be drank by the sick person.

There is a little chapel beside this well, to which such as had found the benefit of the water, came back and returned thanks to God for their recovery.



There are several rivers on each side this isle, that afford salmon: I was told by the natives, that the Brion of Ila, a famous judge, is, according to his own desire, buried standing on the brink of the river Laggan; having in his right hand a spear, such as they use to dart at the salmon.

There are some isles on the coast of this island, as Island Texa, on the south-west, about a mile in circumference; and Island Ouirfa, a mile likewise in circumference, with the small isle called Nave.

*The Names of the Churches in this Isle are as follow:*

Kil-Chollim Kill, St. Columbus his church, near Port Escock, Kil-Chovan in the Rins, on the west side the isle; Kil-Chiaran in Rins, on the west side Nerbols in the Rins, St. Columbus his church in Laggan, a chapel in Island Nave, and Killhan Alen, north-west of Kidrow. There is a cross standing near St. Columbus's, or Port Escock side, which is ten feet high. There are two stones set up at the east side of Loch-Finlagan, and they are six feet high; all the inhabitants are protestants; some among them observe the festivals of Christmas and Good-Friday. They are well proportioned, and indifferently healthful; the air here is not near so good as that of Jura, from which it is but a short mile distant; but Ila is lower and more marshy, which makes it liable to several diseases that do not trouble those of Jura. They generally speak the Irish tongue, all those of the best rank speak English; they use the same habit and diet with those of Jura. This isle is annexed to the crown of Scotland; Sir Hugh Campbell of Caddel is the king's steward there, and has one half of the island. This isle is reckoned the furthest west of all the isles in Britain: there is a village on the west coast of it called Cul, *i. e.* the back part; and the natives say that it was so called, because the ancients thought it the back of the world, as being the remotest part on that side of it. The natives of Ila, Collonsay, and Jura say, that there is an island lying to the south-west of these isles, about the distance of a day's sailing, for which they have only a bare tradition. Mr. Mack Swen, present minister in the isle Jura, gave me the following account of it, which he had from the master of an English vessel that happened to anchor at that little isle, and came afterwards to Jura; which is thus:

As I was sailing some thirty leagues to the south west of Ila, I was becalmed near a little isle, where I dropt anchor, and went ashore. I found it covered all over with long grass; there were abundance of seals lying on the rocks, and on the shore; there is likewise a multitude of sea-fowls in it: there is a river in the middle, and on each side of it I found great heaps of fish-bones of many sorts; there are many planks and boards cast up upon the coast of the isle, and it being all plain, and almost level with the sea, I caused my men (being then idle) to erect a heap of the wood about two stories high; and that with a design to make the island more conspicuous to sea-faring men. This isle is four English miles in length and one in breadth: I was about thirteen hours sailing between this isle and Jura. Mr. John Mac-Swen above-mentioned, having gone to the isle of Collonsay, some few days after, was told by the inhabitants, that from an eminence near the monastery, in a fair day, they saw as it were the top of a little mountain in the south-west sea, and that they doubted not but it was land, though they never observed it before. Mr. Mac-Swen was confirmed in this opinion by the account above mentioned: but when the summer was over, they never saw this little hill, as they called it, any more. The reason of which is supposed to be this, that the high winds, in all probability, had cast down the pile of wood, that forty  
seamen



seamen had erected the preceding year in that island ; which, by reason of the description above recited, we may aptly enough call the Green Island.

*The Isle of Collonsay.*

ABOUT two leagues to the north of Ila, lies the isle Oransay ; it is separated from Collonsay only at the tide of flood : this peninsula is four miles in circumference, being for the most part a plain, arable, dry, sandy soil ; and is fruitful in corn and grass ; it is likewise adorned with a church, chapel, and monastery ; they were built by the famous St. Columbus, to whom the church is dedicated. There is an altar in this church, and there has been a modern crucifix on it, in which several precious stones were fixed ; the most valuable of these is now in the custody of Mac Duffie, in black Raimufed village, and it is used as a catholicon for diseases : there are several burying-places here, and the tomb-stones for the most part have a two-handed sword engraven on them. On the south side of the church within, lie the tombs of Mac-Duffie, and of the cadets of his family ; there is a ship under sail, and a two-handed sword engraven on the principal tomb-stone, and this inscription, *Hic jacit Malcolmus Mac-Duffie de Collonsay* : his coat of arms and colour-staff is fixed in a stone, through which a hole is made to hold it. There is a cross at the east and west sides of this church, which are now broken ; their height was about twelve feet each : there is a large cross on the west side of the church, of an entire stone, very hard ; there is a pedestal of three steps, by which they ascend to it, it is sixteen feet high, and a foot and half broad ; there is a large crucifix on the west side of this cross, it has an inscription underneath, but not legible, being almost worn off by the injury of time ; the other side has a tree engraven on it.

About a quarter of a mile on the south side of the church there is a cairne, in which there is a stone cross fixed, called Mac-Duffie's cross ; for when any of the heads of this family were to be interred, their corpses were laid on this cross for some moments, in their way toward the church.

On the north-side of the church there is a square stone-wall, about two story high ; the area of it is about fourscore paces, and it is joined to the church-wall ; within this square there is a lesser square of one story high, and about sixty paces wide, three sides of it are built of small pillars, consisting of two thin stones each, and each pillar vaulted above with two thin stones tapering upwards. There are inscriptions on two of the pillars, but few of the letters are perfect. There are several houses without the square, which the monks lived in. There is a garden at twenty yards distance on the north side the houses.

The natives of Collonsay are accustomed, after their arrival in Oransay isle, to make a tour sunways about the church, before they enter upon any kind of business. My landlord having one of his family sick of a fever, asked my book, as a singular favour, for a few moments. I was not a little surpris'd at the honest man's request, he being illiterate : and when he told me the reason of it, I was no less amazed, for it was to fan the patient's face with the leaves of the book : and this he did at night. He sought the book next morning, and again in the evening, and then thanked me for so great a favour : and told me, the sick person was much better by it ; and thus I understood that they had an ancient custom of fanning the face of the sick with the leaves of the Bible.

The isle of Collonsay is four miles in length from east to west, and above a mile in breadth. The mould is brown and sandy on the coast, and affords but a very small product, though they plough their ground three times ; the middle is rocky and heathy, which



which in most places is prettily mingled with thick ever-greens of *erica-baccifera*, juniper, and cat's-tail.

The cattle bred here are cows, horses, and sheep all of a low size. The inhabitants are generally well proportioned, and of a black complexion; they speak only the Irish tongue, and use the habit, diet, &c. that is used in the Western Isles; they are all protestants, and observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Good-Friday; but the women only observe the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. Kilouran is the principal church in this isle, and the village in which this church is, hath its name from it. There are two ruinous chapels in the south side of this isle. There were two stone chests found lately in Kilouran sands, which were composed of five stones each, and had human bones in them. There are some fresh-water lakes abounding with trouts in this isle. There are likewise several forts here, one of which is called Duncoll: it is near the middle of the isle, it hath large stones in it, and the wall is seven feet broad.

The other fort is called Dun-Evan: the natives have a tradition among them, of a very little generation of people, that lived once here, called Lusbirdan, the same with pigmies. This isle is the Duke of Argyle's property.

#### Mull.

THE isle of Mull lies on the west coast, opposite to Lochaber, Swoonard, and Mòydart. It is divided from these by a narrow channel, not exceeding half a league in breadth; the isle is twenty-four miles long from south to north, and as many in breadth from east to west. A south-east moon causes high tide here. This isle is in the sheriffdom of Argyle; the air here is temperately cold and moist; the fresh breezes that blow from the mountains do in some measure qualify it: the natives are accustomed to take a large dose of *aquavita* as a corrective, when the season is very moist, and then they are very careful to chew a piece of charmel-root, finding it to be aromatic, especially when they intend to have a drinking-bout; for they say this in some measure prevents drunkenness.

The mould is generally black and brown, both in the hills and valleys, and in some parts a clay of different colours. The heaths afford abundance of turf and peats, which serve the natives for good fuel. There is a great ridge of mountains about the middle of the isle, one of them very high, and therefore called *Bein Vore*, i. e. a great mountain. It is to be seen from all the Western Isles, and a considerable part of the continent. Both mountains and valleys afford good pasturage for all sorts of cattle, as sheep, goats, and deer, which herd among the hills and bushes. The horses are but of a low size, yet very sprightly; their black cattle are likewise low in size, but their flesh is very delicious and fine. There is abundance of wild fowl in the hills and valleys; and among them the black cock, heath-hen, ptarmigan, and very fine hawks: the sea-coast affords all such fowl as are to be had in the Western Isles. The corn growing here is only barley and oats. There is great variety of plants in the hills and valleys, but there is no wood here, except a few coppices on the coast. There are some bays, and places for anchorage about the isle. The bay of Duart on the east side, and to the north of the castle of that name, is reckoned a safe anchoring-place, and frequented by strangers. Lochbuy, on the opposite west side, is but an indifferent harbour, yet vessels go into it for herrings.

The coast on the west abounds with rocks for two leagues west and south-west. The Bloody Bay is over against the north end of island Columkil, and only fit for vessels of about an hundred tons.

Some



Some few miles further to the north east is Loch-Levin, the entry lies to the westward, and goes twelve miles easterly; there are herrings to be had in it sometimes, and it abounds with oysters, cockles, muscles, clams, &c.

Loch-lay lies on the south side of Loch-Levin; it is proper only for small vessels; herrings are to be had in it sometimes, and it abounds with variety of shell fish: the small isles, called the White Isle, and Isle of Kids, are within this bay. To the north of Loch-Levin lies Loch-Scafford; it enters south-west, and runs north-east; within it lie the isles Eorfa and Inchkenneth, both which are reputed very fruitful in cattle and corn.

There is a little chapel in this isle, in which many of the inhabitants of all ranks are buried. Upon the north side of Loch-Scafford lies the isle of Vevay; it is three miles in circumference, and encompassed with rocks and shelves, but fruitful in corn, grafs, &c.

To the west of Ulva lies the isle Gometra, a mile in circumference, and fruitful in proportion to the other isles.

About four miles further lie the small isles, called Kairnburg More and Kernbug-Beg; they are naturally very strong, faced all round with a rock, having a narrow entry, and a violent current of a tide on each side, so that they are almost impregnable. A very few men are able to defend these two forts against a thousand. There is a small garrison of the standing forces in them at present.

To the south of these forts lie the small isles of Fladday, Lungay, Back, and the Call of the Back: cod and ling are to be had plentifully about all these islands.

Near to the north-east end of Mull lies the isle Calve; it is above two miles in compass, has a coppice, and affords good pasturage for all kind of cattle. Between this isle and the isle of Mull there is a capacious and excellent bay, called *Tonbir Mory*, i. e. the Virgin Mary's well; because the water of a well of that name, which is said to be medicinal, runs into the bay.

One of the ships of the Spanish armada, called the Florida, perished in this bay, having been blown up by one Smallet of Dunbarton, in the year 1588. There was a great sum of gold and money on board the ship, which disposed the Earl of Argyle and some Englishmen to attempt the recovery of it; but how far the latter succeeded in this enterprize is not generally well known; only that some pieces of gold and money, and a golden chain was taken out of her. I have seen some fine brass cannon, some pieces of eight, teeth, beads, and pins that had been taken out of that ship. Several of the inhabitants of Mull told me that they had conversed with their relations that were living at the harbour when this ship was blown up; and they gave an account of an admirable providence that appeared in the preservation of one Dr. Beaton, (the famous physician of Mull,) who was on board the ship when she blew up, and was then sitting on the upper deck, which was blown up entire, and thrown a good way off; yet the Doctor was saved, and lived several years after.

The black and white Indian nuts are found on the west side of this isle; the natives pulverize the black kernel, or the black nut, and drink it in boiled milk for curing the diarrhea.

There are several rivers in the isle that afford salmon, and some rivers abound with the black muscle that breeds pearl. There are also some fresh-water lakes that have trouts and eels. The whole isle is very well watered with many springs and fountains. They told me of a spring in the south side of the mountain Bein Vore, that has a yellow coloured stone at the bottom, which doth not burn or become hot, though it should be kept in the fire for a whole day together.



The *amphibia* in this isle are seals, otters, vipers, of the same kind as those described in the isle of Skie, and the natives use the same cures for the biting of vipers. Foxes abound in this isle, and do much hurt among the lambs and kids.

There are three castles in the isle: to wit, the castle of Duart, situated on the east, built upon a rock, the east side is furrounded by the sea. This was the seat of Sir John Mac-Lean, head of the ancient family of the Mac-Leans; and is now, together with the estate, which was the major part of the island, become the Duke of Argyle's property, by the forfeiture of Sir John.

Some miles further on the west coast stands the castle of Moy, at the head of Lochbuy, and is the seat of Mac-Lean of Lochbuy.

There is an old castle at Aros in the middle of the island, now in ruins. There are some old forts here called Dunns, supposed to have been built by the Danes. There are two parish-churches in the isle, viz. Killinchen Benorth, Loch-Levin, and a little chapel, called Kilwichk-Ewin, at the lake above Loch-Lay; each parish hath a minister. The inhabitants are all Protestants except two or three, who are Roman Catholics; they observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Good-Friday, and St. Michael's. They speak the Irish language generally; but those of the best rank speak English; they wear the same habit as the rest of the islanders.

#### Jona.

THIS isle in the Irish language is called *I. Colmkil*, i. e. the isthmus of Columbus the clergyman. Colum was his proper name, and the addition of Kil, which signifies a church, was added by the islanders by way of excellence; for there were few churches then in the remote and lesser isles.

The natives have a tradition among them, that one of the clergymen who accompanied Columbus in his voyage thither, having at a good distance espied the isle, and cried joyfully to Columbus in the Irish language, *Chi mi*, i. e. I see her; meaning thereby the country of which they had been in quest: that Columbus then answered, "It shall be from henceforth called *I*."

The isle is two miles long from south to north, and one in breadth from east to west. The east side is all arable and plain, fruitful in corn and grass; the west side is high and rocky.

This isle was anciently a seminary of learning, famous for the severe discipline and sanctity of Columbus. He built two churches, and two monasteries in it, one for men, the other for women; which were endowed by the kings of Scotland and of the isles; so that the revenues of the church then amounted to four thousand marks per ann. Jona was the bishop of the isles' cathedral, after the Scots lost the Isle of Man, in which King Cratilinth erected a church to the honour of our Saviour, called *Fanum Sodorense*. Hence it was that bishop of the isles was styled *Episcopus Sodorensis*. The vicar of Jona was parson of Soroby in Tyre-iy and dean of the isles. St. Mary's church here is built in form of a cross, the choir twenty yards long, the cupola twenty-one feet square, the body of the church of equal length with the choir, and the two cross isles half that length. There are two chapels on each side of the choir, the entry to them opens with large pillars neatly carved in *basso relievo*; the steeple is pretty large, the doors, windows, &c. are curiously carved; the altar is large, and of as fine marble as any I ever saw. There are several abbots buried within the church; Mac-Ilkenich his statue is done in black marble, as big as the life, in his episcopal habit, with a mitre, crozier, ring, and stones along the breast, &c. The rest of the abbots are done after the same manner; the inscription of one tomb is as follows:

Hic



*Hic jacet Joannes Mack-Fingone, abbas de Oui, qui obiit anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo.*

Bishop Knox, and several persons of distinction, as Mac-Leod of Harries, have also been buried here.

There is the ruins of a cloister behind the church, as also of a library, and under it a large room; the natives say it was a place for public disputations.

There is a heap of stones without the church, under which Mackean of Ardmur-chin lies buried. There is an empty piece of ground between the church and the gardens, in which murderers, and children that died before baptism, were buried. Near to the west end of the church in a little cell lies Columbus' tomb, but without inscription; this gave me occasion to cite the distich, asserting that Columbus was buried in Ireland; at which the natives of Jona seemed very much displeased, and affirmed that the Irish who said so were impudent liars; that Columbus was once buried in this place, and that none ever came from Ireland since to carry away his corpse, which they had attempted, would have proved equally vain and presumptuous.

Near St. Columbus' tomb is St. Martin's cross, an entire stone of eight feet high; it is a very hard and red stone, with a mixture of grey in it. On the west side of the cross is engraven a large crucifix, and on the east a tree; it stands on a pedestal of the same kind of stone. At a little further distance is Dun Ni Manich, i. e. Monk's fort, built of stone and lime, in form of a bastion, pretty high. From this eminence the monks had a view of all the families in the isle, and at the same time enjoyed the free air. A little further to the west lie the black stones, which are so called, not from their colour, for that is grey, but from the effects that tradition say ensued upon perjury, if any one became guilty of it after swearing on these stones in the usual manner; for an oath made on them was decisive in all controversies.

Mac-Donald, king of the isles, delivered the rights of their lands to his vassals in the isles and continent, with uplifted hands and bended knees, on the black stones; and in this posture, before many witnesses, he solemnly swore that he would never recall those rights which he then granted: and this was instead of his great seal. Hence it is that when one was certain of what he affirmed, he said positively, I have freedom to swear this matter upon the black stones.

On the south side the gate, without the church, is the taylor's house, for they only wrought in it. The natives say, that in the time of the plague the outer gate was quite shut up, and that all provisions were thrown in through a hole in the gate for that purpose.

At some distance south from St. Mary's is St. Ouran's church, commonly called *Reliqui Ouran*; the saint of that name is buried within it.

The laird of Mac-Kinnon has a tomb within this church, which is the stateliest tomb in the isle. On the wall above the tomb there is a crucifix engraven, having the arms of the family underneath, viz. a boar's head, with a couple of sheep's bones in its jaws. The tomb-stone has a statue as big as the life, all in armour, and upon it a ship under sail, a lion at the head, and another at the feet. The inscription on the tomb is thus: *Hic est Abbas Lachlani, Mack-Fingone, et ejus filius Abbatis de I. Etatis in Dno M<sup>o</sup> cccc ann.*

There are other persons of distinction in the church, all done in armour.

On the south side of the church, mentioned above, is the burial-place in which the kings and chiefs of tribes are buried, and over them a shrine; there was an inscription, giving an account of each particular tomb, but time has worn them off. The middle-



most had written on it, "The tombs of the Kings of Scotland;" of which forty-eight lie there.

Upon that on the right hand was written, "The tombs of the Kings of Ireland;" of which four were buried here.

And upon that on the left hand was written, "The Kings of Norway;" of which eight were buried here.

On the right hand within the entry to the church-yard there is a tomb-stone now overgrown with earth, and upon it there is written, *Hic jacet Joannes Turnbull, quondam episcopus Cantaburiensis*. This I deliver upon the authority of Mr. Jo. Mac-Swen, minister of Jura, who says he read it.

Next to the kings is the tomb-stone of Mac-Donald of Ila; the arms, a ship with hoisted sails, a standard, four lions, and a tree: the inscription, *Hic jacet corpus Angusii Mack-Donuill de Ile*.

In the west end is the tombs of Gilbrid and Paul Sporrán, ancient tribes of the Mac-Donalds.

The families of Mac-Lean of Duart, Lochbuy, and Coll, lie next all in armour, as big as the life.

Mac-Alister, a tribe of the Mac-Donalds, Mac-Ouery of Ulvey, are both done as above.

There is a heap of stones on which they used to lay the corps while they dug the grave. There is a stone likewise erected here, concerning which the credulous natives say, that whosoever reaches out his arm along the stone three times, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, will never err in steering the helm of a vessel.

One tomb hath a clergyman, with this inscription upon it; *Sancta, &c.*

About a quarter of a mile further south is the church Ronad, in which several prioresses are buried: one of the inscriptions is, *Hic jacet Dna. Anna Terleti, filia quandam prioressæ de Jona, quæ obiit anno M<sup>o</sup> Christi, animam Abrahamo commendamus*.

Another inscription is, *Behag Nijn Sorle vic Il vril priorissa*, i. e. Bathia daughter to Somerled, son of Gilbert, prioress.

Without the nunnery there is such another square as that beside the monastery for men. The two pavements, which are of a hard red stone, are yet entire; in the middle of the longest pavement there is a large cross, like to that mentioned above, and is called Mac-Lean's Cross. There are nine places on the east side the isle, called Ports for landing.

The dock which was dug out of port Churich is on the shore, to preserve Columbus' boat called Curich, which was made of ribs of wood, and the outside covered with hides; the boat was long, and sharp-pointed at both ends: Columbus is said to have transported eighteen clergymen in his boat to Jona.

There are many pretty variegated stones in the shore below the dock; they ripen to a green colour, and are then proper for carving. The natives say these stones are fortunate, but only for some particular thing, which the person thinks fit to name, in exclusion of every thing else.

There was a tribe here called *Clan vic n'oster*, from *Osiarii*; for they are said to have been porters. The tradition of these is, that before Columbus died, thirty of this family lived then in Jona, and that upon some provocation Columbus entailed a curse upon them; which was, that they might all perish to the number of five, and that they might never exceed that number, to which they were accordingly reduced: and ever since, when any woman of the family was in labour, both she and the other four were afraid



afraid of death ; for if the child that was to be then born did not die, they say one of the five was sure to die ; and this they affirm to have been verified on every such occasion successively to this day. I found the only one of this tribe living in the isle, and both he and the natives of this and of all the western isles unanimously declare that this observation never failed ; and all this little family is now extinct, except this one poor man.

The life of Columbus, written in the Irish character, is in the custody of John Mac-Neil in the isle of Barra ; another copy of it is kept by Mac-Donald of Bembecula.

The inhabitants have a tradition, that Columbus suffered no women to stay in the isle except the nuns ; and that all the tradesmen who wrought in it were obliged to keep their wives and daughters in the opposite little isle, called on that account Women's-isle. They say likewise, that it was to keep women out of the isle that he would not suffer cows, sheep, or goats to be brought to it.

Beda, in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. iii. cap. 4. gives an account of him. In the year of our Lord 565, (at the time that Justin the younger succeeded Justinian in the government of the Roman empire) the famous Columba, a presbyter and abbot, but in habit and life a monk, came from Ireland to Britain to preach the word of God to the northern provinces of the Picts ; that is, to those who by high and rugged mountains are separated from the southern provinces. For the southern Picts, who have their habitation on this side the same hills, had, as they affirm themselves, renounced idolatry, and received the faith a long time before, by the preaching of Ninian the bishop, a most reverend and holy man, of the country of the Britons, who was regularly educated at Rome in the mysteries of truth.

In the ninth year of Meilochen, son to Pridius King of Picts, a most powerful king, Columbus, by his preaching and example, converted that nation to the faith of Christ. Upon this account they gave him the isle above-mentioned (which he calls Hii, book iii. cap. 3.) to erect a monastery in ; which his successors possess to this day, and where he himself was buried, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-second after his going to Britain to preach the gospel. He built a noble monastery in Ireland before his coming to Britain ; from both which monasteries he and his disciples founded several other monasteries in Britain and Ireland ; among all which, the monastery of the island in which his body is interred, has the pre-eminence. The isle has a rector, who is always a presbyter-abbot, to whose jurisdiction the whole province, and the bishops themselves ought to be subject, though the thing be unusual, according to the example of that first doctor, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk ; and of whose life and doctrine some things are said to be wrote by his disciples. But whatever he was, this is certain, that he left successors eminent for their great chastity, divine love, and regular institution.

This monastery furnished bishops to several dioceses of England and Scotland ; and amongst others, Aidanus, who was sent from thence, and was bishop of Lindisfairn, now Holy-Island.

*The Isle of Tire-iy, is so called from Tire a Country and Iy an Isthmus ; the Rocks in the narrow Channel seem to favour the Etymology.*

THIS isle lies about eight leagues to the west of Jona, or I Colm-Kil. The land is low and moorish, but there are two little hills on the south-west side ; the mould is generally brown, and for the most part sandy. The western side is rocky for about three leagues : the isle affords no convenient harbour for ships, but has been always valued for



for its extraordinary fruitfulness in corn, yet being tilled every year, it is become less fruitful than formerly. There is a plain piece of ground about six miles in compass on the east coast, called the *Rive*; the grass is seldom suffered to grow the length of half an inch, being only kept as a common, yet is believed to excel any parcel of land of its extent in the isles or opposite continent: there are small channels in it, through which the tide of flood comes in, and it sometimes overflows the whole.

The isle is four miles in length from the south-east to the north-west; the natives for the most part live on barley-bread, butter, milk, cheese, fish, and some eat the roots of silver-weed; there are but few that eat any flesh, and the servants use water-gruel often with their bread. In plentiful years the natives drink ale generally. There are three ale-houses in the isle: the brewers preserve their ale in large earthen vessels, and say they are much better for this purpose than those of wood; some of them contain twelve English gallons. Their measure for drink is a third part larger than any I could observe in any other part of Scotland. The ale that I had in the inn being too weak, I told my host of it, who promised to make it better; for this end he took a hectic-stone, and having made it red-hot in the fire, he quench'd it in the ale. The company and I were satisfied that the drink was a little more brisk, and I told him that if he could add some more life to our ale, he would extremely oblige the company. This he frankly undertook; and to effect it toasted a barley-cake, and having broke it in pieces, he put it into the dish with the ale; and this experiment we found as effectual as the first. I enquired of him if he had any more art to revive our ale, and then he would make it pretty good; he answered, that he knew of nothing else but a malt cake, which he had not then ready; and so we were obliged to content ourselves with what pains had been already used to revive our drink. The natives preserve their yeast by an oaken wyth, which they twist and put into it; and for future use, keep it in barley-straw. The cows and horses are of a very low size in this isle, being in the winter and spring time often reduced to eat sea-ware. The cows give plenty of milk; when they have enough of fresh sea-ware to feed on, it fattens them: the horses pace naturally, and are very sprightly, though little. The ground abounds with flint-stone; the natives tell me they find pieces of sulphur in several places. The west winds drive the ordinary Indian nuts to the shore of this isle, and the natives use them as above, for removing the diarrhea; and the water of the well called Tonbir in Donich, is by the natives drunk as a catholicon for diseases.

Some years ago about one hundred and sixty little whales, the biggest not exceeding twenty feet long, run themselves ashore in this isle, very seasonably, in time of scarcity, for the natives did eat them all; and told me that the sea-pork, i. e. the whale, is both wholesome and very nourishing meat. There is a fresh-water lake in the middle of the isle, on the east side of which there is an old castle now in ruins. The isle being low and moorish, is unwholesome, and makes the natives subject to the ague. The inhabitants living in the south-east parts are for the most part bald, and have but very thin hair on their heads. There is a cave in the south-west, which the natives are accustomed to watch in the night, and then take many cormorants in it. There are several forts in the isle; one in the middle of it, and Dun-Taelk in Baelly Petris: they are in form the same with those in the northern isles. There are several great and small circles of stones in this isle. The inhabitants are all Protestants; they observe the festivals of Christmas, Good-Friday, Easter, and St. Michael's Day. Upon the latter there is a general cavalcade, at which all the inhabitants rendezvous. They speak the Irish tongue, and wear the Highland dress. This isle is the Duke of Argyle's property, it being one  
of



of the isles lately possessed by the laird of Mac-Lean: the parish church in the isle is called *Soroby*, and 'tis a parsonage.

*The Isle of Coll.*

THIS isle lies about half a league to the east and north-east of Tire-iy, from which it hath been severed by the sea. It is ten miles in length, and three in breadth; it is generally composed of little rocky hills, covered with heath. The north-side is much plainer, and arable ground, affording barley and oats; the inhabitants always feed on the latter, and those of Tire-iy on the former. The isle of Coll produces more boys than girls, and the isle of Tire-iy more girls than boys; as if nature intended both these isles for mutual alliances, without being at the trouble of going to the adjacent isles or continent to be matched. The parish-book, in which the number of the baptized is to be seen, confirms this observation.

There are several rivers in this isle that afford salmon. There is a fresh-water lake in the south-east side, which hath trouts and eels. Within a quarter of a mile lies a little castle, the seat of Mac-Lean of Coll, the proprietor of the isle: he and all the inhabitants are Protestants; they observe the festivals of Christmas, Good-Friday, Easter, and St. Michael: at the latter they have a general cavalcade. All the inhabitants speak the Irish tongue, (a few excepted,) and wear the habit used by the rest of the islanders. This isle is much wholesomer than that of Tire-iy. I saw a gentleman of Mac-Lean of Coll's family here, aged eighty-five, who walked up and down the fields daily.

Cod and ling abound on the coast of this isle, and are of a larger size here than in the adjacent isles and continent.

On the south east coast of this isle lie the train of rocks called the Carn of Coll; they reach about half a league from the shore, and are remarkable for their fatality to seafaring men, of which there are several late instances. There is no venomous creature in this island, or that of Tire-iy.

*Rum.*

THIS isle lies about four leagues south from Skie; it is mountainous and heathy, but the coast is arable and fruitful. The isle is five miles long from south to north, and three from east to west; the north end produces some wood. The rivers on each side afford salmon. There is plenty of land and sea-fowl; some of the latter, especially the puffin, build in the hills as much as in the rocks on the coast, in which there are abundance of caves: the rock facing the west side is red, and that on the east side grey. The mountains have some hundred of deer grazing in them. The natives gave me an account of a strange observation, which they say proves fatal to the posterity of Lachlin, a cadet of Mac-Lean of Coll's family; that if any of them shoot at a deer on the mountain Fincha, he dies suddenly, or contracts some violent distemper, which soon puts a period to his life. They told me some instances to this purpose: whatever may be in it, there is none of the tribe above named will ever offer to shoot the deer in that mountain.

The bay Loch-Screford on the east side is not fit for anchoring, except without the entry.

There is a chapel in this isle; the natives are Protestants; Mac-Lean of Coll is proprietor, and the language and habit the same with the northern isles.



*Isle Muck.*

IT lies a little to the south-west of Rum, being four miles in circumference, all surrounded with a rock; it is fruitful in corn and grass: the hawks in the rocks here are reputed to be very good. The cattle, fowls, and amphibia of this island, are the same as in other isles; the natives speak the Irish tongue only, and use the habit wore by their neighbours.

*Isle Cannay.*

THIS isle lies about half a mile off Rum; it is two miles from south to north, and one from east to west. It is for the most part surrounded with a high rock, and the whole fruitful in corn and grass: the south end hath plenty of cod and ling.

There is a high hill in the north end, which disorders the needle in the compass: I laid the compass on the stony ground near it, and the needle went often round with great swiftness, and instead of settling towards the north, as usual, it settled here due east. The stones in the surface of the earth are black, and the rock below facing the sea is red: some affirm that the needle of a ship's compass, sailing by the hill, is disordered by the force of the magnet in this rock; but of this I have no certainty.

The natives call this isle by the name of Tarsin at sea; the rock Heisker on the south end abounds with wild geese in August, and then they cast their quills. The church in this isle is dedicated to St. Columbus. All the natives are Roman Catholics; they use the language and habit of the other isles. Allan Mac-Donald is proprietor. There is good anchorage on the north-east of this isle.

*A Description of the Isle of Egg.*

THIS isle lies to the south of Skie about four leagues; it is three miles in length, and a mile and a half in breadth, and about nine in circumference: it is all rocky and mountainous from the middle towards the west; the east side is plainer, and more arable: the whole is indifferently good for pasturage and cultivation. There is a mountain in the south end, and on the top of it there is a high rock called Skur Egg, about an hundred and fifty paces in circumference, and has a fresh-water lake in the middle of it; there is no access to this rock but by one passage, which makes it a natural fort. There is a harbour on the south-east side of this isle, which may be entered into by either side the small isle without it. There is a very big cave on the south-west side of this isle, capable of containing several hundreds of people. The coast guarding the north-west is a soft quarry of white stone, having some caves in it. There is a well in the village called *Fivepennies*, reputed efficacious against several distempers: the natives told me that it never fails to cure any person of their first disease, only by drinking a quantity of it for the space of two or three days; and that if a stranger lie at this well in the night-time, it will procure a deformity in some part of his body, but has no effect on a native; and this they say hath been frequently experimented.

There is a heap of stones here called *Martin Dessil*, i. e. a place consecrated to the saint of that name, about which the natives oblige themselves to make a tour round sun-ways.

There is another heap of stones, which they say was consecrated to the Virgin Mary.

In the village on the south coast of this isle there is a well, called St. Katherine's well; the natives have it in great esteem, and believe it to be a catholicon for diseases. They told me that it had been such ever since it was consecrated by one Father Hugh, a popish



priest, in the following manner : he obliged all the inhabitants to come to this well, and then employed them to bring together a great heap of stones at the head of the spring, by way of penance. This being done, he laid mafs at the well, and then consecrated it; he gave each of the inhabitants a piece of wax candle, which they lighted, and all of them made the deffil, of going round the well fun ways, the priest leading them : and from that time it was accounted unlawful to boil any meat with the water of this well.

The natives observe St. Katherine's anniverfary ; all of them come to the well, and having drank a draught of it, they make the deffil round it fun ways ; this is always performed on the fifteenth day of April. The inhabitants of this ifle are well proportioned ; they fpeak the Irifh tongue only, and wear the habit of the iflanders ; they are all Roman Catholicks, except one woman, that is a proteftant.

There is a church here on the eaft fide the ifle, dedicated to St. Donnan, whose anniverfary they observe.

About thirty yards from the church there is a fepulchral urn under ground ; it is a big ftone hewn to the bottom, about four feet deep, and the diameter of it is about the fame breadth ; I caufed them to dig the ground above it, and we found a flat thin ftone covering the urn : it was almoft full of human bones, but no head among them, and they were fair and dry. I enquired of the natives what was become of the heads, and they could not tell ; but one of them faid, perhaps their head had been cut off with a two handed fword, and taken away by the enemy. Some few paces to the north of the urn there is a narrow paffage under ground, but how far it reaches they could give me no account.

The natives dare not call this ifle by its ordinary name of Egg, when they are at fea, but ifland Nim-Ban-More, i. e. the ifle of big women. St. Donnan's well, which is in the fouth-weft end, is in great efteem by the natives ; for St. Donnan is the celebrated tutelar of this ifle. The natives do not allow proteftants to come to their burial.

The proprietors of the ifle are Allan Mac-Donald of Moydort, and Allan Mac-Donald of Moron.

#### *St. Kilda, or Hirt.*

THE firft of thefe names is taken from one Kilder, who lived here ; and from him the large well Tombir-Kilda has alfo its name. Hirta is taken from the Irifh Ier, which in that language fignifies weft ; this ifle lies directly oppofite to the ifles of North-Vift, Harries, &c. It is reckoned eighteen leagues from the former, and twenty from Harries. This ifle is by Peter Goas, in a map he made of it at Rotterdam, called St. Kilder ; it is the remoteft of all the Scots north-weft ifles : it is about two miles in length, and one in breadth ; it is faced all round with a fteep rock, except the bay on the fouth-eaft, which is not a harbour fit for any vefTel, though in the time of a calm one may land upon the rock, and get up into the ifland with a little climbing. The land riles pretty high in the middle, and there is one mountain higher than any other part of the ifland. There are feveral fountains of good water on each fide this ifle. The corn produced here is oats and barley, the latter is the largeft in the weftern ifles.

The horfes and cows here are of a lower fize than in the adjacent ifles, but the fheep differ only in the bignefs of their horns, which are very long.

There is an ancient fort on the fouth end of the bay called Dun-fir-Volg, i. e. the fort of the Volfcij : this is the fenfe put upon the word by the antiquaries of the oppofite ifles of Vift.

The



The isle Soa is near half a mile distant from the west side of St. Kilda; it is a mile in circumference, very high, and steep all round. Borera, lies above two leagues north of St. Kilda; it is near a mile in circumference, the most of it surrounded with a high rock. The largest and the two lesser isles are good for pasturage, and abound with a prodigious number of sea fowl, from March till September; the Solan geese are very numerous here, insomuch that the inhabitants commonly keep yearly above twenty thousand young and old in their little stone houses, of which there are some hundreds for preserving their fowls, eggs, &c. They use no salt for preserving their fowl; the eggs of the sea wild fowl are preserved some months in the ashes of peats, and are astringent to such as be not accustomed to eat them.

The Solan goose is in size somewhat less than a land goose, and of a white colour, except the tips of the wings, which are black, and the top of their head, which is yellow; their bill is long, small pointed, and very hard, and pierces an inch deep into wood, in their descent after a fish laid on a board, as some use to catch them. When they sleep, they put their head under their wings, but one of them keeps watch, and if that be surprized by the fowler (which often happens) all the rest are then easily caught by the neck, one after another; but if the centinel gives warning, by crying loud, then all the flock make their escape. When this fowl fishes for herring, it flies about sixty yards high, and then descends perpendicularly into the sea, but after all other fish it descends a-quint: the reason for this manner of pursuing the herrings is, because they are in greater shoals than any other fish whatsoever.

There is a barren tribe of Solan geese, that keep always together, and never mix among the rest that build and hatch. The Solan geese come to those islands in March, taking the advantage of a south-west wind: before their coming, they send a few of their number, as harbingers before them, and when they have made a tour round the isles, they return immediately to the company; and in a few days after, the whole flock comes together, and stays till September. The natives make a pudding of the fat of this fowl, in the stomach of it, and boil it in their water-gruel, which they call brochan; they drink it likewise for removing the cough: it is by daily experience found to be an excellent vulnerary.

The inhabitants eat the Solan goose-egg raw, and by experience find it to be a good pectoral. The Solan geese are daily making up their nests from March till September: they make them in the shelves of high rocks; they fish, hatch, and make their nests by turns, and they amass for this end a great heap of grafs, and such other things as they catch floating on the water: the steward of St. Kilda told me, that they had found a red coat in a nest, a brass sun dial, and an arrow, and some Molucca beans in another nest. This Solan goose is believed to be the sharpest sighted of all sea fowls; it preserves five or six herrings in its gorget entire, and carries them to the nest, where it spews them out to serve as food to the young ones: they are observed to go a-fishing to several isles that lie about thirty leagues distant, and carry the fish in their gorget all that way; and this is confirmed by the English hooks, which are found sticking to the fish-bones in their nests, for the natives have no such hooks among them.

They have another bird here called Fulmar; it is a grey fowl, about the size of a moor-hen: it has a strong bill, with wide nostrils; as often as it goes to sea, it is a certain sign of a western wind, for it sits always on the rock, when the wind is to blow from any other quarter. This fowl, the natives say, picks its food out of live whales, and that it eats sorrel; for both those sorts of food are found in its nest. When any one approaches the Fulmar, it spouts out at its bill about a quart of pure oil; the natives prize



surprize the fowl and preserve the oil, and burn in their lamps : it is good against rheumatick pains and aches in the bones, the inhabitants of the adjacent isles value it as a catholicon for diseases; some take it for a vomit, others for a purge. It has been successfully used against rheumatick pains in Edinburgh and London : in the latter it has been lately used to assuage the swelling of a strained foot, a cheek swelled with the tooth-ach, and for discussing a hard boil ; and proved successful in all the three cases.

There is plenty of cod and ling, of a great size, round this isle, the improvement of which might be of great advantage.

The inhabitants are about two hundred in number, and are well proportioned ; they speak the Irish language only ; their habit is much like that used in the adjacent isles, but coarser : they are not subject to many diseases ; they contract a cough as often as any strangers land and stay for any time among them, and it continues for some eight or ten days ; they say the very infants on the breast are infected by it. The men are stronger than the inhabitants of the opposite western isles ; they feed much on fowl, especially the Solan geese, puffin, and fulmar, eating no salt with them. This is believed to be the cause of a leprosy, that is broke out among them of late : one of them that was become corpulent, and had his throat almost shut up, being advised by me to take salt with his meat, to exercise himself more in the fields than he had done of late, to forbear eating of fat fowl, and the fat pudding called giben, and to eat sorrel, was very much concerned, because all this was very disagreeable ; and my advising him to eat sorrel was perfectly a surprize to him : but when I bid him consider how the fat fulmar eat this plant, he was at last disposed to take my advice ; and by this means alone in a few days after, his voice was much clearer, his appetite recovered, and he was in a fair way of recovery. Twelve of these lepers died the year after of this distemper, and were in the same condition with this man.

Both sexes have a genius for poetry, and compose entertaining verses and songs in their own language, which is very emphatical. Some years ago, about twenty of their number happened to be confined in the rock *Stack N'armin* for several days together, without any kind of food ; the season then not favouring their endeavours to return home, one of their number plucked all their knives out of the hafts, wrought a hook out of each, and then beat them out to their former length ; he had a stone for an anvil, and a dagger for a hammer and file : and with these rude hooks, and a few sorry fishing-lines, they purchased fish for their maintenance, during their confinement for several days in the rock. All the men in the isle having gone to the isle Boreray for purchase, the rope that fastened their boat happened to break ; and by this unlucky accident, the boat was quite lost, and the poor people confined in the isle from the middle of March till the latter end of May, without so much as a crust of bread ; but they had sheep, fowl, and fish in abundance. They were at a loss how to acquaint their wives and friends, that all of them were alive ; but to effect this, they kindled as many fires on the top of an eminence as there were men in number : this was no sooner seen, and the fires counted, then the women understood the signal, and were so overjoyed at this unexpected news, that they fell to labour the ground with the foot-spade, a fatigue they had never been accustomed to ; and that year's product of corn was the most plentiful that they had for many years before. After the steward's arrival in the isle about the end of May, he sent his galley to bring home all the men confined in the isle, to their so much longed for St. Kilda ; where the mutual joy between them and their wives, and other relations, was extraordinary.

The inhabitants are of the reformed religion ; they assemble in the church-yard on the Lord's Day, and in the morning they say the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Command-



ments: they work at no employment till Monday, neither will they allow a stranger to work sooner. The officer, or steward's deputy commonly, and sometimes any of their neighbours, baptize their children soon after they are born; and in the following form: "A. I. I baptize you to your father and mother, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." They marry early and publickly, all the natives of both sexes being present; the officer who performs the marriage tenders a crucifix to the married couple, who lay their right hands on it, and then the marriage is ratified.

They observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Good Friday, and that of All-Saints; upon the latter they bake a large cake, in form of a triangle, furrowed round, and it must be all eaten that night. They are hospitable, and charitable to strangers, as well as the poor belonging to themselves, for whom all the families contribute a proportion monthly, and at every festival each family sends them a piece of mutton or beef.

They swear decisive oaths by the crucifix, and this puts an end to any controversy; for there is not one instance, or the least suspicion of perjury among them. The crucifix is of brass, and about nine inches in length; it lies upon the altar, but they pay no religious worship to it. One of the inhabitants was so sincere, that, (rather than forswear himself on the crucifix, he confessed a capital crime before the minister, and myself. They never swear, or steal, neither do they take God's name in vain at any time; they are free from whoredom and adultery, and of those other immoralities that abound so much every where else.

One of the inhabitants called Roderick, a fellow that could not read, obtruded a false religion upon the credulous people, which he pretended to have received from St. John the Baptist. It is remarkable, that in his rhapsodies, which he called prayers, he had the word Eli; and to this purpose, Eli is our preserver. There is a little hill, upon which he says John the Baptist delivered sermons and prayers to him; this he called John's-Bush, and made the people believe it was so sacred that if either cow or sheep did taste of its grass, they were to be killed immediately after, and the owners were to eat them, but never without the company of the impostor. He made them likewise believe that each of them had a tutelar saint in heaven to intercede for them, and the anniversary of every one of those was to be necessarily observed, by having a splendid treat, at which the impostor was always the principal person. He taught the women a devout hymn, which he said he had from the Virgin Mary; he made them believe that it secured any woman from miscarriage that could repeat it by heart, and each of them paid the impostor a sheep for it.

Upon Mr. Campbell's arrival and mine in St. Kilda, Roderick made a public recantation of his imposture; and being then by us brought to the isle of Harries, and afterwards to the isle of Skie, he has made public confession in several churches of his converse with the devil, and not John the Baptist, as he pretended, and seems to be very penitent. He is now in Skie isle, from whence he is never to return to his native country. His neighbours are heartily glad to be rid of such a villian, and are now happily delivered from the errors he imposed upon them. The isle is the Laird of Mac-leod's property, he is head of one of the most ancient tribes in the isles; he bestows the isle upon a cadet of his name, whose fortune is low, to maintain his family, and he is called steward of it: he visits the isle once every summer, to demand the rents, *viz.* down, wool, butter, cheese, cows, horses, fowl, oil, and barley. The steward's deputy is one of the natives, and stays always upon the place; he has free lands, and an omer of barley from each family; and has the honour of being the first and last in their boat, as they go and come to the lesser isles or rocks. The ancient measure of omer and cubit continues to be used in this isle. They have neither gold nor silver, but barter



among themselves and the stewards men for what they want. Some years ago the steward determined to exact a sheep from every family in the isle, the number amounting to twenty seven; and for this he put them in mind of a late precedent, of their having given the like number to his predecessor. But they answered, that what they gave then, was voluntary, and upon an extraordinary occasion of his being wind-bound in the isle, and that this was not to be a custom afterwards. However the steward sent his brother, and with a competent number of men to take the sheep from them by force; but the natives arming themselves with their daggers, and fishing rods attacked the steward's brother, giving him some blows on the head, and forced him and his party to retire, and told him that they would pay no new taxes: and by this stout resistance, they preserved their freedom from such imposition.

The inhabitants live contentedly together in a little village on the east-side St. Kilda, which they commonly call the country; and the isle Borreray, which is little more than two leagues distant from them, they call the northern country. The distance between their houses is by them called the High-street: their houses are low, built of stone and a cement of dry earth; they have couples and ribs of wood covered with thin earthen turf, thatched over these with straw, and the roof secured on each side with double ropes of straw or heath, poised at the end with many stones: their beds are commonly made in the wall of their houses, and they lie on straw, but never on feathers or down, though they have them in greater plenty than all the western isles besides. The reason for making their bed-room in the walls of their houses, is to make room for their cows, which they take in during the winter and spring.

They are very exact in their properties, and divide both the fishing as well as fowling rocks with as great niceness as they do their corn and grass; one will not allow his neighbour to sit and fish on his seat, for this being a part of his possession, he will take care that no encroachment be made upon the least part of it: and this with a particular regard to their successors, that they may lose no privilege depending upon any parcel of their farm. They have but one boat in the isle, and every man hath a share in it, proportionably to the acres of ground for which they pay rent. They are stout rowers, and will tug at the oar for a long time, without any intermission. When they sail, they use no compass, but take their measures from the sun, moon, or stars; and they rely much on the course of the various flocks of sea fowl: and this last is their surest directory. When they go to the lesser isles and rocks to bring home sheep, or any other purchase, they carry an iron pot with them, and each family furnishes one by turns; and the owner on such occasions has a small tax paid him by all the families in the isle, which is by them called the pot-penny.

There was another tax paid by each family to one of the natives, as often as they kindled a fire in any of the lesser isles or rocks, and that for the use of his steel and flint; and this was by them called the fire-penny.

This tax was very advantageous to the proprietor, but very uneasy to the commonwealth, who could not be furnished with fire on these occasions any other way. But I told them that the chrystal growing in the rock on the shore would yield fire, if struck with the back of a knife, and of this I shewed them an experiment; which when they saw, was a very surprising, and to them a profitable discovery in their esteem, being such as could be had by every man in the isle; and at the same time delivered them from an endless charge: but it was very disobliging to the poor man who lost his tax by it.

The inhabitants of St. Kilda excel all those I ever saw in climbing rocks: they told me that some years ago their boat was split to pieces upon the west side of Borrera isle, and they were forced to lay hold on a bare rock, which was steep, and above twenty



fathom high ; notwithstanding this difficulty, some of them climbed up to the top, and from thence let down a rope and plaids, and so drew up all the boat's crew, though the climbing this rock would seem impossible to any other except themselves.

This little commonwealth hath two ropes of about twenty-four fathoms length each, for climbing the rocks, which they do by turns ; the ropes are secured all round with cows' hides salted for the use, and which preserves them from being cut by the edge of the rocks. By the assistance of these ropes they purchase a great number of eggs and fowls : I have seen them bring home in a morning twenty-nine large baskets all full of eggs ; the least of the baskets contained four hundred big eggs, and the rest eight hundred and above of lesser eggs. They had with them at the same time about two thousand sea fowl, and some fish, together with some limpets, called *patella*, the biggest I ever saw. They catch many fowls likewise, by laying their gins, which are made of horse-hair, having a noose at the distance of two feet each ; the ends of the rope at which the noose hangs, are secured by stone.

The natives gave me an account of a very extraordinary risque which one of them ran as laying his gins, which was thus : As he was walking bare-foot along the rock where he had fixed his gin, he happened to put his toe in a noose, and immediately fell down the rock, but hung by the toe, the gin being strong enough to hold him, and the stones that secured it on each end being heavy : the poor man continued hanging thus for the space of a night on a rock twenty fathom height above the sea, until one of his neighbours hearing him cry, came to his rescue, drew him up by the feet, and so saved him.

These poor people do sometimes fall down as they climb the rocks, and perish : their wives on such occasions make doleful songs, which they call lamentations. The chief topicks are their courage, their dexterity in climbing, and their great affection which they shewed to their wives and children.

It is ordinary with a fowler, after he has got his purchase of fowls, to pluck the fattest, and carry it home to his wife as a mark of his affection ; and this is called the rock-fowl.

The batchelors do in like manner carry this rock fowl to their sweethearts ; and it is the greatest present they can make, considering the danger they run in acquiring it.

The richest man in the isle has not above eight cows, eighty sheep, and two or three horses. If a native here have but a few cattle, he will marry a woman, though she have no other portion from her friends but a pound of horse-hair, to make a gin to catch fowls.

The horses here are very low of stature, and employed only to carry home their peats and turf, which is their fuel. The inhabitants ride their horses (which were but eighteen in all) at the anniversary cavalcade of All-Saints : this they never fail to observe. They begin at the shore, and ride as far as the houses ; they use no saddles of any kind, nor bridle, except a rope of straw which manages the horse's head : and when they have all taken the horses by turns, the show is over for that time.

This isle produces the finest hawks in the western isles, for they go many leagues for their prey, their being no land-fowl in St. Kilda proper for them to eat, except pigeons and plovers.

One of the inhabitants of St. Kilda being some time ago wind-bound in the isle of Harries, was prevailed on by some of them that traded to Glasgow to go thither with them. He was astonished at the length of the voyage, and of the great kingdoms as he thought them, that is isles, by which they sailed ; the largest in his way did not exceed twenty four miles in length, but he considered how much they exceeded his own little native country.

Upon



Upon his arrival at Glasgow, he was like one that had dropt from the clouds into a new world; whose language, habit, &c. were in all respects new to him: he never imagined that such big houses of stone were made with hands; and for the pavements of the streets, he thought it must needs be altogether natural; for he could not believe that men would be at the pains to beat stones into the ground to walk upon. He stood dumb at the door of his lodging with the greatest admiration; and when he saw a coach and two horses, he thought it to be a little house they were drawing at their tail, with men in it; but he condemned the coachman for a fool to sit so uneasy, for he thought it safer to sit on the horse's back. The mechanism of the coach-wheel, and its running about, was the greatest of all his wonders.

When he went through the streets he desired to have one to lead him by the hand. Thomas Ross, a merchant, and others, that took the diversion to carry him through the town, asked his opinion of the High Church? He answered, that it was a large rock, yet there were some in St. Kilda much higher, but that these were the best caves he ever saw; for that was the idea which he conceived of the pillars and arches upon which the church stands. When they carried him into the church, he was yet more surprised, and held up his hands with admiration, wondering how it was possible for men to build such a prodigious fabric, which he supposed to be the largest in the universe. He could not imagine what the pews were designed for, and he fancied the people that wore masks (not knowing whether they were men or women) had been guilty of some ill thing, for which they dared not shew their faces. He was amazed at women's wearing patches, and fancied them to have been blisters. Pendants seemed to him the most ridiculous of all things; he condemned perriwigs mightily, and much more the powder used in them: in fine, he condemned all things as superfluous he saw not in his own country. He looked with amazement on every thing that was new to him. When he heard the church-bells ring, he was under a mighty consternation, as if the fabric of the world had been in great disorder. He did not think there had been so many people in the world as in the city of Glasgow; and it was a great mystery to him to think what they could all design by living so many in one place. He wondered how they could all be furnished with provision; and when he saw big loaves, he could not tell whether they were bread, stone, or wood. He was amazed to think how they could be provided with ale, for he never saw any there that drank water. He wondered how they made them fine clothes, and to see stockings made without being first cut and afterwards sewn, was no small wonder to him. He thought it foolish in women to wear thin silks, as being a very improper habit for such as pretended to any sort of employment. When he saw the women's feet, he judged them to be of another shape than those of the men, because of the different shape of their shoes. He did not approve of the heels worn by men or women; and when he observed horses with shoes on their feet, and fastened with iron nails, he could not forbear laughing, and thought it the most ridiculous thing that ever fell under his observation. He longed to see his native country again, and passionately wished it were blessed with ale, brandy, tobacco, and iron, as Glasgow was.

There is a couple of large eagles who have their nest on the north end of the isle; the inhabitants told me that they commonly make their purchase in the adjacent isles and continent, and never take so much as a lamb or hen from the place of their abode, where they propagate their kind. I forgot to give an account of a singular providence that happened to a native in the isle of Skie, called Neil, who when an infant was left by his mother in the field, not far from the houses on the north side Loch-Portrie; an eagle came in the mean time, and carried him away in its talons as far as the south

side



side of the Loch, and there, laying him on the ground, some people that were herding sheep there perceived it, and hearing the infant cry, ran immediately to its rescue; and by good Providence found him untouched by the eagle, and carried him home to his mother. He is still living in that parish, and by reason of this accident, is distinguished among his neighbours by the surname of Eagle.

*An Account of the Second-Sight, in Irish called Taish.*

The second-sight is a singular faculty of seeing an otherwise invisible object, without any previous means used by the person that sees it for that end; the vision makes such a lively impression upon the seers, that they neither see nor think of any thing else, except the vision, as long as it continues: and then they appear pensive or jovial, according to the object which was represented to them.

At the sight of a vision, the eye-lids of the person are erected, and the eyes continue staring until the object vanish. This is obvious to others who are by, when the persons happen to see a vision, and occurred more than once to my own observation, and to others that were with me.

There is one in Skie, of whom his acquaintance observed, that when he sees a vision, the inner part of his eye-lids turn so far upwards, that after the object disappears, he must draw them down with his fingers, and sometimes employs others to draw them down, which he finds to be the much easier way.

This faculty of the second-sight does not lineally descend in a family, as some imagine, for I know several parents who are endowed with it, but their children not, and *vice versa*: neither is it acquired by any previous compact. And, after a strict inquiry, I could never learn from any among them, that this faculty was communicable any way whatsoever.

The seer knows neither the object, time, nor place of a vision, before it appears; and the same object is often seen by different persons, living at a considerable distance from one another. The true way of judging as to the time and circumstance of an object, is by observation; for several persons of judgment, without this faculty, are more capable to judge of the design of a vision, than a novice that is a seer. If an object appear in the day or night, it will come to pass sooner or later accordingly.

If an object is seen early in a morning (which is not frequent,) it will be accomplished in a few hours afterwards. If at noon, it will commonly be accomplished that very day. If in the evening, perhaps that night; if after candles be lighted, it will be accomplished that night: the latter always in accomplishment, by weeks, months, and sometimes years, according to the time of night the vision is seen.

When a shroud is perceived about one, it is a sure prognostic of death: the time is judged according to the height of it about the person: for if it is not seen above the middle, death is not to be expected for the space of a year, and perhaps some months longer; and as it is frequently seen to ascend higher towards the head, death is concluded to be at hand within a few days, if not hours, as daily experience confirms. Examples of this kind were shewn me, when the persons of whom the observations then made enjoyed perfect health.

One instance was lately foretold by a seer that was a novice, concerning the death of one of my acquaintance; this was communicated to a few only, and with great confidence; I being one of the number did not in the least regard it, until the death of the person about the time foretold, did confirm me of the certainty of the prediction.

The



The novice mentioned above is now a skilful seer, as appears from many late instances ; he lives in the parish of St. Mary's, the most northern in Skie.

If a woman is seen standing at a man's left hand, it is a presage that she will be his wife, whether they be married to others, or unmarried at the time of the apparition.

If two or three women are seen at once standing near a man's left hand, she that is next him will undoubtedly be his wife first, and so on, whether all three, or the man be single or married at the time of the vision or not ; of which there are several late instances among those of my acquaintance. It is an ordinary thing for them to see a man that is to come to the house shortly after ; and if he is not of the seer's acquaintance, yet he gives such a lively description of his stature, complexion, habit, &c. that upon his arrival he answers the character given him in all respects.

If the person so appearing be one of the seer's acquaintance, he will tell his name, as well as other particulars ; and he can tell by his countenance whether he comes in a good or bad humour.

I have been seen thus myself by seers of both sexes at some hundred miles distance ; some that saw me in this manner, had never seen me personally, and it happened according to their visions, without any previous design of mine to go to those places, my coming there being purely accidental.

It is ordinary with them to see houses, gardens, and trees, in places void of all three ; and this in process of time uses to be accomplished : as at Mogstot in the isle of Skie, where there were but a few sorry cow-houses thatched with straw, yet in a few years after, the vision which appeared often was accomplished, by the building of several good houses on the very spot represented to the seers, and by the planting of orchards there.

To see a spark of fire fall upon one's arm or breast, is a forerunner of a dead child to be seen in the arms of those persons ; of which there are several fresh instances.

To see a seat empty at the time of one's sitting in it, is a presage of that person's death quickly after.

When a novice, or one that has lately obtained the second-sight, sees a vision in the night-time without doors, and comes near a fire, he presently falls into a swoon.

Some find themselves as it were in a crowd of people, having a corpse which they carry along with them ; and after such visions the seers come in sweating, and describe the people that appeared ; if there be any of their acquaintance among them, they give an account of their names, as also of the bearers, but they know nothing concerning the corpse.

All those who have the second-sight do not always see these visions at once, though they be together at the time. But if one, who has this faculty, designedly touch his fellow-seer at the instant of a vision's appearing, then the second sees it as well as the first ; and this is sometimes discerned by those that are near them on such occasions.

There is a way of foretelling death by a cry that they call *Taisk*, which some call a *Wrath* in the Lowland.

They hear a loud cry without doors, exactly resembling the voice of some particular person, whose death is foretold by it. The last instance given me of this kind was in the village Rigg, in the isle of Skie.

Five women were sitting together in the same room, and all of them heard a loud cry passing by the window ; they thought it plainly to be the voice of a maid who was one of the number ; she blushed at the time, though not sensible of her so doing, contracted a fever next day, and died that week.

Things



Things also are foretold by smelling, sometimes as follows: fish or flesh is frequently smelled in a fire, when at the same time neither of the two are in the house, or in any probability like to be had in it for some weeks or months; for they seldom eat flesh, and though the sea be near them, yet they catch fish but seldom, in the winter and spring. This smell several persons have, who are not endued with the second-sight, and it is always accomplished soon after.

*2<sup>d</sup> sight* Children, horses, and cows see the second-sight, as well as men and women advanced in years.

That children see it is plain from their crying aloud at the very instant that a corpse or any other vision appears to an ordinary seer. I was present in a house where a child cried out of a sudden, and being asked the reason of it, he answered that he had seen a great white thing lying on the board which was in the corner: but he was not believed until a seer who was present told them that the child was in the right: "For, (said he,) I saw a corpse and the shroud about it, and the board will be used as part of a coffin, or some way employed about a corpse:" and, accordingly, it was made into a coffin, for one who was in perfect health at the time of the vision.

That horses see it is likewise plain from their violent and sudden starting, when the rider or seer in company with him sees a vision of any kind, night or day. It is observable of the horse, that he will not go forward that way, until he be led about at some distance from the common road, and then he is in a sweat.

A horse fastened by the common road on the side of Loch-Skerinefs in Skie, did break his rope at noon-day, and run up and down without the least visible cause. But two of the neighbourhood that happened to be at a little distance, and in view of the horse, did at the same time see a considerable number of men about a corpse, directing their course to the church of Snifort; and this was accomplished within a few days after, by the death of a gentlewoman who lived thirteen miles from that church, and came from another parish, from whence very few come to Snifort to be buried.

That cows see the second-sight appears from this; that when a woman is milking a cow, and then happen to see the second-sight, the cow runs away in a great fright at the same time, and will not be pacified for some time after.

Before I mention more particulars discovered by the second sight, it may not be amiss to answer the objections that have lately been made against the reality of it.

*2<sup>d</sup> sight* *Object. 1.* These seers are visionary and melancholy people, and fancy they see things that do not appear to them, or any body else.

*Ans.* The people of these isles, and particularly the seers, are very temperate, and their diet is simple and moderate in quantity and quality; so that their brains are not in all probability disordered by undigested fumes of meat or drink. Both sexes are free from hysteric fits, convulsions, and several other distempers of that sort; there are no madmen among them; nor any instance of self-murder. It is observed among them, that a man drunk never sees the second sight; and he that is a visionary would discover himself in other things as well as in that; and such as see it are not judged to be visionaries by any of their friends or acquaintance.

*Object. 2.* There is none among the learned able to oblige the world with a satisfying account of those visions, therefore it is not to be believed.

*Ans.* If every thing for which the learned are not able to give a satisfying account be condemned as impossible, we may find many other things generally believed that must be rejected as false by this rule. For instance, yawning, and its influence, and that the loadstone attracts iron; and yet these are true as well as harmless, though we can give



give no satisfying account of their causes. And if we know so little of natural causes, how much less can we pretend to things that are supernatural?

*Object.* 3. The seers are impostors, and the people who believe them are credulous, and easily imposed upon.

*Answ.* The seers are generally illiterate and well-meaning people, and altogether void of design, nor could I ever learn that any of them made the least gain by it, neither is it reputable among them to have that faculty: besides the people of the isles are not so credulous as to believe implicitly, before the thing foretold is accomplished; but when it actually comes to pass afterwards, it is not in their power to deny it, without offering violence to their senses and reason. Besides, if the seers were deceivers, can it be reasonable to imagine, that all the islanders, who have not the second sight, should combine together, and offer violence to their understandings and senses, to force themselves to believe a lie from age to age. There are several persons among them, whose birth and education raise them above the suspicion of concurring with an imposture, merely to gratify an illiterate and contemptible sort of persons; nor can a reasonable man believe that children, horses, and cows could be pre-engaged in a combination to persuade the world of the reality of the second sight.

Such as deny those visions give their assent to several strange passages in history, upon the authority aforesaid of historians that lived several centuries before our time; and yet they deny the people of this generation the liberty to believe their intimate friends and acquaintance, men of probity and unquestionable reputation, and of whose veracity they have greater certainty, than we can have of any antient historian.

Every vision that is seen comes exactly to pass according to the true rules of observation, though novices and heedless persons do not always judge by those rules. I remember the seers returned me this answer to my objection, and gave several instances to that purpose, whereof the following is one.

A boy of my acquaintance was often surprised at the sight of a coffin close by his shoulder, which put him into a fright, and made him to believe it was a forerunner of his own death, and this his neighbours also judged to be the meaning of that vision; but a seer that lived in the village Knockow, where the boy was then a servant, told them that they were under a great mistake, and desired the boy to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered; and when he went to a burial, to remember to act as a bearer for some moments: and this he did accordingly within a few days after, when one of his acquaintance died; and from that time forward he was never troubled with seeing a coffin at his shoulder, though he has seen many at a distance, that concerned others. He is now reckoned one of the exactest seers in the parish of St. Mary's in Skie, where he lives.

There is another instance of a woman in Skie, who frequently saw a vision representing a woman having a shroud about her up to the middle, but always appeared with her back towards her, and the habit in which it seemed to be dressed resembled her own; this was a mystery for some time, until the woman tried an experiment to satisfy her curiosity, which was to dress herself contrary to the usual way; that is, she put that part of her clothes behind which was always before, fancying that the vision at the next appearing would be the easier distinguished: and it fell out accordingly, for the vision soon after presented itself with its face and dress looking towards the woman, and it proved to resemble herself in all points, and she died in a little time after.

There are visions seen by several persons, in whose days they are not accomplished; and this is one of the reasons, why some things have been seen that are said never to



come to pass, and there are also several visions seen which are not understood until they be accomplished.

The second sight is not a late discovery seen by one or two in a corner, or a remote isle, but it is seen by many persons of both sexes in several isles, separated above forty or fifty leagues from one another: the inhabitants of many of these isles never had the least converse by word or writing; and this faculty of seeing visions having continued, as we were informed by tradition, ever since the plantation of these isles, without being disproved by the nicest sceptic, after the strictest inquiry, seems to be a clear proof of its reality.

It is observable, that it was much more common twenty years ago than at present; for one in ten do not see it now that saw it then.

The second sight is not confined to the Western Isles alone, for I have an account that it is likewise seen in several parts of Holland, but particularly in Bommel, by a woman, for which she is courted by some, and dreaded by others. She sees a smoke about one's face, which is a forerunner of the death of a person so seen; and she did actually foretel the death of several that lived there: she was living in that town this last winter.

The corpses-candles, or dead-men's lights in Wales, which are certain prognostics of death, are well known and attested.

The second sight is likewise seen in the Isle of Man, as appears by this instance: Capt. Leaths, the chief magistrate of Belfast, in his voyage 1690, lost thirteen men by a violent storm, and, upon his landing in the Isle of Man, an ancient man, clerk to a parish there, told him immediately that he had lost thirteen men; the Captain inquiring how he came to the knowledge of that, he answered, that it was by thirteen lights which he had seen come into the church-yard; as Mr. Sacheverel tells us, in his late Description of the Isle of Man.

It were ridiculous to suppose a combination between the people of the Western Isles of Scotland, Holland, Wales, and the Isle of Man, since they are separated by long seas, and are people of different languages, governments, and interests: they have no correspondence between them, and it is probable, that those inhabiting the North-west isles have never yet heard that any such visions are seen in Holland, Wales, or the Isle of Man.

Four men of the village Flodgery in Skie being at supper, one of them did suddenly let fall his knife on the table, and looked with an angry countenance; the company observing it, inquired his reason, but he returned them no answer until they had supped, and then he told them that when he let fall his knife, he saw a corpse with the shroud about it laid on the table, which surprised him, and that a little time would accomplish the vision. It fell out accordingly, for in a few days after one of the family died, and happened to be laid on that very table. This was told me by the master of the family.

Daniel Stewart, an inhabitant of Hole in the north parish of St. Mary's in the Isle of Skie, saw at noon-day five men on horseback riding northward; he ran to meet them, and when he came to the road, he could see none of them, which was very surprising to him, and he told it his neighbours: the very next day he saw the same number of men and horse coming along the road, but was not so ready to meet them as before, until he heard them speak, and then he found them to be those that he had seen the day before in a vision; this was the only vision of the kind he had ever seen in his life. The company he saw was Sir Donald Mac-Donald and his retinue, who at the time of the vision was at Armidal, near forty miles south of the place where the man lived.



A woman of Stornbay in Lewis had a maid who saw visions, and often fell into a swoon; her mistress was very much concerned about her, but could not find out any means to prevent her seeing those things: at last she resolved to pour some of the water used in baptism on her maid's face, believing this would prevent her seeing any more sights of this kind. And accordingly she carried her maid with her next Lord's Day, and both of them sat near the basin in which the water stood, and after baptism, before the minister had concluded the last prayer, she put her hand in the basin, took up as much water as she could, and threw it on the maid's face; at which strange action the minister and the congregation were equally surprized. After prayer, the minister inquired of the woman the meaning of such an unbecoming and distracted action; she told him, it was to prevent her maid's seeing visions: and it fell out accordingly, for from that time she never once more saw a vision of any kind. This account was given me by Mr. Morison minister of the place, before several of his parishioners who knew the truth of it. I submit the matter of fact to the censure of the learned; but for my own part, I think it to have been one of Satan's devices to make credulous people have an esteem for holy water.

John Morrison of Bragir in Lewis, a person of unquestionable sincerity and reputation told me, that within a mile of his house a girl of twelve years old was troubled at the frequent sight of a vision, resembling herself in stature, complexion, dress, &c. and seemed to stand or sit, and to be always employed as the girl was; this proved a great trouble to her: her parents being much concerned about it, consulted the said John Morrison, who inquired if the girl was instructed in the principles of her religion, and finding she was not, he bid them teach her the Creed, Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, and that she should say the latter daily after her prayers. Mr. Morison and his family joined in prayer in the girl's behalf, begging that God of his goodness would be pleased to deliver her from the trouble of such a vision: after which, and the girl's complying with the advice as above, she never saw it any more.

A man living three miles to the north of the said John Morrison, is much haunted by a spirit, appearing in all points like to himself; and he asks many impertinent questions of the man when in the fields, but speaks not a word to him at home, though he seldom misses to appear to him every night in the house, but to no other person. He told this to one of his neighbours, who advised him to cast a live coal at the face of the vision the next time he appeared: the man did so next night, and all the family saw the action; but the following day the same spirit appeared to him in the fields, and beat him severely, so as to oblige him to keep his bed for the space of fourteen days after. Mr. Morison minister of the parish, and several of his friends came to see the man, and joined in prayer that he might be freed from this trouble, but he was still haunted by that spirit a year after I left Lewis.

A man in Knockow, in the parish of St. Mary's, the northernmost in Skye, being in perfect health, and sitting with his fellow-servants at night, was on a sudden taken ill, dropt from his seat backward, and then fell vomiting; at which all the family were much concerned, he having never been subject to the like before: but he came to himself soon after, and had no sort of pain about him. One of the family, who was accustomed to see the second sight, told them that the man's illness proceeded from a very strange cause, which was thus: an ill-natured woman (naming her by her name) who lives in the next adjacent village of Bornskittag, came before him in a very furious and angry manner, her countenance full of passion, and her mouth full of reproaches, and threatened him with her head and hands, until he fell over as you have seen him. This woman had a fancy for the man, but was like to meet with a disappointment as to



his marrying her. This instance was told me by the master of the family, and others who were present when it happened.

One that lived in St. Mary's on the west side of the isle of Skie, told Mr. Mack-Pherfon the minister, and others, that he saw a vision of a corpse coming towards the church, not by the common road, but by a more rugged way, which rendered the thing incredible, and occasioned his neighbours to call him a fool; but he bid them have patience, and they would see the truth of what he asserted in a short time: and it fell out accordingly; for one of the neighbourhood died, and his corpse was carried along the same unaccustomed way, the common road being at that time filled with a deep snow. This account was given me by the minister, and others living there.

Mr. Mack-Pherfon's servant foretold that a kiln should take fire, and being some time after reproved by his master for talking so foolishly of the second sight, he answered that he could not help his seeing such things as presented themselves to his view in a very lively manner; adding further, I have just now seen that boy sitting by the fire with his face red, as if the blood had been running down his forehead, and I could not avoid seeing this: and as for the accomplishment of it within forty-eight hours, there is no doubt, says he, it having appeared in the day-time. The minister became very angry at his man, and charged him never to speak one word more of the second sight, or if he could not hold his tongue, to provide himself another master; telling him he was an unhappy fellow, who studied to abuse credulous people with false predictions. There was no more said on this subject until the next day, that the boy of whom the seer spoke, came in, having his face all covered with blood; which happened by his falling on a heap of stones. This account was given me by the minister and others of his family.

Daniel Dow, *alias* Black, an inhabitant of Bornkittag, was frequently troubled at the sight of a man threatening to give him a blow: he knew no man resembling this vision; but the stature, complexion and habit were so impressed on his mind, that he said he could distinguish him from any other, if he should happen to see him. About a year after the vision appeared first to him, his master sent him to Kyle-Raes, above thirty miles further south-east, where he was no sooner arrived, than he distinguished the man who had so often appeared to him at home; and within a few hours after, they happened to quarrel, and came to blows, so as one of them (I forgot which) was wounded in the head. This was told me by the seer's master, and others who live in the place. The man himself has his residence there, and is one of the precisest seers in the isles.

Sir Normand Mack-Leod, and some others playing at tables, at a game called in Irish *Falmar-more*, wherein there are three of a side, and each of them throw the dice by turns; there happened to be one difficult point in the disposing of one of the table-men: this obliged the gamester to deliberate before he was to change his man, since upon the disposing of it, the winning or losing of the game depended. At last the butler, who stood behind, advised the player where to place his man; with which he complied, and won the game. This being thought extraordinary, and Sir Normand hearing one whisper him in the ear, asked who advised him so skilfully? He answered, it was the butler; but this seemed more strange, for he could not play at tables. Upon this, Sir Normand asked him how long it was since he had learnt to play? and the fellow owned that he never played in his life, but that he saw the spirit Brownie reaching his arm over the player's head, and touched the part with his finger, on the point where the table-man was to be placed. This was told me by Sir Normand and others, who happened to be present at the time.

Daniel Dow above-named, foretold the death of a young woman in Minginis, within less than twenty-four hours before the time; and accordingly she died suddenly in the fields,



fields, though at the time of the prediction she was in perfect health ; but the shroud appearing close about her head, was the ground of his confidence, that her death was at hand.

The same Daniel Dow foretold the death of a child in his master's arms, by seeing a spark of fire fall on his left arm ; and this was likewise accomplished soon after the prediction.

Some of the inhabitants of Harries sailing round the isle of Skie, with a design to go to the opposite main land, were strangely surprized with an apparition of two men hanging down by the ropes that secured the mast, but could not conjecture what it meant. They pursued the voyage, but the wind turned contrary, and so forced them into Broadford in the isle of Skie, where they found Sir Donald Mack-Donald keeping a Sheriffs Court, and two criminals receiving sentence of death there : the ropes and mast of that very boat were made use of to hang those criminals. This was told me by several, who had this instance from the boat's crew.

Several persons living in a certain family, told me that they had frequently seen two men standing at a young gentlewoman's left hand, who was their master's daughter : they told the men's names ; and being her equals, it was not doubted, but she would be married to one of them ; and perhaps to the other, after the death of the first. Sometime after a third man appeared, and he seemed always to stand nearest to her of the three, but the seers did not know him, though they could describe him exactly. And within some months after, this man, who was seen last, did actually come to the house, and fulfilled the description given of him by those who never saw him but in a vision ; and he married the woman shortly after. They live in the isle of Skie ; both they and others confirmed the truth of this instance when I saw them.

Mack-Leod's porter passing by a galley that lay in the dock, saw her filled with men, having a corpse, and near to it he saw several of Mack-Leod's relations : this did in a manner persuade him that his master was to die soon after, and that he was to be the corpse which was to be transported in the galley. Some months after the vision was seen, Mack-Leod, with several of his relations and others, went to the isle of Mull ; where some days after, Maclean of Torloisk happened to die, and his corpse was transported in the galley to his burial-place, and Mack-Leod's relations were on board to attend the funeral, while Mack-Leod staid ashore, and went along with the corpse after their landing.

Mr. Dougal Mack-Pheron, minister of St. Mary's on the west side of Skie, having his servants in the kiln, drying of corn, the kiln happened to take fire, but was soon extinguished. And within a few months after, one of the minister's servants told him that the kiln would be on fire again shortly ; at which he grew very angry with his man, threatening to beat him if he should presume to prophesy mischief, by that lying way of the second sight. Notwithstanding this, the man asserted positively, and with great assurance, that the kiln would certainly take fire, let them use all the precautions they could. Upon this, Mr. Mack-Pheron had the curiosity to inquire of his man, if he could guess within what space of time the kiln would take fire ? he told him before Hallowtide. Upon which, Mr. Mack-Pheron called for the key of the kiln, and told his man that he would take care of the kiln until the limited day was expired, for none shall enter it sooner ; and by this means I shall make the devil, if he is the author of such lies, and you both liars. For this end he kept the key of the kiln in his press, until the time was over, and then delivered the key to the servants, concluding his man to be a fool and a cheat. Then the servants went to dry corn in the kiln, and were charged to have a special care of the fire ; yet in a little time after the kiln took fire, and it was all in a flash, according to the prediction, though the man mistook the time. He told his  
master,



master, that within a few moments after the fire of the kiln had been first extinguished, he saw it all in a flame again; and this appearing to him, in the day time, it would come to pass the sooner.

John Mack-Normand, and Daniel Mack-Ewin, travelling along the road, two miles to the north of Snifort church, saw a body of men coming from the north, as if they had a corpse with them to be buried in Snifort: this determined them to advance towards the river, which was then a little before them, and having waited at the ford, thinking to meet those that they expected with the funeral, were altogether disappointed; for after taking a view of the ground all round them, they discovered that it was only a vision. This was very surprizing to them both, for they never saw any thing by way of the second sight before or after that time. This they told their neighbours when they came home, and it happened that about two or three weeks after a corpse came along that road from another parish, from which few or none are brought to Snifort, except persons of distinction; so that this vision was exactly accomplished.

A gentleman who is a native of Skie, did, when a boy, disoblige a seer in the isle of Rafay, and upbraid him for his ugliness, as being black by name and nature. At last the seer told him very angrily, my child, if I am black, you'll be red e'er long. The master of the family chid him for this, and bid him give over his foolish predictions, since no body believed them; but next morning the boy being at play near the houses, fell on a stone, and wounded himself in the forehead, so deep, that to this day there is a hollow scar in that part of it.

James Beaton, surgeon in the isle of North-Vist, told me, that being in the isle of Mull, a seer told him confidently, that he was shortly to have a bloody forehead; but he disregarded it, and called the seer a fool. However this James being called by some of the Macleans to go along with them to attack a vessel belonging to the Earl of Argyle, who was then coming to possess Mull by force; they attacked the vessel, and one of the Macleans being wounded, the said James, while dressing the wound, happened to rub his forehead, and then some of his patient's blood stuck to his face, which accomplished the vision.

My Lord Viscount Tarbat, one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State in Scotland, travelling in the shire of Ross, in the north of Scotland, came into a house, and sat down in an armed chair: one of his retinue, who had the faculty of seeing the second sight, spoke to some of my lord's company, desiring them to persuade him to leave the house; for, said he, there is a great misfortune will attend somebody in it, and that within a few hours. This was told my lord, but he did not regard it: the seer did soon after renew his intreaty, with much eagerness, begging that my lord might remove out of that unhappy chair, but had no other answer than to be exposed for a fool. Some hours after my lord removed, and pursued his journey; but was not gone many hours when a trooper riding upon the ice, near the house whence my lord removed, fell and broke his thigh, and being afterwards brought into that house, was laid in the armed chair, where his wound was dressed, which accomplished the vision. I heard this instance from several hands, and had it since confirmed by my lord himself.

A man in the parish of St. Mary's in the barony of Troterness in Skie, called Lachlin, lay sick for the space of some months, decaying daily, insomuch that all his relations and acquaintance despaired of his recovery. One of the parishioners, called Archibald Mack-Donald, being reputed famous for his skill in foretelling things to come by the second sight, asserted positively that the sick man would never die in the house where he then lay. This being thought very improbable, all the neighbours condemned Archibald as a foolish prophet: upon which, he passionately affirmed, that if ever that sick man dies

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in the house where he now lies, I shall from henceforth renounce my part of heaven; adding withal, the sick man was to be carried alive out of the house in which he then lay, but that he would never return to it alive: and then he named the persons that should carry out the sick man alive. The man having lived some weeks longer than his friends imagined, and proving uneasy and troublesome to all the family; they considered that Archibald had reason for his peremptory assertion, and therefore they resolved to carry him to a house joining to that in which he then lay: but the poor man would by no means give his consent to be moved from a place where he believed he should never die; so much did he rely on the words of Archibald, of whose skill he had seen many demonstrations. But at last his friends being fatigued day and night with the sick man's uneasiness, they carried him against his inclination to another little house, which was only separated by an entry from that in which he lay, and their feet were scarce within the threshold, when the sick man gave up the ghost; and it was remarkable that the two neighbours, which Archibald named would carry him out, were actually the persons that did so. At the time of the prediction, Archibald saw him carried out as above, and when he was within the door of the other house, he saw him all white, and the shroud being about him, occasioned his confidence as above mentioned. This is matter of fact, which Mr. Daniel Nicholson minister of the parish, and a considerable number of the parishioners, are able to vouch for, and ready to attest, if occasion requires.

The same Archibald Mack-Donald happened to be in the village Knockow one night, and before supper told the family, that he had just then seen the strangest thing he ever saw in his life; to wit, a man with an ugly long cap, always shaking his head: but that the strangest of all, was a little kind of a harp which he had, with four strings only, and that it had two hart's horns fixed in the front of it. All that heard this odd vision, fell a laughing at Archibald, telling him that he was dreaming, or had not his wits about him; since he pretended to see a thing that had no being, and was not so much as heard of in any part of the world. All this could not alter Archibald's opinion; who told them that they must excuse him, if he laughed at them after the accomplishment of the vision. Archibald returned to his own house, and within three or four days after, a man with the cap, harp, &c. came to the house, and the harp, strings, horns, and cap answered the description of them at first view: he shook his head when he played, for he had two bells fixed to his cap. This harper was a poor man, and made himself a buffoon for his bread, and was never before seen in those parts; for at the time of the prediction, he was in the isle of Barra, which is above twenty leagues distant from that part of Skie. This story is vouched by Mr. Daniel Martin, and all his family, and such as were then present, and live in the village where this happened.

Mr. Daniel Nicholson minister of St. Mary's in Skie, the parish in which Archibald Mack-Donald lived, told me, that one Sunday after sermon at the chapel Uge, he took occasion to inquire of Archibald, if he still retained that unhappy faculty of seeing the second sight, and he wished him to lay it aside, if possible; for, said he, it is no true character of a good man. Archibald was highly displeased, and answered, that he hoped he was no more unhappy than his neighbours, for seeing what they could not perceive; adding, I had, says he, as serious thoughts as my neighbours, in time of hearing a sermon to day, and even then I saw a corpse laid on the ground close to the pulpit, and I assure you it will be accomplished shortly, for it was in the day-time. Mr. Nicholson and several parishioners then present, endeavoured to dissuade Archibald from this discourse; but he still asserted that it would quickly come to pass, and that all his other predictions of this kind had ever been accomplished. There was none in  
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the parish then sick, and few are buried at that little chapel, nay sometimes not one in a year is buried there; yet when Mr. Nicholson returned to preach in the said chapel, two or three weeks after, he found one buried in the very spot named by Archibald. This story is vouched by Mr. Nicholson, and several of the parishioners still living.

Mr. Daniel Nicholson above-mentioned, being a widower at the age of forty-four, this Archibald saw in a vision a young gentlewoman in a good dress frequently standing at Mr. Nicholson's right hand, and this he often told the parishioners positively; and gave an account of her complexion, stature, habit, and that she would in time be Mr. Nicholson's wife: this being told the minister by several of them, he desired them to have no regard to what that foolish dreamer had said; for, said he, it is twenty to one if ever I marry again. Archibald happened to see Mr. Nicholson soon after this slighting expression, however he persisted still in his opinion, and said confidently that Mr. Nicholson would certainly marry, and that the woman would in all points make up the character he gave of her, for he saw her as often as he saw Mr. Nicholson. This story was told me above a year before the accomplishment of it; and Mr. Nicholson, some two or three years after Archibald's prediction, went to the synod in Boot, where he had the first opportunity of seeing one Mrs. Morison, and from that moment fancied her, and afterwards married her. She was no sooner seen in the isle of Skie, than the natives, who had never seen her before, were satisfied that she did completely answer the character given of her, &c. by Archibald.

One who had been accustomed to see the second-sight in the isle of Egg, which lies about three or four leagues to the south-west part of the isle of Skie; told his neighbours that he had frequently seen an apparition of a man in a red coat lined with blue, and having on his head a strange sort of blue cap, with a very high cock on the fore part of it, and that the man who there appeared was kissing a comely maid in the village where the seer dwelt; and therefore declared that a man in such a dress would certainly debauch or marry such a young woman. This unusual vision did much expose the seer, for all the inhabitants treated him as a fool, though he had on several other occasions foretold things that afterwards were accomplished; this they thought one of the most unlikely things to be accomplished that could have entered into any man's head. This story was then discoursed of in the isle of Skie, and all that heard it laughed at it; it being a rarity to see any foreigner in Egg, and the young woman had no thoughts of going any where else. This story was told me at Edinburgh by Normand Mack-Leod of Graban, in September 1688, he being just then come from the isle of Skie; and there were present the Laird of Mack-Leod, and Mr. Alexander Mack-Leod advocate, and others.

About a year and a half after the late Revolution, Major Ferguson, now colonel of one of Her Majesty's regiments of foot, was then sent by the government with six hundred men, and some frigates, to reduce the islanders that had appeared for K. J. and perhaps the small isle of Egg had never been regarded, though some of the inhabitants had been at the battle of Killcranky, but by a mere accident, which determined Major Ferguson to go to the isle of Egg, which was this: a boat's crew of the isle of Egg happened to be in the isle of Skie, and killed one of Major Ferguson's soldiers there: upon notice of which the Major directed his course to the isle of Egg, where he was sufficiently revenged of the natives; and at the same time, the maid above mentioned being very handsome, was then forcibly carried on board one of the vessels, by some of the soldiers, where she was kept above twenty-four hours, and ravished, and brutishly robbed at the same time of her fine head of hair: she is since married in the isle, and in good reputation; her misfortune being pitied, and not reckoned her crime.

Sir



Sir Normand Mack-Leod, who has his residence in the isle of Bernera, which lies between the isle of North-Vist and Harries, went to the Isle of Skie about business, without appointing any time for his return; his servants in his absence, being all together in the large hall at night, one of them who had been accustomed to see the second-sight, told the rest they must remove, for they would have abundance of other company in the hall that night. One of his fellow-servants answered, that there was very little appearance of that, and if he had seen any vision of company, it was not like to be accomplished this night: but the seer insisted upon it, that it was. They continued to argue the improbability of it, because of the darkness of the night, and the danger of coming through the rocks that lie round the isle: but within an hour after, one of Sir Normand's men came to the house, bidding them provide lights, &c. for his master had newly landed; and thus the prediction was immediately accomplished.

Sir Normand hearing of it, called for the seer, and examined him about it; he answered, that he had seen the spirit called Browny, in human shape, come several times, and make a shew of carrying an old woman that sat by the fire to the door; and at last seemed to carry her out by neck and heels, which made him laugh heartily, and gave occasion to the rest to conclude he was mad, to laugh so without reason. This instance was told me by Sir Normand himself.

Four men from the isle of Skie and Harries having gone to Barbadoes, staid there for fourteen years; and though they were wont to see the second sight in their native country, they never saw it in Barbadoes: but, upon their return to England, the first night after their landing they saw the second-sight, as it was told me by several of their acquaintance.

John Morrison, who lives in Bernera of Harries, wears the plant called *Fuga Dæmonum*, sewed in the neck of his coat, to prevent his seeing of visions, and says he never saw any since he first carried that plant about him. He suffered me to feel the plant in the neck of his coat, but would by no means let me open the seam, though I offered him a reward to let me do it.

A spirit, by the country people called Browny, was frequently seen in all the most considerable families in the isles and north of Scotland, in the shape of a tall man; but within these twenty or thirty years past he is seen but rarely.

There were spirits also that appeared in the shape of women, horses, swine, cats, and some like fiery balls, which would follow men in the fields; but there has been but few instances of these for forty years past.

These spirits used also to form sounds in the air resembling those of a harp, pipe, crowing of a cock, and of the grinding of querns; and sometimes they have heard voices in the air by night singing Irish songs: the words of which songs some of my acquaintance still retain. One of them resembled the voice of a woman who had died some time before, and the song related to her state in the other world. These accounts I had from persons of as great integrity as any are in the world.

*A brief Account of the Advantages the Isles afford by Sea and Land, and particularly for a Fishing Trade.*

THE North-west Isles are of all other most capable of improvement by sea and land; yet, by reason of their distance from trading towns, and because of their language, which is Irish, the inhabitants have never had any opportunity to trade at home or abroad, or to acquire mechanical arts, and other sciences: so that they are still left to act by the force



of their natural genius, and what they could learn by observation. They have not yet arrived to a competent knowledge in agriculture, for which cause many tracts of rich ground lie neglected, or at least but meanly improved, in proportion to what they might be. This is the more to be regretted, because the people are as capable to acquire arts or sciences as any other in Europe. If two or more persons skilled in agriculture were sent from the Lowlands to each parish in the isles, they would soon enable the natives to furnish themselves with such plenty of corn as would maintain all their poor and idle people; many of which for want of subsistence at home, are forced to seek their livelihood in foreign countries, to the great loss, as well as dishonour of the nation. This would enable them also to furnish the opposite barren parts of the continent with bread; and so much the more, that in plentiful years they afford them good quantities of corn in this infant state of their agriculture. They have many large parcels of ground never yet manured, which, if cultivated, would maintain double the number of the present inhabitants, and increase and preserve their cattle; many of which, for want of hay or straw die in the winter and spring: so that I have known particular persons lose above one hundred cows at a time, merely by want of fodder.

This is so much the more inexcusable, because the ground in the Western Isles is naturally richer in many respects than in many other parts of the continent; as appears from several instances, particularly in Skie, and the opposite Western Isles, in which there are many valleys, &c. capable of good improvement, and of which divers experiments have been already made; and besides, most of those places have the convenience of fresh-water lakes and rivers, as well as of the sea, near at hand, to furnish the inhabitants with fish of many sorts, and *alga marina* for manuring the ground.

In many places the soil is proper for wheat; and that their grass is good, is evident from the great product of their cattle: so that if the natives were taught and encouraged to take pains to improve their corn and hay, to plant, inclose, and manure their ground, drain lakes, sow wheat and pease, and plant orchards and kitchen-gardens, &c. they might have as great plenty of all things for the sustenance of mankind, as any other people in Europe.

I have known a hundred families, of four or five persons a-piece at least, maintained there upon little farms, for which they paid not above five shillings sterling, one sheep, and some pecks of corn per ann. each; which is enough to shew, that by a better improvement, that country would maintain many more inhabitants than now live in the isles.

If any man be disposed to live a solitary retired life, and to withdraw from the noise of the world, he may have a place of retreat there in a small island, or in the corner of a large one, where he may enjoy himself, and live at a very cheap rate.

If any family, reduced to low circumstances, had a mind to retire to any of these isles, there is no part of the known world where they may have the products of sea and land cheaper; live more securely, or among a more tractable and mild people. And that the country in general is healthful, appears from the good state of health enjoyed by the inhabitants.

I shall not offer to assert that there are mines of gold or silver in the Western Isles, from any resemblance they may bear to other parts that afford mines, but the natives affirm that gold dust has been found at Griminis on the western coast of the isle of North-Vist, and at Copveaul in Harries; in which, as well as in other parts of the isles, the teeth of the sheep which feed there are dyed yellow.



There is a good lead mine, having a mixture of silver in it, on the west end of the isle of Ila, near Port Escock; and Buchanan and others say, that the isle Lismore affords lead: and Slait and Strath, on the south-west of Skie, are in stone, ground, grafs, &c. exactly the same with that part of Ila, where there is a lead mine. And if search were made in the isles and hills of the opposite main, it is not improbable that some good mines might be discovered in some of them.

I was told by a gentleman of Lochaber, that an Englishman had found some gold-dust in a mountain near the river Lochy, but could never find out the place again after his return from England. That there have been gold mines in Scotland is clear, from the manuscripts mentioned by Dr. Nicholson, now Bishop of Carlisle, in his late Scots Hist. Library.

The situation of these isles for promoting trade in general appears advantageous enough: but more particularly for a trade with Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, Holland, Britain, and Ireland. France and Spain seem remote, yet they do not exceed a week's sailing, with a favourable wind.

The general opinion of the advantage that might be reaped from the improvement of the fish trade in these isles, prevailed among considering people in former times to attempt it.

The first that I know of was by King Charles the First, in conjunction with a company of merchants; but it miscarried because of the civil wars, which unhappily broke out at that time.

The next attempt was by King Charles the Second, who also joined with some merchants; and this succeeded well for a time. I am assured by such as saw the fish caught by that company, that they were reputed the best in Europe of their kind, and accordingly were sold for a greater price; but this design was ruined thus: the King having occasion for money, was advised to withdraw that which was employed in the fishery; at which the merchants being displeased, and disagreeing likewise among themselves, they also withdrew their money: and the attempt has never been renewed since that time.

The settling a fishery in those parts would prove of great advantage to the government, and be an effectual means to advance the revenue, by the customs on export and import, &c.

It would be a nursery of stout and able seamen in a very short time, to serve the government on all occasions. The inhabitants of the isles and opposite main land being very prolific already, the country would beyond all peradventure become very populous in a little time, if a fishery were once settled among them. The inhabitants are not contemptible for their number at present, nor are they to learn the use of the oar, for all of them are generally very dextrous at it: so that those places need not to be planted with a new colony, but only furnished with proper materials, and a few expert hands, to join with the natives to set on foot and advance a fishery.

The people inhabiting the Western Isles of Scotland, may be about forty thousand, and many of them want employment; this is a great encouragement both for setting up other manufactories and the fishing trade among them: besides a great number of people may be expected from the opposite continent of the Highlands, and north; which, from a late computation, by one who had an estimate of their number, from several ministers in the country, are reckoned to exceed the number of islanders above ten to one: and it is too well known, that many of them also want employment. The objection, that they speak only Irish, is nothing: many of them understand English, in all

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the considerable islands, which are sufficient to direct the rest in catching and curing fish; and in a little time the youth would learn English.

The commodiousness and safety of the numerous bays and harbours in those isles, seem as if nature had designed them for promoting trade: they are likewise furnished with plenty of good water and stones for building. The opposite main land affords wood of divers sorts for that use. They have abundance of turf and peat for fuel; and of this latter there is such plenty in many parts, as might furnish salt-pans with fire all the year round. The sea forces its passage in several small channels through the land; so as it renders the design more easy and practicable.

The coast of each isle affords many thousand load of sea-ware, which, if preserved, might be successfully used for making glass, and likewise kelp for soap.

The generality of the bays afford all sorts of shell-fish in great plenty; as oysters, clams, muscles, lobsters, cockles, &c. which might be pickled, and exported in great quantities. There are great and small whales of divers kinds to be had round the isles, and on the shore of the opposite continent; and are frequently seen in narrow bays, where they may be easily caught. The great number of rivers both in the isles and opposite main land, afford abundance of salmon, which, if rightly managed, might turn to a good account.

The isles afford likewise great quantities of black cattle, which might serve the traders both for consumption and export.

Strath in Skie abounds with good marble, which may be had at an easy rate, and near the sea.

There is good wool in most of the isles, and very cheap; some are at the charge of carrying it on horseback, about seventy or eighty miles, to the shires of Murray and Aberdeen.

There are several of the isles that afford a great deal of very fine clay; which, if improved, might turn to a good account for making earthen-ware of all sorts.

The most central and convenient places for keeping magazines of cask, salt, &c. are those mentioned in the respective isles; as one at Loch-Maddy isles, in the isle of North-Vist; a second in the isle of Hermetra, on the coast of the island Harries; a third in island Glas, on the coast of Harries; and a fourth in Stornvay, in the isle of Lewis.

But for settling a magazine or colony for trade in general, and fishing in particular, the isle of Skie is absolutely the most central, both with regard to the isles and opposite main land; and the most proper places in this isle are island Isa in Lochfallart, and Lochuge, both on the west side of Skie; Loch-Portrie, and Scowfar on the east side, and island Dierman on the south side: these places abound with all sorts of fish that are caught in those seas; and they are proper places for a considerable number of men to dwell in, and convenient for settling magazines in them.

There are many bays and harbours that are convenient for building towns in several of the other isles, if trade were settled among them; and cod and ling, as well as fish of lesser size, are to be had generally on the coast of the lesser, as well as of the larger isles. I am not ignorant that foreigners, sailing through the Western Isles have been tempted, from the sight of so many wild hills, that seem to be covered all over with heath, and faced with high rocks, to imagine that the inhabitants, as well as the places of their residence, are barbarous; and to this opinion their habit as well as their language, have contributed. The like is supposed by many that live in the south of Scotland, who know no more of the Western Isles than the natives of Italy: but the

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lion is not so fierce as he is painted, neither are the people described here so barbarous as the world imagines : it is not the habit that makes the monk, nor doth the garb in fashion qualify him that wears it to be virtuous. The inhabitants have humanity, and use strangers hospitably and charitably. I could bring several instances of barbarity and theft committed by stranger seamen in the isles, but there is not one instance of any injury offered by the islanders to any seamen or strangers. I had a particular account of seamen, who not many years ago stole cattle and sheep in several of the isles ; and when they were found on board their vessels, the inhabitants were satisfied to take their value in money or goods, without any further resentment : though many seamen, whose lives were preserved by the natives, have made them very ungrateful returns. For the humanity and hospitable temper of the islanders to sailors, I shall only give two instances : Capt. Jackson of Whitehaven, about sixteen years ago, was obliged to leave his ship, being leaky, in the bay within island Glas, alias Scalpa, in the isle of Harries, with two men to take care of her though loaded with goods : the ship was not within three miles of a house, and separated from the dwelling-places by mountains ; yet when the Captain returned, about ten or twelve months after, he found his men and the vessel safe.

Capt. Lotch lost the Dromedary of London, of six hundred tons burthen, with all her rich cargo from the Indies ; of which he might have saved a great deal, had he embraced the assistance which the natives offered him to unlade her : but the Captain's shyness, and fear of being thought rude, hindered a gentleman on the place to employ about seventy hands which he had ready to unlade her, and so the cargo was lost. The Captain and his men were kindly entertained there by Sir Normand Mack-Leod ; and though among other valuable goods, they had six boxes of gold dust, there was not the least thing taken from them by the inhabitants. There are some pedlars from the shire of Murray and other parts, who of late have fixed their residence in the isle of Skie, and travel through the remotest isles without any molestation ; though some of those pedlars speak no Irish. Several barks come yearly from Orkney to the Western Isles, to fish for cod and ling : and many from Anstruther in the shire of Fife, came formerly to Barray and other isles to fish, before the battle of Kilsyth ; where most of them being cut off, that trade was afterwards neglected.

The magazines and fishing-boats, left by foreigners in the isles above mentioned, were reckoned secure enough, when one of the natives only was left in charge with them till the next season ; and so they might be still. So that if a company of strangers from any part should settle to fish or trade in these isles, there is no place of greater security in any part of Europe ; for the proprietors are always ready to assist and support all strangers within their respective jurisdictions. A few Dutch families settled in Stornvay, in the isle of Lewis, after King Charles the Second's restoration, but some cunning merchants found means by the secretaries to prevail with the King to send them away, though they brought the islanders a great deal of money for the products of their sea and land fowl, and taught them something of the art of fishing. Had they staid, the islanders must certainly have made considerable progress in trade by this time ; for the small idea of fishing they had from the Dutch has had so much effect, as to make the people of the little village of Stornvay to excel all those of the neighbouring isles and continent in the fishing trade ever since that time.

For the better government of those isles, in case of setting up a fishing trade there, it may perhaps be found necessary to erect the isles of Skie, Lewis, Harries, South and North-Vilt, &c. into a shierivalty, and to build a royal borough in Skie as the center, because of the people's great distance in remote isles, from the head borough of the shire



shire of Inverness. This would seem much more necessary here than those of Boot and Arran, that lie much nearer to Dunbarton, though they be necessary enough in themselves.

It may likewise deserve the consideration of the government, whether they should not make the isle of Skie a free port, because of the great encouragement such immunities give to trade; which always issues in the welfare of the public, and adds strength and reputation to the government. Since these Isles are capable of the improvements above-mentioned, it is a great loss to the nation they should be thus neglected. This is the general opinion of foreigners as well as of our own countrymen, who know them; but I leave the further enquiry to such as shall be disposed to attempt a trade there, with the concurrence of the government. Scotland has men and money enough to set up a fishery; so that there seems to be nothing wanting towards it, but the encouragement of those in power, to excite the inclination and industry of the people.

If the Dutch in their publick edicts call their fishery a golden mine, and at the same time affirm that it yields them more profit than the Indies do to Spain; we have very great reason to begin to work upon those rich mines, not only in the isles, but on all our coast in general. We have multitudes of hands to be employed at a very easy rate; we have a healthful climate, and our fish, especially the herring, come to our coast in April or May, and in the bay in prodigious shoals in July or August. I have seen complaints from Loch-Effort in Skie, that all the ships there were loaded, and that the barrel of herring might be had there for four-pence, but there were no buyers.

I have known the herring-fishing to continue in some bays from September till the end of January; and wherever they are, all other fish follow them, and whales and seals in particular: for the larger fish of all kinds feed upon herring.

*A brief Description of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, &c.*

THE isles of Orkney lie to the north of Scotland, having the main Caledonian Ocean, which contains the Hebrides on the west, and the German Ocean on the east, and the sea towards the north separates them from the isles of Shetland. Pictland Firth on the south, which is twelve miles broad, reaches to Dungsbie-head, the most northern point of the main land of Scotland.

Authors differ as to the origin of the name; the English call it Orkney, from Erick, one of the first Pictish Princes that possessed them: and it is observed, that Pict or Pight in the Teutonical language signifies a fighter. The Irish call them Arkive, from the first planter; and Latin authors call them Orcades. They lie in the northern temperate zone, and thirteenth climate; the longitude is between twenty-two degrees, and eleven minutes, and latitude fifty-nine degrees, two minutes: the compass varies here eight degrees; the longest day is about eighteen hours. The air is temperately cold, and the night so clear, that in the middle of June one may see to read all night long; and the days in winter are by consequence very short. Their winters here are commonly more subject to rain than snow, for the sea-air dissolves the latter. The winds are often very boisterous in this country.

The sea ebbs and flows here as in other parts, except in a few sounds, and about some promontories; which alter the course of the tides, and make them very impetuous.

The isles of Orkney are reckoned twenty-six in number; the lesser isles, called Holms, are not inhabited, but fit for pasturage: most of their names end in *a* or *ey*, that in the Teutonical language signifies water, with which they are all surrounded.

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The main land, called by the ancients Pomona, is about twenty-four long, and in the middle of it, on the south side, lies the only town in Orkney, called Kirkwall, which is about three quarters of a mile in length; the Danes called it Cracoviaça. There has been two fine edifices in it, one of them called the King's Palace, which is supposed to have been built by one of the bishops of Orkney, because in the wall there is a bishop's mitre and arms engraven, and the bishops anciently had their residence in it.

The palace now called the Bishop's, was built by Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Anno 1606.

There is a stately church in this town, having a steeple erected on four large pillars in the middle of it; there are fourteen pillars on each side the church: it is called by the name of St. Magnus's Church, being founded, as the inhabitants say, by Magnus King of Norway; whom they believe to be interred there. The seat of Justice for these isles is kept here; the steward, sheriff, and commissary, do each of them keep their respective courts in this place. It hath a public school for teaching of grammar learning, endowed with a competent salary.

This town was erected into a royal borough when the Danes possessed it, and their charter was afterwards confirmed to them by King James the Third, Anno 1486. They have from that charter a power to hold Borough-Courts, to imprison, to arrest, to make bye-laws, to chuse their own magistrates yearly, to have two weekly markets; and they have also power of life and death, and of sending commissioners to Parliament, and all other privileges granted to royal boroughs. This charter was dated at Edinburgh the last day of March, 1486, and it was since ratified by King James the V. and King Charles the II. The town is governed by a provost, four bailiffs, and a common-council.

On the west end of the main is the King's palace formerly mentioned, built by Robert Stewart Earl of Orkney, about the year 1574. Several rooms in it have been curiously painted with scripture stories, as the flood of Noah, Christ's riding to Jerusalem, &c. and each figure has the scripture by it, that it refers to. Above the arms within there is this lofty inscription, *Sic fuit, est, & erit*. This island is fruitful in corn and grass, and has several good harbours; one of them at Kirkwall, a second at the bay of Kerston village, near the west end of the isle, well secured against wind and weather; the third is at Deer-Sound, and reckoned a very good harbour; the fourth is at Grahamshall, towards the east side of the isle, but in sailing to and from the east side, seamen would do well to sail betwixt Lambholm and the main land, and not between Lambholm and Burray, which is shallow.

On the east of the main land lies the small isle Copinsha, fruitful in corn and grass; it is distinguished by sea-faring men for its conspicuousness at a great distance. To the north end of it lies the Holm, called the Horse of Copinsha. Over against Kerston Bay lie the isles of Hoy and Waes, which make but one isle, about twelve miles in length, and mountainous. In this island is the hill of Hoy, which is reckoned the highest in Orkney.

The isle of South-Ronalshaw lies to the east of Waes, it is five miles in length, and fruitful in corn; Burray in the south end is the ferry to Duncansbay in Caithness. A little further to the south lies Swinna isle, remarkable only for a part of Pightland-Firth lying to the west of it, called the Wells of Swinna: they are two whirl-pools in the sea, which run about with such violence, that any vessel or boat coming within their reach, go always round until they sink. These wells are dangerous only when there is a dead calm; for if a boat be under sail with any wind, it is easy to go over them. If any boat be forced into these wells by the violence of the tide, the boat-men cast a barrel or an



oar into the wells; and while it is swallowing it up, the sea continues calm, and gives the boat an opportunity to pass over.

To the north of the main lies the isle of Shapinsha, five miles in length, and has an harbour at Elwick on the south. Further to the north lie the isles of Stronsa, five miles in length, and Eda which is four miles; Ronfa lies to the north-west, and is six miles long. The isle Sanda lies north, twelve miles in length, and is reckoned the most fruitful and beautiful of all the Orkades.

The isles of Orkney in general are fruitful in corn and cattle, and abound with store of rabbits.

The sheep are very fruitful here, many of them have two, some three, and others four lambs at a time; they often die with a disease called the Sheep-dead, which is occasioned by little animals about half an inch long, that are engendered in their liver.

The horses are of a very small size, but hardy, and exposed to the rigour of the season, during the winter and spring: the grass being then scarce, they are fed with seawe.

The fields every where abound with variety of plants and roots, and the latter are generally very large; the common people dress their leather with the roots of Tormentil, instead of bark.

The main land is furnished with abundance of good marle, which is used successfully by the husbandman for manuring the ground.

The inhabitants say there are mines of silver, tin and lead in the main land, South-Ronafshaw, Stronsa, Sanda, and Hoy. Some veins of marble are to be seen at Buckquoy, and Swinna. There are no trees in these isles, except in gardens, and those bear no fruit. Their common fuel is peat and turf, of which there is such plenty, as to furnish a salt-pan with fuel. A south-east and north west moon cause high water here.

The Finland fishermen have been frequently seen on the coast of this isle, particularly in the year 1687. The people on the coast saw one of them in his little boat, and endeavoured to take him, but could not come at him, he retired so speedily. They say the fish retire from the coast, when they see these men come to it.

One of the boats, sent from Orkney to Edinburgh, is to be seen in the Physicians Hall; with the oar he makes use of, and the dart with which he kills his fish.

There is no venomous creature in this country. The inhabitants say there is a snail there, which has a bright stone growing in it. There is abundance of shell fish here, as oysters, muscles, crabs, cockles, &c. of this latter they make much fine lime. The rocks on the shore afford plenty of sea ware, as *alga-marina*, &c.

The sea abounds with variety of fish, but especially herring, which are much neglected since the battle of Kilsyth, at which time, the fishermen from Fife were almost all killed there.

There are many small whales round the coast of this isle; and the amphibia here are otters and seals.

The chief product of Orkney that is yearly exported from thence, is corn, fish, hides, tallow, butter, skins of seals, otter-skins, lamb skins, rabbit-skins, stuffs, white salt, wool, pens, down, feathers, hams, &c.

Some spermiceti, and ambergrease, as also the *os capier* are found on the shore of several of those isles.

This country affords plenty of sea and land fowl, as geese, ducks, Solan geese, swans, lyres, and eagles, which are so strong as to carry away children. There is also the cleck-geese; the shells in which this fowl is said to be produced, are found in several isles sticking to trees by the bill; of this kind I have seen many: the fowl was covered

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by a shell, and the head stuck to the tree by the bill, but I never saw any of them with life in them upon the tree; but the natives told me, that they had observed them to move with the heat of the sun.

The Picts are believed to have been the first inhabitants of these isles, and there are houses of a round form in several parts of the country, called by the name of Picts houses; and for the same reason, the Firth is called Pightland or Pentland Firth. Our historians call these isles the ancient kingdom of the Picts. Buchanan gives an account of one Belus King of Orkney, who being defeated by King Ewen the second of Scotland, became desperate, and killed himself. The effigies of this Belus is engraven on a stone in the church of Birfa on the main land. Boethius makes mention of another of their kings, called Bannus, and by others Gethus, who being vanquished by Claudius Cæsar, was by him afterwards, together with his wife and family, carried captive to Rome, and there led in triumph, *Anno Christi* 43.

The Picts possessed Orkney until the reign of Kenneth the second of Scotland, who subdued the country, and annexed it to his crown. From that time Orkney was peaceably possessed by the Scots, until about the year 1099, that Donald Bane intending to secure the kingdom to himself, promised both these and the Western Isles to Magnus King of Norway, upon condition, that he should support him with a competent force: which he performed; and by this means became master of these isles, until the reign of Alexander the third, who by his valour expelled the Danes. The Kings of Denmark did afterwards resign their title for a sum of money, and this resignation was ratified under the great seal of Denmark, at the marriage of King James the sixth of Scotland, with Anne Princess of Denmark.

Orkney has been from time to time a title of honour to several persons of great quality: Henry and William Sinclairs were called Princes of Orkney; and Rothuel Hepburn was made Duke of Orkney: Lord George Hamilton (brother to the present Duke of Hamilton) was by the late King William created Earl of Orkney. The Earl of Morton had a mortgage of Orkney and Zetland from King Charles the first, which was since reduced by a decree of the Lords of Session, obtained at the instance of the King's advocate against the earl; and this decree was afterward ratified by act of parliament, and the Earldom of Orkney, and Lordship of Zetland, have since that time been erected into a stewartry. The reason, on which the decree was founded, is said to have been that the Earl's deputy seized upon some chests of gold found in the rich Amsterdam ship, called the Carlmelan, that was lost in Zetland 1664.

There are several gentlemen of estates in Orkney but the Queen is the principal proprietor; and one half of the whole belongs to the crown, besides the late accession of the bishop's rents, which is about 9000 merks Scots *per Annum*. There is a yearly roup of Orkney rents, and he that offers highest is preferred to be the King's steward for the time; and as such, he is principal judge of the country. But this precarious lease is a public loss to the inhabitants, especially the poorer sort, who complain that they would be allowed to pay money for their corn and meal in time of scarcity; but that the stewards carried it off to other parts, and neglected the interest of the country. The interest of the crown suffers likewise by this means, for much of the crown lands lie waste: whereas if there were a constant steward, it might be much better managed, both for the crown and the inhabitants.

There is a tenure of land in Orkney, differing from any other in the kingdom, and this they call Udal Right, from Ulaus King of Norway, who after taking possession of those islands, gave a right to the inhabitants, on condition of paying the third to himself;



himself; and this right the inhabitants had successively, without any charter. All the lands of Orkney are Udal lands, King's lands, or feued lands.

They differ in their measures from other parts of Scotland, for they do not use the peck or firlet, but weigh their corns in Pismores, or Pundlers; the least quantity they call a Merk, which is eighteen ounces, and twenty-four make a Leifpound, or Setten, which is the same with the Danes that a stone weight is with us.

*The ancient State of the Church of Orkney.*

THE churches of Orkney and Zetland isles were formerly under the government of a bishop; the cathedral church was St. Magnus in Kirkwall. There are thirty-one churches, and about one hundred chapels in the country, and the whole make up about eighteen parishes.

This diocese had several great dignities and privileges for a long time, but by the succession and change of many masters they were lessened. Dr. Robert Keid, their bishop, made an erection of seven dignities, viz. 1. A provost, to whom, under the bishop, the government of the canons, &c. did belong; he had allotted to him the prebendary of Holy Trinity, and the vicarage of South Ronaldshaw. 2. An arch-deacon. 3. A precentor, who had the prebendary of Ophir, and vicarage of Stenuis. 4. A chancellor, who was to be learned in both laws; to him was given the prebendary of St. Mary in Sanda, and the vicarage of Sanda. 5. A treasurer, who was to keep the treasure of the church, and sacred vestments, &c. he was rector of St. Nicholas in Stronfa. 6. A sub-dean, who was parson of Hoy, &c. 7. A sub-chanter, who was bound to play on the organs each Lord's Day, and festivals; he was prebendary of St. Colme. He erected seven other canonries and prebends; to which dignities he assigned, besides their churches, the rents of the parsonages of St. Colme in Waes, and Holy-Cross in Westra, as also the vicarages of the parish churches of Sand, Wick, and Stromness. He erected, besides these, thirteen chaplains; every one of which was to have twenty-four meils of corn, and ten merks of money for their yearly salary; besides their daily distributions, which were to be raised from the rents of the vicarage of the cathedral church, and from the foundation of Thomas Bishop of Orkney, and the twelve pounds ratified by King James the Third, and James the Fourth of Scotland. To these he added a Sacrist, and six boys to bear tapers. The charter of the erection is dated at Kirkwall, October 28, *Anno* 1554.

This was the state of the church under popery. Some time after the reformation, Bishop Law being made Bishop of Orkney, and the earldom united to the crown (by the forfeiture and death of Patrick Stewart Earl of Orkney,) he with the consent of his chapter made a contract with King James the Sixth, in which they resign all their ecclesiastical lands to the crown; and the king gives back to the bishop several lands in Orkney, as Hom, Orphir, &c. and His Majesty gave also the Commissariat of Orkney to the bishop and his successors; and then a competent number of persons for a chapter were agreed on. This contract was made *Anno* 1614.

*The ancient Monuments and Curiosities in these Islands are as follow:*

IN the isle of Hoy, there is the Dwarfie-stone between two hills, it is about thirty-four feet long, and about sixteen feet broad; it is made hollow by human industry: it has a small square entry looking to the east, about two feet high, and has a stone proportionable



portionable at two feet distance before the entry. At one of the ends within this stone there is cut out a bed and pillow, capable of two persons to lie in; at the other opposite end there is a void space cut out resembling a bed; and above both these there is a large hole, which is supposed was a vent for smoke. The common tradition is, that a giant and his wife made this their place of retreat.

About a mile to the west of the main land at Skeal-house, there is in the top of high rocks many stones disposed like a street, about a quarter of a mile in length, and between twenty and thirty feet broad. They differ in figure and magnitude, are of a red colour; some resemble a heart, some a crown, leg, shoe, last, weaver's shuttle, &c.

On the west and east side of Loch-Stenuis, on the main land, there are two circles of large stone erected in a ditch; the larger, which is round on the north-west side, is a hundred paces diameter, and some of the stones are twenty feet high, and above four in breadth; they are not all of a height, nor placed at an equal distance, and many of them are fallen down on the ground.

About a little distance further, there is a semi-circle of larger stones than those mentioned above. There are two green mounts, at the east and west side of the circle, which are supposed to be artificial; and fibule of silver were found in them some time ago, which on one side resembled a horse's-shoe, more than any thing else.

The hills and circles are believed to have been places designed to offer sacrifice in time of Pagan idolatry; and for this reason the people called them the ancient temples of the Gods, as we may find by Boethius in the life of Manius. Several of the inhabitants have a tradition, that the sun was worshipped in the larger, and the moon in the lesser circle.

In the chapel of Clet, in the isle of Sanda, there is a grave of nineteen feet in length; some who had the curiosity to open it, found only a piece of a man's backbone in it, bigger than that of a horse. The minister of the place had the curiosity to keep the bone by him for some time. The inhabitants have a tradition of a giant there, whose stature was such, that he could reach his hand as high as the top of the chapel. There have been large bones found lately in Westra, and one of the natives who died not long ago, was for his stature distinguished by the title of the Micle, or great Man of Waes.

There are erected stones in divers parts, both of the main, and lesser isles, which are believed to have been erected as monuments of such as distinguished themselves in battle.

There have been several strange instances of the effects of thunder here; as that of burning Kirkwall steeple by lightning in the year 1670. At Stromness a gentleman had twelve kine, six of which in a stall were suddenly killed by thunder, and the other six left alive; and it was remarkable that the thunder did not kill them all as they stood, but killed one, and missed another. This happened in 1680, and is attested by the minister, and others of the parish.

There is a ruinous chapel in Papa Westra, called St. Tredwels, at the door of which there is a heap of stones; which was the superstition of the common people, who have such a veneration for this chapel above any other, that they never fail, at their coming to it, to throw a stone as an offering before the door: and this they reckon an indispensable duty enjoined by their ancestors.

Lady-Kirk in South-Ronalshaw, though ruinous, and without a roof, is so much revered by the natives, that they chuse rather to repair this old one, than to build a new church in a more convenient place, and at a cheaper rate: such is the power of education, that these men cannot be cured of these superfluous fancies, transmitted to them by their ignorant ancestors.



Within the ancient fabric of Lady-Church there is a stone of four feet in length, and two in breadth, tapering at both ends: this stone has engraven on it the print of two feet, concerning which the inhabitants have the following tradition: that St. Magnus wanting a boat to carry him over Pightland-Firth to the opposite main land of Caithness, made use of this stone instead of a boat, and afterwards carried it to this church, where it continues ever since. But others have this more reasonable opinion, that it has been used in time of Popery for delinquents, who were obliged to stand barefoot upon it by way of penance. Several of the vulgar inhabiting the lesser isles observe the anniversary of their respective saints. There is one day in harvest on which the vulgar abstain from work, because of an ancient and foolish tradition, that if they do their work, the ridges will bleed.

They have a charm for stopping excessive bleeding, either in man or beast, whether the cause be internal or external; which is performed by sending the name of the patient to the charmer, who adds some more words to it, and, after repeating those words, the cure is performed; though the charmer be several miles distant from the patient. They have likewise other charms which they use frequently at a distance, and that also with success.

The inhabitants are well proportioned, and seem to be more sanguine than they are; the poorer sort live much upon fish of various kinds, and sometimes without any bread. The inhabitants in general are subject to the scurvy, imputed to the fish and salt meat, which is their daily food; yet several of the inhabitants arrive at a great age: a woman in Evie brought forth a child in the sixty-third year of her age.

One living in Kerston lately was one hundred and twelve years old, and went to sea at one hundred and ten. A gentleman at Stronfa, about four years ago, had a son at a hundred and ten years old. One William Muir in Westra lived a hundred and forty years, and died about eighteen years ago. The inhabitants speak the English tongue: several of the vulgar speak the Danish or Norse language; and many among them retain the ancient Danish names.

Those of Deffra are hospitable and obliging, the vulgar are generally civil and affable. Both of them wear the habit in fashion in the Lowlands, and some wear a seal-skin for shoes; which they do not sew, but only tie them about their feet with strings, and sometimes thongs of leather: they are generally able and stout seamen.

The common people are very laborious, and undergo great fatigues, and no small hazard in fishing. The isles of Orkney were formerly liable to frequent incursions by the Norwegians, and those inhabiting the Western Isles of Scotland. To prevent which, each village was obliged to furnish a large boat well manned to oppose the enemy, and upon their landing all the inhabitants were to appear armed; and beacons were set on the top of the highest hills and rocks, to give a general warning on the sight of an approaching enemy.

About the year 1634, Dr. Graham being then bishop of Orkney, a young boy called William Garioch, had some acres of land, and some cattle, &c. left him by his father deceased: he being young was kept by his uncle, who had a great desire to obtain the lands, &c. belonging to his nephew; who, being kept short, stole a setten of barley, which is about twenty-eight pound weight, from his uncle; for which he pursued the youth, who was then eighteen years of age, before the sheriff. The theft being proved, the young man received sentence of death; but going up the ladder to be hanged, he prayed earnestly that God would inflict some visible judgment on his uncle, who out of covetousness had procured his death. The uncle happened after this to be walking in the churchyard of Kirkwall, and as he stood upon the young man's grave, the bishop's dog



dog run at him all of a sudden, and tore out his throat; and so he became a monument of God's wrath against such covetous wretches. This account was given to Mr. Wallace minister there, by several that were witnesses of the fact.

### *Schetland.*

SCHETLAND lies north-east from Orkney, between the 60th and 61st degree of latitude; the distance between the head of Sanda, which is the most northerly part of Orkney, and Swinburg-head, the most southerly point of Schetland, is commonly reckoned to be twenty or twenty-one leagues: the tides running betwixt are always impetuous, and swelling as well in a calm as when a fresh gale blows; and the greatest danger is near the Fair Isle, which lies nearer to Schetland than Orkney by four leagues.

The largest isle of Schetland, by the natives called the main-land, is sixty miles in length from south-west to the north-east, and from sixteen to one mile in breadth. Some call these isles Hethland, others Hoghland, which in the Norse tongue signifies high-land; Schetland in the same language signifies sea-land.

This isle is for the most part mossy, and more cultivated on the shore than in any other part; it is mountainous and covered with heath, which renders it fitter for pasturage than tillage. The inhabitants depend upon the Orkney isles for their corn. The ground is generally so boggy, that it makes riding impracticable, and travelling on foot not very pleasant; there being several parts into which people sink, to the endangering their lives, of which there have been several late instances. About the summer solstice, they have so much light all night, that they can see to read by it. The sun sets between ten and eleven, and rises between one and two in the morning, but then the day is so much the shorter, and the night longer in the winter. This, together with the violence of the tides and tempestuous seas, deprives the inhabitants of all foreign correspondence from October till April, and often till May; during which space, they are altogether strangers to the rest of mankind, of whom they hear not the least news. A remarkable instance of this happened after the late Revolution: they had no account of the Prince of Orange's late landing in England, coronation, &c. until a fisherman happened to land in these isles in the May following: and he was not believed, but indicted for high-treason for spreading such news. Solstice  
6 m<sup>3</sup>

The air of this isle is cold and piercing, notwithstanding which, many of the inhabitants arrive at a great age; of which there are several remarkable instances. Buchanan in his Hist. lib. i. gives an account of one Laurence, who lived in his time, some of whose offspring do still live in the parish of Waes; this man, after he arrived at one hundred years of age, married a wife, went out a fishing when he was one hundred and forty years old, and, upon his return, died rather of old age, than of any distemper.

The inhabitants give an account of Tairville, who arrived at the age of one hundred and eighty, and never drank any malt drink, distilled waters nor wine. They say that his son lived longer than him, and that his grandchildren lived to a good age, and seldom or never drank any stronger liquors than milk, water, or bland.

The disease that afflicts the inhabitants here most is the scurvy, which they suppose is occasioned by their eating too much salt-fish. There is a distemper here called bastard scurvy, which discovers itself by the falling of the hair from the peoples' eye-brows, and the falling of their noses, &c. and as soon as the symptoms appear, the persons are removed to the fields, where little houses are built for them on purpose to prevent infection. The principal cause of this distemper is believed to be want of bread, and



feeding on fish alone, particularly the liver : many poor families are sometimes without bread, for three, four, or five months together. They say likewise that their drinking of bland, which is their universal liquor, and preserved for the winter as part of their provisions, is another cause of this distemper. This drink is made of buttermilk mixed with water ; there be many of them who never taste ale or beer, for their scarcity of bread is such, that they can spare no corn for drink : so that they have no other than bland ; but what they get from foreign vessels that resort thither every summer to fish.

The isles in general afford a great quantity of scurvy-grass, which, used discreetly, is found to be a good remedy against this disease. The jaundice is commonly cured by drinking the powder of shell-snails among their drink, in the space of three or four days. They first dry, then pulverize the snails ; and it is observable, that though this dust should be kept all the year round, and grow into vermine, it may be dried again, and pulverized for that use.

The isles afford abundance of sea-fowl, which serve the inhabitants for part of their food during summer and harvest, and the down and feathers bring them great gain.

The several tribes of fowl here build and hatch apart, and every tribe keeps close together, as if it were by consent. Some of the lesser isles are so crowded with variety of sea-fowl, that they darken the air when they fly in great numbers. After their coming, which is commonly in February, they sit very close together for some time, till they recover the fatigue of their long flight from their remote quarters ; and after they have hatched their young, and find they are able to fly, they go away together to some other unknown place.

The people inhabiting the lesser isles have abundance of eggs and fowl, which contribute to maintain their families during the summer.

The common people are generally very dextrous in climbing the rocks in quest of those eggs and fowl ; but this exercise is attended with very great danger, and sometimes proves fatal to those that venture too far.

The most remarkable experiment of this sort, is at the isle called the Nofs of Brassah, and is as follows : the Nofs being about sixteen fathom distant from the side of the opposite main ; the higher and lower rocks have two stakes fastened in each of them, and to these there are ropes tied : upon the ropes there is an engine hung, which they call a cradle ; and in this a man makes his way over from the greater to the lesser rocks, where he makes a considerable purchase of eggs and fowl ; but his return being by an ascent, makes it more dangerous, though those on the great rock have a rope tied to the cradle, by which they draw it and the man safe over for the most part.

There are some rocks here computed to be about three hundred fathom high ; and the way of climbing them is, to tie a rope about a man's middle, and let him down with a basket, in which he brings up his eggs and fowl. The isle of Foula is the most dangerous and fatal to the climbers, for many of them perish in the attempt.

The crows are very numerous in Schetland, and differ in their colour from those on the main land ; for the head, wings, and tail of those in Schetland are only black, and their back, breast, and tail of a grey colour. When black crows are seen there at any time, the inhabitants say it is a presage of approaching famine.

There are fine hawks in these isles, and particularly those of Fair Isle are reputed among the best that are to be had any where ; they are observed to go far for their prey, and particularly for moor-fowl as far as the isles of Orkney, which are about sixteen leagues from them.



There are likewise many eagles in and about these isles, which are very destructive to the sheep and lambs.

This country produces little horses, commonly called Shelties, and they are very sprightly, though the least of their kind to be seen any where; they are lower in stature than those of Orkney, and it is common for a man of ordinary strength to lift a Sheltie from the ground; yet this little creature is able to carry double. The black *Shelties* are esteemed to be the most hardy, but the pyed ones seldom prove so good: they live many times till thirty years of age, and are fit for service all the while. These horses are never brought into a house, but exposed to the rigour of the season all the year round; and when they have no grafs, feed upon sea-ware, which is only to be had at the tide of ebb.

The isles of Schetland produce many sheep, which have two and three lambs at a time; they would be much more numerous, did not eagles destroy them: they are likewise reduced to feed on sea-ware during the frost and snow.

*The lesser Isles of Schetland are as follow:*

The isle Trondra, which lies opposite to Scalloway town on the west; three miles long, and two broad.

Further to the north-east lies the isle of Whalfey, about three miles in length and as many in breadth; the rats are very numerous here, and do abundance of mischief by destroying the corn.

At some further distance lie the small isles called Skerries; there is a church in one of them. These isles and rocks prove often fatal to seamen, but advantageous to the inhabitants, by the wrecks and goods that the winds and tides drive ashore; which often supply them with fuel, of which they are altogether destitute. It was here that the Carmelan of Amsterdam was cast away, as bound for the East Indies, ann. 1664. Among the rich cargo she had several chests of coined gold, the whole was valued at 3,000,000 guilders; of all the crew four only were saved. The inhabitants of the small isles, among other advantages they had by this wreck, had the pleasure of drinking liberally of the strong drink which was driven ashore in large casks, for the space of three weeks.

Between Brassa-Sound and the opposite main, lies the Unicorn, a dangerous rock, visible only at low water; it is so called ever since a vessel of that name perished upon it, commanded by William Kirkaldy of Grange, who was in eager pursuit of the Earl of Bothwell, and very near him when his ship struck.

On the east lies the isle called Fishholm; to the north-east lies Little Rue, and on the west Mickle Rue; the latter is eight miles in length and two in breadth, and has a good harbour.

Near to Esting lies the isles of Vemantry, which have several harbours; Orney, Little Papa, Helisfa, &c.

To the north-west of the Nefs lies St. Ninian's Isle; it has a chapel and an altar in it, upon which some of the inhabitants retain the ancient superstitious custom of burning candle.

Papa-Stour is two miles in length; it excels any isle of its extent for all the conveniences of human life; it has four good harbours, one of which looks to the south, another to the west, and two to the north.

The Lyra-Skerries, so called from the fowl of that name that abound in them, lie near this isle.

About



About six leagues west of the main lies the isle Foula, about three miles in length; it has a rock remarkable for its height, which is seen from Orkney when the weather is fair; it hath a harbour on one side.

The isle of Brassa lies to the east of Tingwall; it is five miles in length, and two in breadth: some parts of the coast are arable ground, and there are two churches in it.

Further to the east lies the small isle called the Nofs of Brassa.

The isle of Burray is three miles long, has good pasturage, and abundance of fish on its coast; it has a large church and steeple in it. The inhabitants say that mice do not live in this isle when brought to it; and that the earth of it being brought to any other part where the mice are, they will quickly abandon it.

Haveroy isle, which is a mile and a half in length, lies to the south-east of Burray.

The isle of Yell is sixteen miles long, and from eight to one in breadth; it lies north-east from the main: there are three churches and several small chapels in it.

The isle of Hakashie is two miles long; Samphrey isle one mile long; Biggai isle is a mile and a half in length: all three lie round Yell, and are reputed among the best of the lesser isles.

The isle of Fetlor lies to the north-east of Yell, and is five miles in length, and four in breadth; it hath a church, and some of the Picts houses in it.

The isle Unst is eight miles long, and is the pleasantest of the Schetland isles; it has three churches, and as many harbours; it is reckoned the most northern of all the British dominions. The inhabitants of the isle Vaila say that no cat will live in it, and if any cat be brought to it, they will rather venture to sea than stay in the isle: they say that a cat was seen upon the isle about fifty years ago, but how it came there was unknown. They observed about the same time how the proprietor was in great torment, and as they suppose by witchcraft, of which they say he then died. There is no account that any cat has been seen in the isle ever since that gentleman's death, except when they were carried to it, for making the above-mentioned experiment.

The inhabitants say that if a compass be placed at the house of Udsta, on the west side of the isle Fetlor, the needle will be in perpetual disorder, without fixing to any one pole; and that being tried afterwards in the top of that house, it had the same effect. They add further, that when a vessel sails near that house, the needle of the compass is disordered in the same manner.

There is a yellow fort of metal lately discovered in the isle of Uzia, but the inhabitants had not found a way to melt it, so that it is not yet turned to any account.

#### *The ancient Court of Justice*

In these islands was held in Holm, in the parish of Tingwall, in the middle of the main land. This Holm is an island in the middle of a fresh-water lake; it is to this day called the Law-Ting, and the parish, in all probability, hath its name from it. The entrance to this Holm is by some stones laid in the water; and in the Holm there are four great stones, upon which sat the judge, clerk, and other officers of the court. The inhabitants that had law-suits attended at some distance from the Holm, on the other side of the lake; and when any of them was called by the officer, he entered by the stepping-stones; and being dismissed, he returned the same way. This was the practice of the Danes. The inhabitants have a tradition among them, that after one had received sentence of death upon the Holm, he obtained a remission, provided he made his escape through the crowd of people on the lake side, and touched Tingwall steeple before any could lay hold on him. — This steeple in those days was an asylum for malefactors  
and



and debtors to flee into. The inhabitants of this isle are all protestants; they generally speak the English tongue, and many among them retain the ancient Danish language, especially in the more northern isles. There are several who speak English, Norse, and Dutch; the last of which is acquired by their converse with the Hollanders, that fish yearly in those isles.

The people are generally reputed discreet, and charitable to strangers; and those of the best rank are fashionable in their apparel.

Shetland is much more populous now than it was thirty years ago, which is owing to the trade, and particularly that of their fishery, so much followed every year by the Hollanders, Hamburgers, and others. The increase of people at Lerwick is considerable; for it had but three or four families about thirty years ago, and is since increased to about three hundred families; and it is observable, that few of their families were natives of Shetland, but came from several parts of Scotland, and especially from the northern and eastern coasts.

The fishery in Shetland is the foundation both of their trade and wealth; and though it be of late become less than before, yet the inhabitants, by their industry and application, make a greater profit of it than formerly, when they had them nearer the coast, both of the larger and lesser isles; but now the grey fish of the largest size are not to be had in any quantity without going further into the ocean. The fish commonly bought by strangers here are cod and ling; the inhabitants themselves make only use of the smaller fish and herrings, which abound on the coast of this isle in vast shoals.

The fish called tusk abounds on the coast of Brassa; the time for fishing is at the end of May. This fish is as big as a ling, of a brown and yellow colour, has a broad tail; it is better fresh than salted: they are commonly sold at fifteen or sixteen shillings the hundred.

The inhabitants observe, that the further they go to the northward the fish are of a larger size, and in greater quantities. They make great store of oil, particularly of the large grey fish, by them called feths, and the younger sort fillucks: they say that the liver of one feth affords a pint of Scots measure, being about four of English measure. The way of making the oil is first by boiling the liver in a pot half full of water, and when it boils the oil goes to the top, and is skimmed off and put in vessels for use. The fishers observe of late, that the livers of fish are less in size than they have been formerly.

The Hamburgers, Bremers, and others, come to this country about the middle of May, set up shops in several parts, and sell divers commodities; as linen, mullin, and such things as are most proper for the inhabitants, but more especially beer, brandy, and bread; all which they barter for fish, stockings, mutton, hens, &c.: and when the inhabitants ask money for their goods, they receive it immediately.

In the month of June the Hollanders come with their fishing-busses in great numbers upon the coast for herring; and when they come into the sound of Brassa, where the herrings are commonly most plentiful, and very near the shore, they dispose their nets, &c. in order, but never begin till the twenty-fourth of June; for this is the time limited among themselves, which is observed as a law, that none will venture to transgress. This fishing-trade is very beneficial to the inhabitants, who have provisions and necessities imported to their doors, and employment for all their people, who by their fishing, and selling the various products of the country, bring in a considerable sum of money yearly. The proprietors of the ground are considerable gainers also, by letting their houses, which serve as shops to the seamen during their residence here.



*fish* There have been two thousand buffes and upwards fishing in this sound in one summer; but they are not always so numerous: they generally go away in August or September.

There are two little towns in the largest of the Shetland isles: the most ancient of these is Scalloway; it lies on the west side of the isle, which is the most beautiful and pleasant part of it. It hath no trade, and but few inhabitants, the whole being about ninety in number. On the south-east end of the town stands the castle of Scalloway, which is four stories high; it hath several conveniences and useful houses about it, and is well furnished with water. Several rooms have been curiously painted, though the better part be now worn off. This ancient house is almost ruinous, there being no care taken to repair it. It served as a garrison for the English soldiers that were sent hither by Cromwell. This house was built by Patrick Stewart Earl of Orkney, anno 1600. The gate hath the following inscription on it: *Patricius Orchadiæ et Zelandiæ comes.* And underneath the inscription: *Cujus fundamen saxum est, domus illa manebit; labilis è contra si sit arena perit.* That house whose foundation is on a rock shall stand; but if on the sand, it shall fall.

The inhabitants say that this house was built upon the sandy foundation of oppression, in which they say the earl exceeded; and for that and other crimes was executed.

There is a high stone erected between Tingwall and Scalloway: the inhabitants have a tradition, that it was set up as a monument of a Danish general, who was killed there by the ancient inhabitants, in a battle against the Danes and Norwegians.

The second and latest built town is Lerwick; it stands on that side of the sound where the fishing is: the ground on which it is built is a hard rock, one side lies toward the sea, and the other is surrounded with a moss, without any arable ground.

On the north is the citadel of Lerwick, which was built in the year 1665, in time of the war with Holland, but never completed; there is little more of it now left than the walls. The inhabitants, about thirty years ago, fished up three iron cannon out of a ship that had been cast away near eighty years before; and being all over rust, they made a great fire of peats round them to get off the rust; and the fire having heated the cannon, all the three went off, to the great surprize of the inhabitants, who say they saw the ball fall in the middle of Brassa Sound, but none of them had any damage by them.

There are many Picts houses in this country, and several of them entire to this day; the highest exceeds not twenty or thirty feet in height, and are about twelve feet broad in the middle; they taper towards both ends, the entry is lower than the doors of houses commonly are now, the windows are long and very narrow, and the stairs go up between the walls. These houses were built for watch-towers, to give notice of an approaching enemy; there is not one of them but what is in view of some other; so that a fire being made on the top of any one house, the signal was communicated to all the rest in a few moments.

The inhabitants say that these houses were called burghs, which in the Saxon language signifies a town or castle fenced all round. The names of fortified places in the western isles are in several parts called *Borg*; and the villages in which the forts stand, are always named *Borg*.

The inhabitants of Orkney say that several burying-places among them are called burghs, from the Saxon word burying.

It is generally acknowledged that the Picts were originally Germans, and particularly from that part of it bordering upon the Baltic Sea. They were called *Phigbtian*, that is, fighters. The Romans called them *Picti*. Some writers call them *Pictavi*, either from



from that name of *Phigbtian*, which they took to themselves, or from their beauty; and accordingly Boethius, in his character of them, joins both these together: *Quod erant corporibus robustissimis candidisque*; and Verstegan says the same of them.

The Romans called them *Picti*, because they had their shields painted of divers colours. Some think the name came from *picbk*, which in the ancient Scots language signifies pitch, that they coloured their faces with, to make them terrible to their enemies in battle; and others think the name was taken from their painted habit.

This isle makes part of the shire of Orkney; there are twelve parishes in it, and a greater number of churches and chapels. Shetland pays not above one-third to the crown of what Orkney does.

The ground being for the most part boggy and moorish, is not so productive of grain as the other isles and main land of Scotland; and if it were not for the sea-ware, by which the ground is enriched, it would yield but a very small product.

There is lately discovered in divers parts abundance of lime-stone, but the inhabitants are not sufficiently instructed in the use of it for their corn land.

There is plenty of good peats, which serve as fuel for the inhabitants, especially on the main.

The amphibia in these isles are seals and otters in abundance: some of the latter are trained to go a fishing, and fetch several sorts of fish home to their masters.

There are no trees in any of these isles, neither is there any venomous creature to be found here.

There have been several strange fish seen by the inhabitants at sea, some of the shape of men as far as the middle; they are both troublesome and very terrible to the fishers, who call them Sea-devils.

It is not long since every family of any considerable substance in those islands was haunted by a spirit they called Brownie, which did several sorts of work; and this was the reason why they gave him offerings of the various products of the place: thus some when they churned their milk, or brewed, poured some milk and wort through the hole of a stone, called Brownie's stone.

A minister in this country had an account from one of the ancient inhabitants who formerly brewed ale, and sometimes read his bible, that an old woman in the family told him that Brownie was much displeased at his reading in that book; and if he did not cease to read in it any more, Brownie would not serve him as formerly. But the man continued his reading notwithstanding, and when he brewed refused to give any sacrifice to Brownie; and so his first and second brewing miscarried, without any visible cause in the malt; but the third brewing proved good, and Brownie got no more sacrifice from him after that.

There was another instance of a lady in Unst who refused to give sacrifice to Brownie, and lost two brewings; but the third proved good, and so Brownie vanished quite, and troubled them no more.

I shall add no more, but that the great number of foreign ships which repair hither yearly upon the account of fishing, ought to excite the people of Scotland to a speedy improvement of that profitable trade; which they may carry on with more ease and profit in their own seas than any foreigners whatever.



*A VOYAGE TO ST. KILDA.**BY M. MARTIN, GENT.\**

## PREFACE.

**M**EN are generally fond enough of novelty, not to suffer any thing represented under that plausible invitation to pass unnoticed. A description of some remote corner in the Indies shall be sure to afford us high amusement, whilst a thousand things much nearer to us might engage our thoughts to better purpose, and the knowledge of them serve to promote our true interest, and the history of nature. It is a piece of weakness and folly to value things merely on account of their distance: thus men have travelled far in search of foreign plants and animals, and continued strangers to the productions of their own climate. The following relation, therefore, I hope will not prove unprofitable or displeasing, unless the advantages of truth and unaffected simplicity should prejudice it in the opinion of such as are more trifling and curious than solid and judicious.

The author, born in one of the most spacious and fertile isles in the west of Scotland, by a laudable curiosity was prompted to undertake the voyage, and that in an open boat, to the almost manifest hazard of his life, as the seas and tides in those rocky islands are more inconstant and raging than in most other places. And he has been careful to relate nothing in the following account but what he asserts for truth, either upon his own particular knowledge, or from the constant and harmonious testimony given him by the inhabitants; people so plain, and so little inclined to impose upon mankind, that perhaps no place in the world at this day knows instances like these of true primitive honour and simplicity; a people abhorring lying tricks and artifices, as they do the most poisonous plants or devouring animals.

The author confesses he might have put these papers into the hands of some capable of giving them, what they really want, a politer turn of phrase; but he hopes for the indulgence of at least the intelligent reader, who will always set a higher value upon unadorned truth in such accounts than the utmost borrowings of art, or the advantages of refined languages.

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*A VOYAGE, &c.*

**T**HE various relations concerning St. Kilda, given by those of the western isles and continent, induced me to a narrow enquiry about it: for this end I applied myself to the present steward, who by his description, and the products of the island, which were brought to me, together with a natural impulse of curiosity, formed such an idea of it in my mind, that I determined to satisfy myself with going thither, it having been never hitherto described to any purpose; the accounts given by Buchanan and Sir Robert Murray being but relations from second and third hands, neither of them ever having the opportunity of being upon the place. I attempted several times to visit it, but in vain, until last summer; the laird of Mack-Leod heartily recommending the care of the inhabitants of St. Kilda to Mr. John Campbell, minister of Harries, he went to St. Kilda, and I cheerfully embraced the occasion; and accordingly we embarked at the isle Eday in Harries, May 29, 1697, the wind at S. E.

\* From the fourth edition, London, 1753. 8vo.



We set sail with a gentle breeze, bearing to the westward, and were not well got out of the harbour when Mr. Campbell observing the whiteness of the waves attended with an extraordinary noise beating upon the rocks, expressed his dislike of it, being in those parts a prognostic of an ensuing storm; but the same appearing sometimes in summer before excessive heat, it was slighted by the crew. But as we advanced about two leagues further, upon the coast of the isle of Pabbay, the former signs appearing more conspicuously, we unanimously concluded a storm approaching, which occasioned a motion for our return; but the wind and ebb-tide concurring, determined us to pursue our voyage, in hopes of arriving at our desired harbour before the wind or storm should rise, which we judged would not be suddenly: but our fond imagination was not seconded with a good event, as will appear; for we had scarce sailed a league further, when the wind inclined more southerly, and altered our measures; we endeavoured by the help of our oars to reach the Hawsker rocks, some four leagues to the south coast, which we were not able to effect, though we consumed the night in this vain expectation. By this time we so far advanced in the ocean, that after a second motion for our return it was found impracticable, especially since we could not promise to fetch any point of Scotland; this obliged us to make the best of our way for St. Kilda, though labouring under the disadvantages of wind and tide: our crew extremely fatigued and discouraged without sight of land for sixteen hours; at length one of them discovered several tribes of the fowls of St. Kilda flying, holding their course southerly of us, which (to some of our crew) was a demonstration we had lost our course, by the violence of the flood and wind both concurring to carry us northerly, though we steered by our compass right west.

The inhabitants of St. Kilda take their measures from the flight of those fowls, when the heavens are not clear, as from a sure compass, experience shewing that every tribe of fowls bends their course to their respective quarters, though out of sight of the isle: this appeared clearly in our gradual advances; and their motion being compared did exactly quadrate with our compass. The inhabitants rely so much upon this observation, that they prefer it to the surest compass; but we begged leave to differ from them, though at the same time we could not deny their rule to be as certain as our compass. While we were in this state we discovered the isle Borera, near three leagues north of St. Kilda, which was then about four leagues to the south of us; this was a joyful sight, and gave new vigour to our men, who being refreshed with victuals, lowering mast and sail, rowed to a miracle. While they were tugging at the oars we plied them with plenty of aquavita to support them, whose borrowed spirits so far wasted their own, that upon our arrival at Borera, there was scarce one of them able to manage cable or anchor: we put in under the hollow of an extraordinary high rock, to the north of this isle, which was all covered with a prodigious number of Solan geese hatching in their nests; the heavens were darkened by their flying over our heads, their excrements were in such quantity, that they gave a tincture to the sea, and at the same time sullied our boat and cloaths: two of them confirmed the truth of what has been frequently reported of their stealing from one another grass wherewith to make their nests, by affording us the following very agreeable diversion, and it was thus: one of them finding his neighbour's nest without the fowl, lays hold on the opportunity, and steals from it as much grass as he could conveniently carry off, taking his flight towards the ocean; from thence he presently returns, as if he made a foreign purchase, but it does not pass for such: for the owner had discovered the fact before the thief had got out of sight, and too nimble for his cunning, waits his return, all armed with fury, and engages him desperately. This bloody battle was fought above our heads, and proved fatal to the thief, who fell dead



dead so near our boat that our men took him up, and presently dressed and eat him; which they reckoned as an omen of good success in the voyage.

We proposed being at St. Kilda next day, but our expectation was frustrated by a violent storm, which almost drove us to the ocean, where we incurred no small risque; being no ways fitted for it; our men laid aside all hopes of life, possessed with the belief that all this misfortune proceeded from the impostor Roderick (of whom hereafter), who they believed had employed the devil to raise this extraordinary storm against Mr. Campbell, who was to counteract him. All our arguments, whether from natural reason, or the providence of God, were not of force enough to persuade them to the contrary, until it pleased God to command a calm the day following, which was the first of June, and then we rowed to St. Kilda. As we came close upon the rocks, some of the inhabitants, who were then employed in setting their gins, welcomed us with a "God save you," their usual salutation, admiring to see us get thither contrary to wind and tide; they were walking unconcernedly on the side of this prodigious high rock, at the same time keeping pace with our boat, to my great admiration, insomuch that I was quickly obliged to turn away my eyes, lest I should have had the unpleasant spectacle of some of them tumbling down into the sea; but they themselves had no such fears, for they outran our boat to the town, from thence they brought the steward and all the inhabitants of both sexes to receive us: we approached the outmost part of the low rock, called the Saddle; a parcel of the inhabitants were mounted upon it, having on their feet the usual dress on such occasions, i. e. socks of old rags sowed with feathers instead of thread: our boat being come pretty near, it was kept off this rock with long poles; some of their number coming by pairs into the sea received Mr. Campbell and me upon their shoulders and carried us to land, where we were received with all the demonstrations of joy and kindness they were able to express; the impostor Roderick endeavouring to outdo his neighbours, and placing himself always in the front of our attendants, discovered his hypocrisy. We all walked together to the little village where there was a lodging prepared for us, furnished with beds of straw: according to the ancient custom of the place, the officer who presides over them in the steward's absence summoned the inhabitants, who by concert agreed upon a daily maintenance for us, as bread, butter, cheese, mutton, fowls, eggs, fire, &c. all which was to be given in at our lodging twice every day; this was done in a most regular manner, each family by turns paying their quota proportionably to their lands: I remember the allowance for each man *per diem*, beside a barley cake, was eighteen of the eggs laid by the fowl called by them *Lavy*, and a greater number of the lesser eggs, as they differed in proportion; the largest of these eggs is near in bigness to that of a goose, the rest of the eggs gradually of a lesser size.

We had the curiosity, after three weeks residence, to make a calculation of the number of eggs bestowed upon those of our boat, and the steward's *birlin* or *galley*; the whole amounted to six thousand eggs: the inhabitants were thrice our number, and must consume a number of eggs and fowls in proportion. From this it is easy to imagine, that a vast number of fowl must resort here all summer, which is yet the more probable, if it be considered that every fowl lays but one egg at a time, when allowed to hatch.

The inhabitants live together in a small village, carrying all the signs of an extreme poverty; the houses are of a low form, and the doors all to the north-east, to secure them from the shocks of the tempestuous south-west winds. The walls of the houses are rudely built of stone, the short couples joining at the ends of the roof, upon whose sides small ribs of wood are laid, and these covered with straw; the whole secured by ropes



made of twisted heath, the extremity of which on each side is poised with stone to preserve the thatch from being blown away. This little village is seated on a valley surrounded with four mountains, serving as ramparts of defence, and are so many amphitheatres, from whence a fair prospect of the ocean and isles may be seen in a fine day.

This isle is by the inhabitants, as likewise by all the western islanders, called Hirt; Buchanan calls it Hirta; Sir John Narbrough, and all sailors, St. Kilda; in sea maps it is called St. Kilder, particularly in a Dutch sea map from Ireland to Zealand, published at Amsterdam by Peter Goas in the year 1663, wherein it is placed due west betwixt fifty and sixty miles from the middle of the Lewis, and the isle answers directly to the fifty-eighth degree of northern latitude, as marked upon the ends of the map, and from it lies Rokol, a small rock sixty leagues to the westward of St. Kilda; the inhabitants of this place call it Rokabarra; this map contains the foundings of some places near St. Kilda; these not exceeding twenty or thirty fathom; it contains only the larger isle, and a part of the lesser isles; this island is also called St. Kilda, by a company of French and Spaniards, who lost their ship at Rokol in the year 1686, which they named to the inhabitants of St. Kilda, whose latitude is fifty-seven degrees and three minutes.

The air here is sharp and wholesome; the hills are often covered with ambient white mists, which in winter are forerunners of snow, if they continue on the tops of the hills; and in summer, if only on the tops of the hills, they prognosticate rain; when they descend to the valleys it is a prognostic of excessive heat. The night here about the time of the summer solstice exceeds not an hour in length, especially if the season is fair, then the sun disappears but for a short space, the reflex from the sea being all the time visible; the harvest and winter are liable to great winds and rain, the south-west wind annoying them more than any other: it is commonly observed to blow from the west for the most part of, if not all, July.

St. Kilda is two miles long from east to west; in breadth from south to north one mile; and five miles in circumference. It is naturally fenced with one continued face of a rock of great height, except a part of the bay, which lies to the south-east; and is well defended generally with a raging sea: this bay is half a mile in length, and as much in breadth; it is not common for any vessels to anchor within this bay, in case of a storm, as it might be dangerous for them; therefore they drop anchor at the entry, judging it the securest: the only place for landing, is on the north side of this bay, upon a rock with a little declination, which is slippery, being covered with several sorts of sea-weeds; these, with a boisterous sea, render the place almost inaccessible, the sea being seldom otherwise but under favour of a neap tide, a north-east or west wind, or with a perfect calm; when these circumstances concur, the birlin or boat is brought to the side of the rock, and all the inhabitants of both sexes are ready to join their united force to hale her through; for this end they have a rope fastened to the fore-part; and a competent number of them are employed on each side; both these are determined by a cryer, who is employed on purpose to warn them all at the same minute, and he ceases whenever he finds it convenient to give them a breathing.

At the head of the bay is a plain sand, only to be seen in summer; the winter sea washing it all off the stones; there is no landing upon this place with safety, which the steward has learned to his cost. There is a little bay on the west side of this isle, all faced with an iron-coloured rock; some vessels take shelter here, when the wind is at south or north-east; there is a place of the rock here on the south side the rivulet, where you may land, if a neap-tide or calm offer. The sea is very impetuous everywhere about this isle; they shewed me large stones which were lately removed out of their



their place, and cast into the galleys' dock; I measured some of them which were in length some seven, others eight feet, and three or four feet in breadth.

On the south part of the south-east bay is a little old ruinous fort called the Down. It is evident from what has been already said, that this place may be reckoned among the strongest forts, natural or artificial, in the world; nature has provided the place with store of ammunition for acting on the defensive; that is, a heap of loose stones in the top of the hill Oterveaul, directly above the landing-place; it is very easy to discharge volleys of this ammunition directly upon the place of landing, and that from a great eminence almost perpendicular; this I myself had occasion to demonstrate, having for my diversion put it in practice to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, to whom this defence had never hitherto occurred: but they are resolved to make use of this for the future, to keep off the Lowlanders, against whom of late they have conceived strong prejudices. A few hands may be capable of resisting some hundreds by the above-mentioned weapons. The four great mountains are faced on the side towards the sea, with rocks of extraordinary height; the hill Conagir on the north side, is not less than two hundred fathom perpendicular above the sea.

Around this isle are four arches or vaults, through which the sea passes, as does the daylight from either side, which is visible to any, though at a considerable distance; some of them representing a large gate: two of these look to the south, and two north-west; that on the point of the west bay is six fathom high above water, four in breadth, fifty paces in length, the top two fathom thick, and very strong, the cattle feeding upon it.

There are several veins of different stone to be seen in the rocks of the south-east bay; upon the north side of this rock is one as it were cut out by nature, resembling a terrace walk. The crystal grows under the rock at the landing-place, this must be pierced a foot or two deep, before the crystal can be had from the bed of sand where it lies; the water at the bottom is of a black colour; the largest piece is not above four inches long, and about two in diameter, each piece sexangular.

Upon the west side of this isle lies a valley with a declination towards the sea, with a rivulet running through the middle of it, on each side of which is an ascent of half a mile; all which piece of ground is called by the inhabitants, the female warrior's glen: this amazon is famous in their traditions: her house or dairy of stone is yet extant; some of the inhabitants dwell in it all summer, though it be some hundred years old; the whole is built of stone, without any wood, lime, earth, or mortar to cement it, and is in form of a circle pyramid-wise towards the top with a vent in it, the fire being always in the centre of the floor; the stones are long and thin, which supplies the defect of wood: the body of this house contains not above nine persons sitting; there are three beds or low vaults at the side of the wall, which contains five men each, and are separated by a pillar; at the entry to one of these low vaults is a stone standing upon one end; upon this she is reported ordinarily to have laid her helmet; there are two stones on the other side, upon which she is said to have laid her sword: they tell you she was much addicted to hunting, and that in her days all the space betwixt this isle and that of Harries, was one continued tract of dry land. Some years ago a pair of large deer's horns were found in the top of Oterveaul Hill, almost a foot under ground, and a wooden dish full of deer's grease. It is said of this warrior, that she let loose her grey-hounds after the deer in St. Kilda, making their course towards the opposite isles. There are several other traditions concerning this famous amazon. But I shall trouble my reader with no more of them.



In this isle are plenty of excellent fountains or springs; that near the female warrior's house is reputed the best: it is called Tou-bir-nim-beuy, importing no less than the well of qualities or virtues; it runs from east to west, being sixty paces ascent above the sea: I drank of it twice, an English quart each time; it was very clear, exceeding cold, light and diuretic; I was not able to hold my hand in it above a few minutes for its coldness; the inhabitants of Harries find it effectual against windy cholics, gravel, and head-aches; this well hath a cover of stone.

There is a very large well near the town, called St. Kilder's Well: from which the island is supposed to derive its name; this water is not inferior to that above-mentioned; it runs to the south-east from the north-west.

There is another well within half a mile of this, named after one Conirdan, an hundred paces above the sea, and runs from north-west towards the south-east, having a stone cover.

Within twelve paces of this is a small excellent fountain, which those of Harries and St. Kilda will needs call by the author's name, and were then resolved to give it a cover of stone, such as is above described.

There is a celebrated well issuing out of the face of a rock on the north side of the east bay, called the Well of Youth, but is only accessible by the inhabitants, no stranger daring to climb the steep rock; the water of it is received, as it falls, into the sea; it runs towards the south-east. The taste of the water of those wells was so agreeable to me, that for several weeks after, the best fountains in the adjacent isles seemed to have lost their relish. There is a rivulet running close by the town, and another larger beyond Kilder's Well; this last serves for washing linen, which it does as well without soap, as other water with; of this we had experience, which was a confirmation of what had been reported to us concerning this water: we searched if in the brinks we could discover any fuller's earth, but found none; we discovered some pieces of iron-ore in several places; this rivulet drops from the mossy ground in the top of the hills.

The whole island is one hard rock, formed into four high mountains, three of which are in the middle; all thinly covered with black or brown earth, not above a foot, some places half a foot deep; except the top of the hills, where it is above three feet deep, and affords them good turf; the grass is very short but kindly, producing plenty of milk; the number of sheep commonly maintained in St. Kilda, and the two adjacent isles, does not exceed two thousand, and generally they are speckled, some white, some philamort, and are of a common size; they do not resemble goats in any respect, as Buchanan was informed, except in their horns, which are extraordinary large, particularly those in the lesser isles.

The number of horses exceeds not eighteen, all of a red colour, very low, and smooth skinned, and are employed in carrying turf and corn, and at their anniversary cavalcade, of which hereafter. The cows, which are about ninety in number, small and great, have their foreheads white and black, which is discernible at a great distance; are of a low stature, but fat and sweet beef; the dogs, cats, and all the sea-fowls of this isle are speckled.

The soil is very grateful to the labourer, producing ordinarily sixteen, eighteen, or twenty fold; their grain is only bear, and some oats; the barley is the largest produced in all the western isles; they use no plough but a kind of crooked spade; their harrows are of wood as are the teeth in the front also, and all the rest supplied only with long tangles of sea-ware tied to the harrow by the small ends; the roots hanging loose behind, scatter the clods broken by the wooden teeth; this they are forced to use for want of wood. Their arable land is very nicely parted into ten divisions, and these into sub-divisions.

2000 sheep

18 horses

90 cows

no wood



vifions, each diftinguifhed by the name of fome deceased man or woman, who were natives of the place; there is one spot called Multa Terra, another Multus Agris. The chief ingredient in their compofts is afhes of turf mixed with ftraw; with thefe they mix their urine, which by experience they find to have much of the vegetable nitre; they do not preferve it in quantities as elfewhere, but convey it immediately from the fountain to the afhes, which by daily practice they find moft advantageous; they join alfo the bones, wings, and entrails of their fea-fowls to their ftraw; they fow very thick, and have a proportionable growth; they pluck all their bear by the roots in handfuls, both for the fake of their houfes, which they thatch with it, and their cows which they take in during the winter; the corn produced by this compoft is perfectly free from any kind of weed; it produces much forrel where the compoft reaches.

The coaft of St. Kilda, and the leffer ifles, are plentifully furnifhed with variety of cod, ling, mackarel, congars, braziers, turbot, graylords, fcythes; thefe laft two are of the fame kind, only differing in bignefs; fome call them black-mouths; they are as large as any falmon, and fomewhat longer; there are alfo laiths, podloes, herring, and many more; moft of thefe are fifhed by the inhabitants upon the rock, for they have neither nets nor long lines. Their common bait is the limpets or patellæ, parboiled; they ufe likewife the flefh of a fowl called by them Bowger, which the fifh near the leffer ifles catch greedily; fometimes they ufe the bowger's flefh, and the patellæ at the fame time upon one hook, and this proves fuccefsful alfo. In the month of July a confiderable quantity of mackarel run themfelves afhore, but always with a fpring tide. The amphibia feen here, are the otters and feals; this latter the inhabitants reckon very good meat; no fort of trees, not even the leaft fhrub grows here, nor has a bee been ever feen here.

Levinis, a rock about fourteen paces high, and thirty in circumference, but narrower at the top, ftands about half a league to the fouth-eaft bay, covered with no kind of earth or grafs; a fpring of frefh water iffues out from the fide of it; this rock, by an ancient custom, belongs to the galley's crew. Betwixt the weft point of St. Kilda, and the ifle Soa, is the famous rock Stackdonn, *i. e.* a Mifchievous Rock, for it hath proved fo to fome of their number, who perifhed in attempting to climb it; it is much of the form and height of a fteeple; there is a very great dexterity, and it is reckoned no fmall piece of gallantry, to climb this rock, efpecially that part of it called the Thumb, which is fo little, that of all the parts of a man's body, the thumb only can lay hold on it, and that muft be only for the fpace of one minute; during which time his feet have no fupport, nor any part of his body touches the ftone, except the thumb, in which minute he muft jump by the help of his thumb, (the agility of his body concurring to raife him higher at the fame time) to a fharp point of the rock, which when he has got hold of, puts him out of danger, and having a rope about his middle, which he cafts down to the boat, by the help of this he brings up as many perfons as are defigned for fowling at this time; the foreman, or principal climber, has the reward of four fowls beftowed upon him over and above his proportion; perhaps, one might think four thoufand too little to compenfate fo great a danger as this man incurs; but he has the advantage by it, of being recorded among their greateft heroes; as are all the foremen who lead the van in getting up this fame Mifchievous Rock.

Within pistol-shot from this place is the ifle Soa, a mile and an half in circumference, but contracted narrower toward the top, being a full half mile in difficult afcent all round, moft of it bare rock, fome parts of it covered with grafs, but dangerous to afcend; the landing is alfo very hazardous, both in regard of the raging fea, and the rock that muft be climbed; yet the inhabitants are accuftomed to carry burthens both

up



up it and down, and of this I was once a witness. There is scarce any landing here, except in one place, and that under favour of a west wind and neap tide; the waves upon the rock discover when it is accessible; if they appear white from St. Kilda, the inhabitants do not so much as offer to launch out their boat, in order to land in Soa, or any other isle or rock, though their lives were at stake. This little isle is furnished with an excellent spring, the grass is very sweet, feeds five hundred sheep, each of which generally has two or three lambs at a birth, and every lamb so fruitful, that it brings forth another before itself is a year old. The same is also observed of lambs in the little isles adjacent to those of Harries and North-Wist. The sheep in the isle Soa are never milked, which disposes them to be the more prolific: there are none to catch them but the inhabitants, whom I have seen pursue the sheep nimbly down the steep descent, with as great freedom as if it had been a plain field.

This isle abounds with an infinite number of fowl, as fulmar, lavy, falk, bowger, &c.

There was a cock-boat some two years ago came from a ship for water, being favoured by a perfect calm; the men discerned a prodigious number of eggs upon the rocks, which tempted them to venture near the place, and at last obtained a competent number of them; one of the seamen was industrious enough to put them into his breeches, which he took off for that purpose; some of the inhabitants of St. Kilda who happened to be in the isle that day were spectators of this diversion, and were offended at it, being done without their consent; they therefore devised an expedient, which at once robbed the seamen of their eggs and the breeches; it was thus: they found a few loose stones in the superficies of the rock, some of which they let fall down perpendicularly above the seamen, the terror of which obliged them quickly to remove, abandoning both breeches and eggs for their safety; and the tarpaulin breeches were no small ornament in a place where all wore girded plaids.

About two leagues and a half to the north of St. Kilda, is the rock Stack-Ly, two hundred paces in circumference, and of a great heighth, being a perfect triangle turning to a point at the top; it is visible above twenty leagues distant in a fair day, and appears blue; there is no grass nor earth to cover it, but sometimes perfectly white with Solan geese sitting on and about it. One would think it next to impossible to climb this rock, which I expressed, being very near it; but the inhabitants assured me it was practicable, and to convince me of the truth of it, they bid me look up near the top, where I perceived a stone pyramid-house, which the inhabitants built for lodging themselves in it in August, at which time the season proves inconstant there; this obliges the inhabitants in point of prudence to send a competent number of those to whose share the lot falls; these are to land on this rock some days before the Solan geese take wing; if they neglect this piece of fore-sight, one windy day may disappoint them of five, six, or seven thousand Solan geese, which this rock affords yearly. They are so very numerous here, that they cannot be divided in respect to their lands, as elsewhere; this therefore is the reason why they send here by lots, and those who are sent act for the public interest, and when they have knocked on the head all that may be reached, they then carry them to a sharp point, called the Casting Point, from whence they throw them into the sea, for the height is such that they dare not throw them into the boat, until the boatmen cry enough, lest the sea, which has a strong current there should carry them off, as it does sometimes, if too many are thrown down at once: thus by degrees, getting all in, they return home; and after their arrival every man has his share proportioned to his lands, and what remains under the number ten, is due to the officer as a part of his yearly salary. In this rock the Solan geese are allowed to hatch their first eggs, but it is not so in the rocks next to be described; and that for this reason, that if all were allowed to

eggs

gannets



hatch at the same time, the loss of the product in one rock would at the same time prove the loss of all the rest, since all would take wing pretty nearly at the same time.

The isle Borera lies near half a league from Stack-Ly, to the north-east of it, being in circumference one mile and an half; it feeds about four hundred sheep *per annum*, and would feed more, did not the Solan geese pluck a large share of the grass for their nests.

Sheep

This isle is very high, all rock, inaccessible except in a calm, and has only one place for landing, towards the south: in the west end of this isle is Stallir-House, which is much larger than that of the female warrior in St. Kilda, but of the same model in all respects; it is all green without like a little hill; the inhabitants have a tradition that it was built by one Stallir, a devout hermit of St. Kilda; and had he indeed travelled the universe he could scarcely have found a more solitary place for a monastic life.

There are about forty stone pyramids in this isle, for drying and preserving their fowl, &c. These little houses are all of loose stones, and seen at some distance; here is also a surprising number of fowl, the grass as well as the rocks filled with them. The Solan geese possess it for the most part; they are always masters wherever they come, and have already banished several species of fowl from this isle.

An earthquake was felt here in the year 1686, which lasted only for a few minutes; it was very amazing to the poor people, who were unacquainted with any such commotion before, or since.

To the west of Borera lies the rock Stack-Narmin, within pistol shot; this rock is half a mile in circumference, and as inaccessible as any of the above-mentioned; there is a possibility of landing only in two places; nor that but in a perfect calm, and after landing the danger in climbing is very great. The rock has neither earth or grass to cover it, has a fountain of good water issuing out above the middle of it, running easterly, and abounds with Solan geese and other fowl; here are several stone pyramids, as well for lodging the inhabitants that attend the seasons of the Solan geese, as for those that preserve and dry them. The sea rises and rages extremely upon this rock: we had the curiosity, being invited by a fair day, to visit it for pleasure, but we found it very hazardous; the waves from under our boat rebounding from off the rock, and mounting over our heads, we durst not venture to land, though men with ropes were sent before us; we thought it indeed hazard enough to be near this rock; the wind blowing fresh, we had much difficulty to reach St. Kilda again. I remember they brought eight hundred of the preceding year's Solan geese dried in their pyramids; after our landing, the geese being cast together in one heap upon the ground, the owners fell to share out each man his own; at which I was a little surprised, they being all of a tribe; but having found upon enquiry that every goose carried a distinguishing mark on the foot, peculiar to the owner, I was then satisfied in this piece of singularity.

There is a violent current, whether ebb or flood, upon all the coasts of St. Kilda, the lesser isles and rocks. It is observed to be more impetuous with spring than neap tides; there are eddies on all the coasts, except at a sharp point where the tides keep their due course; the ebb southerly, and flood northerly.

A south-east moon causes high tide; the spring-tides are always at the full and new moon; the two days following they are higher, and from that time decrease until the increase of the moon again, with which it rises gradually till the second after the full moon. This observation the seamen find to hold true betwixt the Mule of Kantyre, and the Farrow Head in Strathnaver.

The land fowls produced here are hawks extraordinary good, eagles, plovers, crows, wrens, stone-chaker, craker, cuckoo; this last is said very rarely to be seen here, and that upon extraordinary occasions, such as the death of the proprietor Mack-Leod, the



steward's death, or the arrival of some notable stranger. I was not able to forbear laughing at this relation, as founded only upon fancy; which I no sooner expressed, than the inhabitants wondered at my incredulity, saying that all their ancestors for a series of several ages had remarked the truth of this observation, and for a further confirmation appealed to the present steward, whether he had not known this observation to have been true, both in his own and his father's time, who was also steward before him? After a particular inquiry, he told me, that both in his own and father's lifetime the truth of the observation had been constantly believed, and that several of the inhabitants now living have observed the cuckoo to have appeared after the death of the two last proprietors, and the two last stewards, and also before the arrival of several strangers; it was taken notice of before our arrival, which they ascribe to my coming there as the only stranger, the minister having been there before.

The sea-fowl are, first, gairfowl, being the stateliest, as well as the largest sort, and above the size of a Solan goose, of a black colour, red about the eyes, a large white spot under each, a long broad bill; it stands stately, its whole body erected; its wings short, flies not at all; lays its egg upon the bare rock, which, if taken away, she lays no more for that year; she is whole-footed, and has the hatching spot upon her breast, *i. e.* a bare spot from which the feathers have fallen off with the heat in hatching; its egg is twice as big as that of a Solan goose, and is variously spotted, black, green, and dark; it comes without regard to any wind, appears the first of May, and goes away about the middle of June.

The Solan goose, as some imagine from the Irish word Sou'l-er, corrupted and adapted to the Scottish language, *qui oculis irretortis à longinquo respicit prædam*, equals a common goose in bigness; is by measure from the tip of the bill to the extremity of the foot thirty-four inches long, and to the end of the tail thirty-nine; the wings extend very far, there being seventy-two inches distance betwixt the extreme tips; its bill is long, straight, of a dark colour, a little crooked at the point; behind the eyes the skin of the side of the head is bare of feathers, the ears small, the eyes hazel-coloured; it hath four toes, the feet and legs black as far as they are bare; the plumage is like that of a goose. The colour of the old ones is white all over, excepting the extreme tips of the wings, which are black, and the top of the head, which is yellow, as some think the effect of age. The young ones are of a dark brown colour, turning white after they are a year old; its egg somewhat less than that of a land-goose, small at each end, and casts a thick scurf, and has little or no yolk; the inhabitants are accustomed to drink it raw, having from experience found it very pectoral and cephalic. The Solan geese hatch by turns. When it returns from its fishing, it carries five or six herrings in its gorget, all entire and undigested: upon its arrival at the nest, the hatching fowl puts its head in the fisher's throat, and pulls out the fish with its bill as with a pincer, and that with very great noise, which I had occasion frequently to observe. They continue to pluck grass for their nests from their coming in March till the young fowl is ready to fly in August or September, according as the inhabitants take or leave the first or second eggs. It is remarkable they never pluck grass but on a windy day; the reason the inhabitants give for this is, that a windy day is their vacation from fishing, and they bestow it upon this employment, which proves fatal to many of them; for, after their fatigue, they often fall asleep, and the inhabitants, taking the opportunity, are ready at hand to knock them on the head. Their food is herring, mackarel, and syes. English hooks are often found in the stomachs both of young and old Solan geese, though none of this kind are used nearer than the isles twenty leagues distant; this must happen either from the

gannet

eggs

Solan geese



the fish pulling away the hooks in those isles and then going to St. Kilda, or by their being carried thither, by the old geese.

The Solan geese are always the surest sign of herrings, for wherever the one is seen the other is never far off. There is a tribe of barren Solan geese which have no nests, and sit upon the bare rock; these are not the young fowls of a year old, whose dark colour would soon distinguish them, but old ones, in all things like the rest; these have a province, as it were, allotted them, and are in a separate state, having a flock two hundred paces distant from all other; neither do they meddle with, or approach to those hatching, or any other fowl; they sympathize and fish together: this was told me by the inhabitants, and afterwards confirmed several times by my own observation.

The Solan geese have always some of their number keeping centry in the night, and if they are surprized, as it often happens, all the flock are taken one after another; but if the centinel be awake at the approach of the creeping fowlers, and hear a noise, it cries softly, *Grog, grog*, at which the flock move not; but if the centinel sees or hears the fowler approaching, he cries quickly, *Bir, bir*, which should seem to import danger, since immediately after the whole tribe take wing, leaving the fowler alone on the rock to return home *re. infectâ*, all his labour for that night being spent in vain. Apollonius Tyanæus might have here found a large field of diversion, who is said to have travelled over many kingdoms, to learn the language of beasts and birds.

Besides this way of stealing upon them in the night-time, they are also caught in common gins of horse-hair, from which they struggle less to extricate themselves than any other fowl, notwithstanding their size and strength; they are also caught in the herring-loches with a board set on purpose to float above water, upon it a herring is fixed, which the goose perceiving, flies up to a competent height, till finding himself in a straight line above the fish, bends his course perpendicularly piercing the air, as an arrow from a bow, hits the board, into which he runs his bill with all his force, and is irrecoverably taken. The Solan goose comes about the middle of March with a S. W. wind, warm snow, or rain, and goes away, according as the inhabitants determine the time, *i. e.* by taking away or leaving its egg, whether at the first, second, or third time he lays.

*ulmar* The fulmar in bigness equals the mall of the second rate; its wings very long, the outside of which are of a greyish white colour, the inside and breast all white, a thick bill two inches long, crooked and prominent at the end, with wide nostrils in the middle, all of a pale colour; the upper mandible, or jaw, hangs over the lower on both sides and at the point, the feet pale, not very broad, with sharp toes, and a back toe; it picks food out of the backs of living whales, it, as is said, uses sorrel with it, for both are found in its nest; it lays its egg commonly the first, second, or third day of May; which is larger than that of a Solan goose egg, of a white colour, and very thin, the shell so very tender that it breaks in pieces if the season proves rainy; when the egg is once taken away it lays no more that year like other fowl; the young ones are hatched in the middle of June, and are ready to take wing before the twentieth of July; it comes in November, the sure messenger of evil tidings, being always accompanied with boisterous west winds, great snow, rain, or hail, and is the only sea-fowl that stays here all the year, except the month of September and part of October. The inhabitants prefer this, whether young or old, to all other; the old is of a delicate taste, is a mixture of fat and lean; the flesh white, no blood to be found but in the head and neck; the young is all fat, except the bones, having no blood but in the head; and when the young



young fulmar is ready to take wing, upon being approached, ejects a quantity of pure oil out at his bill, and will be certain to hit any that attack him, in the face, though seven paces distant; this he uses of by way of defence, but the inhabitants take care to prevent it by surprizing the fowl behind, having for this purpose a wooden dish fixed to the end of their rods, which they hold before his bill as he spouts out the oil; they surprize him also from behind by taking hold of his bill, which they tie with a thread, and upon their return home they untie it with a dish under to receive the oil; this oil is sometimes of a reddish, sometimes of a yellow colour, and the inhabitants and other islanders put a great value upon it, and use it as a catholicon for diseases, especially for pains in the bones, stitches, &c. some in the adjacent isles use it as purge, others as an emetic; it is hot in quality, and forces its passage through any wooden vessel.

The fulmar is a sure prognosticator of the west-wind; if it comes to land, no west wind is to be expected for some time, but if it keeps at sea, or goes to sea from the land, whether the wind blow from the south, north, or east, or whether it is a perfect calm, his keeping the sea is always a certain preface of an approaching west-wind; from that quarter he is observed to return with his prey; its egg is as large as that of a Solan goose, white in colour, sharp at one end, somewhat blunt at the other.

The scraber, so called in St. Kilda, in the Farro Islands puffinet, in Holland the Greenland dove, has a small bill sharp pointed, a little crooked at the end, and prominent; it is as large as a pigeon, its whole body being black, except a white spot on each wing; its egg grey, sharp at one end, and blunt at the other.

It comes in the month of March, and in the night-time, without regard to any wind; it is never to be seen but in the night, being all the day either abroad at fishing, or upon its nest, which it digs very far under ground, from whence it never comes in day-light; it picks its food out of the living whale, with which they say, it uses sorrel, and both are found in its nest. The young puffin is as fat as the young fulmar, and goes away in August, if its first egg be spared.

The lavy, so called by the inhabitants of St. Kilda, by the Welch guillem, is nearly as big as a duck; its head and upper-side of the neck all downwards of a dark brown, the breast white, the bill straight and sharp pointed; the upper chop hanging over the lower; its feet and claws black.

Its egg in bigness is near to that of a goose egg, sharp at one end, and blunt at the other; the colour of it prettily mixed with green and black; others of them are of a pale colour, with red and brown streaks, but the latter is very rare; this egg for ordinary food is by the inhabitants and others, preferred above all the eggs had here. This fowl comes with a south-west wind, if fair, the twentieth of February; the time of its going away depends upon the inhabitants taking or leaving its first, second, or third egg: if it stays upon land for the space of three days without intermission, it is a sign of southerly wind and fair weather, but if it goes to sea before the third expires, it is then a sign of a storm.

The bird, by the inhabitants called the falk, the razor-bill in the west of England, the awk in the north, the murre in Cornwall, *alca boeri*, is a size less than the lavy; its head, neck, back, and tail black; the inside toward the middle of the throat white, the throat under the chin of a dusky black; beyond the nostrils in the upper jaw is a furrow deeper than that in the couler-neb; the upper chop crooked at the end, and hangs over the lower, both having transverse furrows. It lays its egg in May, its young take wing the middle of July, if the inhabitants do not determine its stay longer, by taking the egg, which in bigness is next to the lavy, or guillem egg, and is variously spotted, sharp at one end and blunt at the other.

The



The bowger, so called by those in St. Kilda, coulter-neb by those in the Farn Islands, and in Cornwall, pope, is of the size of a pigeon, its bill short, broad, and compressed sidewise, contrary to the bills of ducks, of a triangular figure, and ending in a sharp point, the upper jaw arcuate and crooked at the point; the nostrils are long holes produced by the aperture of the mouth; the bill is of two colours, near the head of an ash colour, and red towards the point; the feet are yellow, the claws of a dark blue; the whole back black, breast and belly white. They breed in holes under ground, and come with a south-west wind about the twenty-second of March, lay their egg the twenty-second of April, and produce the fowl the twenty-second of May, if their first egg be not taken away; it is sharp at one end and blunt at the other.

The asilag is as large as a linnet, black bill, wide nostrils at the upper part, crooked at the point like the fulmar's bill. It comes about the twenty-second of March, without any regard to winds, lays its egg about the twentieth of May, and produces the fowl towards the middle of October, then goes away about the end of November.

There are three sorts of sea-malls here: the first of a grey colour, like a goose; the second considerably less, and of a grey colour; and the third sort white, and less in size than a tame duck; the inhabitants call it reddag; it comes the fifteenth of April with a south-west wind, lays its egg about the middle of May, and goes away in the month of August.

The tirma, or sea-pie, by the inhabitants called trilichan, comes in May, goes away in August: if it comes the beginning of May it is a sign of a good summer, if later, the contrary is observed. This fowl is cloven-footed, and consequently swims not.

It is observed of all the sea-fowls here, that they are fattest in time of hatching, except the Solan geese.

Every fowl lays an egg three different times, except the gair-fowl and fulmar, which lay but once: if the first or second egg be taken away, every fowl lays but one other egg that year, except the sea-malls, and they ordinarily lay the third egg, whether the first and second eggs be taken away or no.

The inhabitants observe, that when the April moon goes far in May, the fowls are ten or twelve days later in laying their eggs, than ordinarily they use to be.

The inhabitants likewise say, that of these fowls there first come over some spies, or harbingers, especially of the Solan geese, towering about the islands where their nests are, and that when they have made a review thereof they fly away, and in two or three days after the whole tribe are seen coming. Whither the fowls fly, and where they spend their winter, the inhabitants are utterly ignorant of.

The eggs are found to be of an astringent and windy quality to strangers, but, it seems, are not so to the inhabitants, who are used to eat them from the nest. Our men upon their arrival eating greedily of them became costive and feverish, some had the hemorrhoid veins swelled; Mr. Campbell and I were at no small trouble before we could reduce them to their ordinary temper; we ordered a glister for them made of the roots of sedges, fresh butter, and salt, which, being administered, had its wished-for effect; the inhabitants reckoned this an extraordinary performance, being, it seems, the first of the kind they had ever heard of.

They preserve their eggs commonly in the stone pyramids, scattering the burnt ashes of turf under and about them, to defend them from the air, dryness being their only preservative, and moisture their corruption; they preserve them six, seven, or eight months, as abovesaid, and then they become appetizing and loosening, especially those that begin to turn.

That

Egg



That such a great number of wild fowl are so tame, as to be easily taken by the rods and gins, is not to be much admired, by any who will be at the pains to consider the reason, which is the great inclination of propagating their species; so powerful is the natural affection for their offspring, that they choose rather to die upon the egg, or fowl, than escape with their own lives, (which they could do in a minute) and leave either of these to be destroyed.

It deserves our consideration to reflect seriously upon the natural propensity and sagacity of these animals in their kind; which, if compared with many rational creatures, do far outstrip them, and justly obey the precept of their natures, by living up unto that instinct that Providence has given them.

The inhabitants here are originally descended of those of the adjacent isles, Lewis, Harries, South and North Vist, and Sky: both sexes are naturally grave, and of a fair complexion; such as are not fair are natives only for an age or two, but their offspring proves fairer than themselves.

There are several of them would be reckoned among beauties of the first rank, were they upon a level with others in their dress.

Both men and women are well proportioned, nothing differing from those of the isles and continent. The present generation comes short of the last in strength and longevity. They shewed us huge big stones carried by the fathers of some of the inhabitants now living; any of which is a burthen too heavy for any two of the present inhabitants to raise from the ground, and this change is all within the compass of forty years. But notwithstanding this, any one inhabiting St. Kilda is always reputed stronger than two of the inhabitants belonging to the isle of Harries, or the adjacent isles. Those of St. Kilda have generally but very thin beards, and those too do not appear till they arrive at the age of thirty, and in some not till after thirty-five; they have all but a few hairs upon the upper lip, and point of the chin.

Both sexes have a lisp, but more especially the women, neither of them pronouncing the letters d, g, or r. I remember a story of a craker that lisped (two years ago) the boys of the place took notice of, and were pleased to hear him, and to ape his cry; one of the steward's men beholding them, enquired the meaning of their noise, which, he told them, was ridiculous; they returned answer, that it was worth his while to behold the sport of a lisping craker, whom they aped; but the man replied, that they played the fool, for the craker diverted himself in lisping after them, and charged them with that imperfection; the boys no sooner heard this, but away they ran, and left the craker to cry and lisp as he pleased.

There are some of both sexes who have a genius for poetry, and are great admirers of music: the trump or Jew's harp is the only musical instrument they have, which disposes them to dance mightily. Their sight is extraordinary good, and they can discern things at a great distance; they have very good memories, and are resolute in their undertakings, chaste, and honest, but reputed jealous of their wives. They argue closely, and with less passion than other islanders, or those inhabiting the high-lands on the continent.

They are very cunning, and there is scarce any circumventing of them in traffic and bartering: the voice of one is the voice of all, being all of of a piece, one common interest uniting them firmly together. They marry very young, the women at about thirteen or fourteen; and are nice in examining the degrees of consanguinity before marriage. They give suck to their children for two years. The most ancient person among them at present is not above eighty years old.



Providence is very favourable to them in that they are not infested with several diseases which are so predominant in the other parts of the world: the distemper that most prevails here is the spotted fever, and that too confined to one tribe, to whom this disease is, as it were, become hereditary; others are liable to fluxes, fevers, pleurifies, and the spleen; for all which they have but a few remedies: to get away their pleuretic disorders, they commonly lie upon a warm hearth, with the side affected downwards; this they look upon as almost infallible for dispelling the humour or wind that torments them. The small-pox hath not been heard of in this place for several ages, except in one instance, of a single man who had been infected on the arrival of two of the steward's retinue, who had not been well recovered of it.

The plants produced here are *lapathum vulgare*, the common dock, scurvy-grass round, being large as the palm of the hand, *mille-foil*, *bursa pastoris*, silver-weed, or argentine; plantane, sage, chicken-weed, sorrel, long, or the common sorrel, all-hail, or fiderites, the sea-pinck, tormentil, the scurf upon the stones, which has a drying and healing quality, and is likewise used for dying. The inhabitants are ignorant of the virtues of these herbs; they never had a potion of physic given them in their lives, nor know any thing of phlebotomy; so that a physician could not expect his bread in this commonwealth.

They have generally good voices, and sound lungs; to this the Solan goose egg supped raw doth not a little contribute: they are seldom troubled with a cough, except at the steward's landing, which is no less rare than firmly believed by the inhabitants of the adjacent isles.

Those of St. Kilda, upon the whole, gave me this following account: that they always contract a cough upon the steward's landing, and it proves a great deal more troublesome to them in the night-time, they then discharging a great deal of phlegm; this indisposition continues for some ten, twelve, or fourteen days: the most sovereign remedy against this disease is their great and beloved catholicon, the giben, i. e. the fat of their fowls, with which they stuff the stomach of a Solan goose, in fashion of a pudding; this they put in the infusion of oat-meal, which in their language they call brochan; but it is not so effectual now as at the beginning, because of the frequent use of it. I told them plainly, that I thought all this notion of infection was but a mere fancy, and that at least it could not always hold; at which they seemed offended, saying, that never any before the minister and myself was heard to doubt of the truth of it; which is plainly demonstrated upon the landing of every boat: adding further, that every design was always for some end, but here there was no room for any, where nothing could be proposed; but for the confirmation of the whole, they appealed to the case of infants at the breast, who were likewise very subject to this cough, but could not be capable of affecting it, and therefore, in their opinion, they were infected by such as lodged in their houses. There were scarce young or old in the isle whom I did not examine particularly upon this head, and all agreed in the confirmation of it. They add farther, that when any foreign goods are brought thither, then the cough is of longer duration than otherwise. They remark, that if the fever has been among those of the steward's retinue, though before their arrival there, some of the inhabitants are infected with it. If any of the inhabitants of St. Kilda chance to live, though but a short space, in the isles of Harries, Skie, or any of the adjacent isles they become meagre, and contract such a cough, that the giben must be had, or else they must return to their native soil. This giben is more sovereign for removing of coughs, being used by many other islanders than those of St. Kilda. They love to have it frequently in their meat as well as drink, by which too frequent use of it, it is apt to lose its virtue: it was remarkable, that after



this infected cough was over, we strangers, and the inhabitants of St. Kilda, making up the number of about two hundred and fifty, though we had frequently assembled upon the occasion of divine service, yet neither young nor old among us all did so much as once cough more.

Some thirteen years ago the leprosy broke out among them, and some of their number died by it; there are two families at present labouring under this disease. The symptoms of it are, their feet beginning to fail, their appetite declining, their faces becoming too red, and breaking out in pimples, a hoarseness, and their hair falling off from their heads, the crown of it exulcerates and blisters, and lastly, their beards grow thinner than ordinary.

This disease may in a large measure be ascribed to their gross feeding, and that on those fat fowls, as the fulmar and the Solan geese; the latter of which they keep for the space of a whole year, without salt or pepper to preserve them; these they eat roasted or boiled.

One of these lepers being with me one day at the Fulmar-rock, importuned me to give him a remedy for his disease: I began to chide him for his ill diet in feeding so grossly; but finding the poor fellow ready and implicitly disposed to do whatever I should enjoin, I bid him take example from the fulmar, who, they say, feeds sometimes on sorrel: this was a very surprising advice to him; but when he considered that the fulmar required sorrel to qualify the whale, he was the sooner persuaded that his giben and goose might require the same: I advised him further, to abstain from the giben and fat fowls, which was no small trouble to him, for he loved them exceedingly: I obliged him likewise to mount the hill Conagor, a mile in height, once every morning and evening, and he was very careful to comply with those injunctions for the space of three days; in which short time he made some advances towards recovering his almost lost speech and appetite, for his throat was pretty nearly stopped up. He continued this practice a week longer, by which means he mended considerably; and I left him fully resolved to proceed in this practice, until he was perfectly restored to his former state of health. I had the occasion to observe another of these lepers rave for some minutes, and when he was recovered to his right mind, he worked at his ordinary employment.

The inhabitants are Christians, and much of the primitive temper, neither inclined to enthusiasm nor to Popery. They swear not the common oaths that prevail in the world; when they refuse or deny to give what is asked of them, they do it with a strong asseveration, which they express emphatically enough in their language to this purpose: "You are no more to have it, than if God had forbid it;" and thus they express the highest degree of passion. They do not so much as name the devil once in their lifetimes.

They leave off working at twelve o'clock on Saturday, as an ancient custom delivered down to them from their ancestors, and go no more to it again till Monday morning. They believe in God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost; in a future state of happiness and misery, and that all events, whether good or bad, are pre-determined by God. They use a set form of prayer at the hoisting of their sails: they lie down at night, rise again in the morning, and begin their labours always in the name of God. They have a notion that spirits are embodied, and fancy them to be locally in rocks, hills, or wherever they list, in an instant.

Here are three chapels, each of them built with one end towards the east, the other towards the west, the altar always placed at the east end: the first of these is called Christ Chapel, near the village; it is covered and thatched after the manner of their houses; there is a brazen crucifix lies upon the altar, not exceeding a foot in length;



the body is completely done, distended, and has a crown on, all in the crucified posture; they have it in great reverence, though they pay no kind of adoration or worship to it; nor do they either handle or see it, except upon the occasions of marriage, and swearing decisive oaths, which puts an end to all strife, and both these ceremonies are publickly performed. The church-yard is about an hundred paces in circumference, fenced in with a little stone wall, within which they bury their dead; and take care to keep it perfectly neat, void of any kind of nastiness, nor suffer their cattle to have any access to it. The inhabitants, young and old, come to the church-yard every Sunday morning, the chapel not being capacious enough to receive them; here they devoutly say the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments.

They observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Good-Friday, St. Columba's Day, and that of All Saints; upon this they have an anniversary cavalcade, the number of their horses not exceeding eighteen; these they mount by turns, having neither saddle nor indeed a bridle of any kind, except a rope, which manages the horse only on one side; they ride from the shore to the house, and when each man has performed his tour, the show is at an end. They are very charitable to their poor, of whom there are not at present above three, and these carefully provided for by this little commonwealth, each particular family contributing according to their ability for their necessities; their condition is enquired into weekly, or monthly, as their occasions serve, but more especially at the time of their festivals, they slay some sheep on purpose to distribute among the poor, with bread proportionable; they are very charitable likewise to strangers in distress; this they had opportunity to express to a company of Frenchmen and Spaniards who lost their ship at Rokol in the year 1686, and came in in a pinnace to St. Kilda, where they were plentifully supplied with barley-bread, butter, cheese, Solan geese, eggs, &c. Both seamen and inhabitants were barbarians one to another, the inhabitants speaking only the Irish tongue, to which the French and Spaniards were altogether strangers. Upon their landing they pointed to the west naming Rokol to the inhabitants, and after that they pointed downward with their finger, signifying the sinking and perishing of their vessel; they shewed them Rokol in the sea map, far west of St. Kilda. This and much more the masters of these ships told to a priest in the next island, who understood French. The inhabitants acquainted me that the pinnace which carried the seamen from Rokol was so very low, that the crew added a foot height of canvass round it all, and began to work at it upon Sunday; at which the inhabitants were astonished, and being highly dissatisfied, plucked the hatchets and other instruments out of their hands, and did not restore them till Monday morning.

The inhabitants had occasion to shew great kindness to a boat's crew that was driven from the opposite isle S. W., whither they themselves were driven afterwards, and where they were treated with no less civility and kindness than the above-mentioned had been by them; so that it may be said of them with great justice, that their charity is as extensive as the occasions of it.

The second of these chapels bears the name of St. Columba, the third of St. Brianan; both built after the manner of Christ's chapel, having church-yards belonging to them, and are a quarter of a mile distant from each other.

They told me of a ship that dropped anchor in the mouth of the bay the preceding year, and that the Lowlanders aboard her were not Christians; I enquired if their interpreter, who they said spoke bad Irish, had owned this to be a truth. They answered in the negative; but that they knew this by their practices, and that in these three particulars: the first was the working upon Sunday, carrying several boats full of stones aboard for ballast; the second was the taking away some of their cows without any return for them,



them, except a few Irish copper pieces ; and the third was, the attempt made by them to ravish their women, a practice altogether unknown in St. Kilda, where there has not been one instance of fornication or adultery for many ages before this time. I remember they told me that the bribe offered for debauching the poor women, was a piece of broad money, than which there could be nothing less charming in a place where the inhabitants make no distinction betwixt a guinea and a sixpence.

Their marriages are celebrated after the following manner : when any two of them have agreed to take one another for man and wife, the officer who presides over them summons all the inhabitants of both sexes to Christ's chapel, where being assembled, he enquires publickly if there be any lawful impediment why these parties should not be joined in the bond of matrimony ? And if there be no objection to the contrary, he then enquires of the parties if they are resolved to live together in weal and woe, &c. After their assent he declares them married persons, and then desires them to ratify this their solemn promise in the presence of God and the people, in order to which the crucifix is tendered to them, and both put their right hands upon it, as the ceremony by which they swear fidelity one to another during their life-time.

Mr. Campbell, the minister, married in this manner fifteen pair of the inhabitants on the seventeenth of June, who immediately after their marriage joined in a country dance, with bagpipe for their music, which pleased them exceedingly.

They baptize in the following manner : the parent calls in the officer, or any of his neighbours, to baptize his child, and another to be sponzor ; he that performs the minister's part being told what the child's name is to be, says, " A. B. I baptize thee to your father and your mother, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost : " then the sponzor takes the child in his arms, as doth his wife as godmother, and ever after this there is a friendship between the parent and the sponzor, which is esteemed so sacred and inviolable, that no accident, how cross soever, is able to set them at variance, and it reconciles such as have been at enmity formerly.

This isle belongs in property to the laird of Mack-Leod, head of one of the most ancient families of Scotland ; it is never farmed, but most commonly bestowed upon some favourite, one of his friends or followers who is called Steward of the Isle. The present steward's name is Alexander Mack-Leod, who pays yearly to his master an acknowledgment of the various products of this isle. This steward visits St. Kilda every summer, and upon his arrival he and his retinue have all the milk in the isle bestowed on them in a treat ; there is another bestowed on them upon St. Columba's Day, the fifteenth of June ; and we had a share of this second treat. The steward's retinue consists of forty, fifty, or sixty persons, and among them, perhaps, the most meagre in the parish are carried thither to be recruited with good cheer ; but this retinue is now retrenched, as also some of their ancient and unreasonable exactions.

The steward lives upon the charge of the inhabitants until the time that the Solan geese are ready to fly, which the inhabitants think long enough ; the daily allowance paid by them is very regularly exacted, with regard to their respective proportions of lands and rocks. There is not a parcel of men in the world more scrupulously nice and punctilious in maintaining their liberties and properties than these are, being most religiously fond of their ancient laws and statutes ; nor will they by any means consent to alter their first, though unreasonable, constitutions ; and we had a pregnant instance of this their genius for preserving their ancient customs ; they have unchangeably continued their first and ancient measures, as the maile, amir, and cubit : this maile contains ten pecks ; the amir, which they at present make use of, is probably the Hebrew *omer*, which contains near two pecks ; the cubit, or in their language, *lave keile*, i. e. an hand



of wood, is the distance from the elbow to the fingers' ends; this they only use in measuring their boats: the amir, or rather half-amir, as they call it, is composed of thin boards, and, as they acknowledge, has been used these fourscore years; in which tract of time it is considerably fallen short of the measure of which it was at first, which they themselves do not altogether deny; the steward, to compensate this loss, pretends to a received custom of adding the hand of him that measures the corn to the amir side, holding some of the barley above the due measure, which the inhabitants complain of as unreasonable: the steward, to satisfy them, offered to refer the debate to Mr. Campbell's decision and mine, they themselves being to propose their objections, and two of his retinue, who were well skilled in the customs of the place, in the time of some of the former stewards, being appointed to answer them, and he promised that he would acquiesce in the decision, though it should prove to his prejudice; but they would not alter that measure if Mack-Leod did not expressly command it, being persuaded that he could not attempt to do so, as his and their ancestors had had it in such esteem for so many ages. So great was their concern for this amir, that they unanimously determined to send the officer as envoy, according to the ancient custom, to represent their case to Mack-Leod; this was the result of a general council, in which the master of every family has a vote, since every family pays this officer an amir of barley *per annum* to maintain his character.

This officer as such, is obliged to adjust the respective proportions of lands, grafs, and rocks, and what else could be claimed by virtue of the last tack or lease, which is never longer than for three years, condescended to by the steward; nay, he is obliged always to dispute with the steward for what is due to any of them, and never to give over until he has obtained his demand, or put the steward into such a passion, that he gives the officer at least three strokes with his cudgel upon the crown of his head, which is the utmost that is required of him by their ancient customs. I said to the officer who gave me this account, what if the steward should give him but one blow? he answered, that the inhabitants would not be satisfied if he did not so far plead as to irritate the steward to give both a second and a third: I had the farther curiosity to enquire of the steward himself if he was wont to treat the officer in this manner; who answered, that it was an ancient custom, which in his short time he had not had occasion to practise; but if he should, he would not confine himself to the number of three blows, if the officer should prove indiscreet.

The steward bestows some acres of land upon the officer for serving him and the inhabitants; he gives him likewise the bonnet worn by himself upon his going out of the island; the steward's wife leaves with the officer's wife the kercher or head-dress worn by herself, and she bestows likewise upon her an ounce of indigo. The steward has a large cake of barley presented to him by the officer at every meal, and it must be made so large as shall be sufficient to satisfy three men at a time, and by way of eminence it is baked in the form of a triangle, and furrowed twice round; the officer is likewise obliged to furnish the steward with mutton or beef to his dinner every Sunday during his residence in the island.

Notwithstanding these reciprocal acts of kindness, this officer must be allowed to go in quality of an envoy to Mack-Leod against the steward upon extraordinary occasions, if the commonwealth have any grievances to redress, as that of the amir now depending; but the commission given him is limited, the whole boat's crew being joined in commission with him, and are a check upon him, lest his dependence upon the steward might be apt to bias him. He makes his entry very submissively, taking off his bonnet at a great distance when he appears in Mack-Leod's presence, bowing his head and hand low near to the ground, his retinue doing the like behind him one after another, making,



ing, as it were, a chain ; this being their manner of walking both at home and abroad, for they walk not abreast as others do ; and in making their purchase among the rocks, one leads the van, and the rest follow.

The number of people inhabiting this isle at present is about one hundred and eighty, who in the steward's absence are governed by one Donald Mack-Gill-Colm, as their *meijre*, which imports an officer. This officer was anciently chosen, or at least approved of, by the people, before the steward settled him in his office, but now the stewards have the nomination of him absolutely ; he is president over them in all their debates, takes care that the lots be managed impartially, that none to whose share they fall may have cause to repine, whether it be for the steward's service, or that of the commonwealth. The use of the lots, together with the crucifix, do mightily contribute to their peace and quiet, keeping every one within his proper bounds. It must needs be a very odd case indeed that falls not within the compass of either of these two to determine. When any case happens which does not fall under the decision of lots, and it is capable of being decided only by the oath of the parties, then the crucifix must determine the matter ; and if it should prove to be a case of the highest importance, any of them are at liberty to refer it to his neighbour's oath, without any suspicion of perjury, provided the ceremony of touching the crucifix with their right hand be observed ; and this is always publicly performed.

If any man is guilty of beating his neighbour, he is liable to a fine not exceeding the value of two shillings sterling ; if any has beat his neighbour so as to draw blood from him, he is liable to a fine, not exceeding four and sixpence. These crimes are complained of by the officer to the steward upon his arrival, who either exacts the whole, or dispenses with the fines, as he judges convenient for their future quiet and peace.

They have only one common kiln, which serves them all by turns, as the lots fall to their share ; he whose lot happens to be last does not resent it at all.

The officer, by virtue of his place, is obliged through a point of honour to be the first that lands in the lesser isles and rocks, from whence they carry their fowls and eggs, and not without some trouble too. This notion of honour exposes him to frequent dangers ; and perhaps, it may not be unpleasant to describe it as I have seen it practised ; and it is thus : when they come as near to the rock as they think may consist with the safety of the boat, which is not a little tossed by the raging of the sea, those, whose turn it is, are employed with poles to keep off the boat, which is in great danger, in regard of the violence of the waves beating upon the rock, and they are to watch the opportunity of the calmest wave ; upon the first appearance of which the officer jumps out upon the rock ; if there may be any apparent danger he ties a rope about his middle, with one end of it fastened to the boat ; if he has landed safe, he then fixes his feet in a secure place, and by the assistance of this rope draws up all the crew to him, except those whose turn it is to look after the boat ; but if in jumping out he falls into the sea, as his misfortune is so to do sometimes, he is drawn into the boat again by that part of the rope that is so fastened to it, and then the next, whose turn it is, must try his luck, the officer after his fall being supposed to be sufficiently fatigued, so that he is not obliged to adventure his person again to a second hazard upon this occasion, especially as he is exposed to the greatest danger that offers upon their landing when they return back again to the isle, where the sea often rages, he being obliged then by virtue of his office to stay in the boat, after the whole crew are landed, where he must continue employing his pole, until the boat be either brought safe to land, or split upon the rocks.

They furnish themselves with ropes to carry them through the more inaccessible rocks ; of these ropes there are only three in the whole island, each of them twenty-four fathoms.

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in P. A. L. ita



thoms in length ; and they are either knit together and lengthened by tying the one to the other, or used separately as occasion requires ; the chief thing upon which the strength of these ropes depends, is cow's hides salted, and cut out in one long piece ; this they twist round the ordinary rope of hemp, which secures it from being cut by the rocks : they join sometimes at the lower end two ropes, one of which they tie about the middle of one climber, and another about the middle of another, that these may assist one another in case of a fall ; but the misfortune is, that sometimes the one happens to pull down the other, and so both fall into the sea ; but if they escape, as they commonly do of late, they get an incredible number of eggs and fowls.

The ropes belong to the commonwealth, and are not to be used without the general consent ; the lots determine the time, place, and persons for using them ; they get together in three days a much greater number of fowls and eggs than their boat is able to carry away, and therefore what is over and above they leave behind in their stone pyramids : they catch their fowls with gins made of horse-hair, these are tied to the end of their fishing-rods, with which the fowlers creep through the rocks indiscernably, putting the noose over their heads and about their necks, and so draw them instantly ; they use likewise hair gins which they set upon plain rocks, both the ends fastened by a stone, and so catch forty or fifty a day with them.

The inhabitants, I must tell you, run no small danger in quest of these fowls and eggs, inasmuch that I fear it would be thought an hyperbole to relate the inaccessibleness, steepness, and height, of those formidable rocks which they venture to climb. I myself have seen some of them climb up the corner of a rock with their backs to it, making use only of their heels and elbows, without any other assistance ; and they have this way acquired a dexterity in climbing beyond any I ever yet saw : necessity has made them apply themselves to this, and custom has perfected them in it ; so that it is become familiar to them almost from their cradles, the young boys at three years old begin to climb the walls of houses : their frequent discourses of climbing, together with the fatal end of several in the exercise of it, is the same to them, as that of fighting and killing is with soldiers, and is become as familiar and less formidable to them, than otherwise certainly it would be. I saw two young men, to whose share the lots fell in June last, for taking the nest of a hawk, which was in a high rock above the sea, bringing home the hawks in a few minutes, without any assistance at all.

Their dogs are likewise very dexterous in climbing and bringing out from their holes those fowls which build their nests far under ground, such as the scaber, puffinet, &c. which they carry in their teeth to their masters, letting them fall upon the ground before them, though asleep.

The inhabitants speak the Irish tongue only ; they express themselves slowly but pertinently, and have the same language with those of Harries and other isles, who retain the Irish in its purity.

Their habit anciently was of sheepskins, which has been worn by several of the inhabitants now living ; the men at this day wear a short doublet reaching to their waste, about that a double plait of plaid, both ends joined together with the bone of a fulmar ; this plaid reaches no further than their knees, and is above the waist girt with a leather belt ; they wear caps of the same colour and shape with the capuchins, but shorter ; and on Sundays they wear bonnets ; some of late have got breeches, they are made wide and open at the knees ; they wear cloth stockings, and go without shoes in summer ; their leather is dressed with the roots of tormentil.

The women wear upon their heads a linen dress, strait before, and drawing to a small point behind below the shoulders, a foot and an half in length, and a lock of about sixty hairs



hairs hanging down each cheek, to their breasts, the lower end tied with a knot; their plaid, which is the upper garment, is fastened upon their breasts with a large round buckle of brass in form of a circle; the buckles anciently worn by the steward's wives were of silver, but the present steward's wife makes no use of either this dress or buckle. The women inhabiting this isle wear no shoes nor stockings in the summer-time: their ordinary and only shoes are made of the necks of Solan geese, which they cut above the eyes, the crown of the head serves for the heel, the whole skin being cut close at the breast, which end being sowed, the foot enters into it, as into a piece of narrow stocking; this shoe does not last above five days, and if the downy side be next the ground, then not above three or four; however, there are plenty of them, some thousands being caught, or, as they term it, stolen every March.

Both sexes wear coarse flannel shirts, which they put off when they go to bed; they thicken their cloaths upon flakes, or mats of hay twisted and woven together in small ropes; they work hard at this employment, first making use of their hands, and then of their feet; when they are at this work, they commonly sing the whole time, one of their number acting the part of a prime chantress, whom all the rest follow.

They place the faces of their dead towards the east when they bury them, bewail their relations excessively, and upon these occasions make doleful songs, which they call lamentations. Upon the news of the late Mack-Leod's death, they abandoned their houses, and mourned two days in the fields. They kill a cow, or a sheep, before the interment, unless it be in the spring, when this ceremony is, on account of the cattle being at that time poor and lean, deferred till they become fat.

Their ordinary food is barley and some oat-bread baked with water: they eat all the fowl already described, being dried in their stone-houses, without any salt or spice to preserve them; and all their beef and mutton is eat fresh, after the same manner they use the giben, or fat of their fowls; this giben is by daily experience found to be a sovereign remedy for healing of green wounds; it cured a cancer in an inhabitant of the isle of Lewis, and a fistula in one Nicholson of Sky, in St. Mary's parish; this was performed by John Mack-Lean, surgeon, there: they boil the sea-plants, dulse and flake, melting the giben upon them instead of butter, and upon the roots of silver-weed and dock boiled, and also with their scurvy-grass stoved, which is very purgative, and is here of an extraordinary breadth. They use this giben with their fish, and it is become the common vehicle that conveys all their food down their throats. They are undone for want of salt, of which as yet they are but little sensible; they use no set times for their meals, but are determined purely by their appetites.

They use only the ashes of sea-ware for salting their cheese, and the shortest only, which grows in the rocks, is used by them; that being reckoned the mildest.

Their drink is water or whey commonly: they brew ale but rarely, using the juice of nettle-roots, which they put in a dish with a little barley-meal dough; these sowens, (*i. e.* flummery,) being blended together, produce yeast, which puts their wort into a ferment and makes good ale, which, when drank plentifully of, generally disposes them to dance merrily.

They preserve the Solan geese in their pyramids for the space of a year, flitting them down the back, for they have no salt to keep them with. They have built above five hundred of these stone pyramids for their fowls, eggs, &c.

We made particular inquiry after the number of Solan geese consumed by each family in the year before we came there, and it amounted in the whole to twenty-two thousand six hundred, which, they said, was less than the ordinary number, a great many being lost by the badness of the season, and the great current into which they are

1 Great  
east

gannets  
22,600  
in 1696



obliged to be thrown when taken, the rock being of so extraordinary a height, that they cannot reach the boat.

There is one boat sixteen cubits long, which serves the whole commonwealth; it is very curiously divided into apartments proportionable to their lands and rocks; every individual has his space distinguished to a hair's breadth, which his neighbour cannot encroach so much as to lay an egg upon it.

Every partner in summer provides a large turf to cover his space of the boat, thereby defending it from the violence of the sun, which (in its meridian height) reflects most vehemently from the sea, and rock upon which the boat lies; at the drawing it up, both sexes are employed in pulling a long rope at the fore end; they are determined in uniting their strength by the crier, who is therefore excepted from his share in the labour.

There is but one steel and tinder-box in all this commonwealth; the owner whereof fails not upon every occasion to strike fire in the lesser isles, to go there, and exact three eggs, or one of the lesser fowls from each man as a reward for his service; this by them is called the fire-penny, and this capitation is very uneasy to them; I bid them try their crystal with their knives, which when they saw it produced fire, they were not a little astonished, and at the same time accusing their own ignorance, considering the quantity of crystal growing under the rock of their coast. This discovery has delivered them from the fire-penny tax, and they are now no longer liable to it.

They have likewise a pot-penny tax, which is exacted in the same manner as the fire-penny was, but is much more reasonable; for the pot is carried to the inferior isles for the public use, and is in hazard of being broken; so that the owners may justly exact upon this score, since any may venture his pot when he pleases.

When they have bestowed some hours in fowling about the rock, and caught a competent number, they sit down near the face of it to refresh themselves, and in the mean time they single out the fattest of their fowls, plucking them bare, which they carry home to their wives or sweethearts, as a great present, and it is always accepted very kindly from them, and could not indeed well be otherwise, without great ingratitude, seeing these men ordinarily expose themselves to great danger, if not to the hazard of their lives, to procure those presents for them.

In the face of the rock, south from the town, is the famous stone, known by the name of the Mistress-Stone; it resembles a door exactly, and is in the very front of this rock, which is twenty or thirty fathom perpendicular in height, the figure of it being discernible about the distance of a mile: upon the lintel of this door, every bachelor-wooer is, by an ancient custom, obliged in honour to give a specimen of his affection for the love of his mistress, and it is thus: he is to stand on his left foot, having the one half of it over the rock, he then draws the right foot towards the left, and in this posture, bowing, puts both his fists further out to the right foot; after he has performed this, he has acquired no small reputation, being ever after accounted worthy the finest woman in the world: they firmly believe this achievement is always attended with the desired success.

This being the custom of the place, one of the inhabitants very gravely desired me to let him know the time limited by me for trying this piece of gallantry before I designed to leave the place, that he might attend me: I told him the performance would have a quite contrary effect upon me, by robbing me both of my life and mistress at the same moment, but he was of a contrary opinion, and insisted on the good fortune attending it; but I must confess all his arguments were too weak to make me attempt the experiment.



They take their measures in going to the lesser islands from the appearance of the heavens; for when it is clear or cloudy in such a quarter, it is a prognostic of wind or fair weather; and when the waves are high on the east point of the bay, it is an infallible sign of a storm, especially if they appear very white, even though the weather be at that time calm.

If the waves in the bay make a noise as they break before their beating upon the shore, it is an infallible forerunner of a west wind; if a black cloud appears above the south side of the bay, a south wind follows some hours afterwards. It is observed of the sea betwixt St. Kilda and the isles Lewis, Harries, &c. that it rages more with a north wind, than when it blows from any other quarter. And it is likewise observed to be less raging with the south wind than any other.

They know the time of the day by the motion of the sun from one hill or rock to another; upon either of these the sun is observed to appear at different times; and when the sun does not appear, they measure the day by the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which they can tell exactly, though they should not see the shore for some days together: their knowledge of the tides depends upon the changes of the moon, which they are likewise very exact in observing.

They use for their diversion short clubs and balls of wood; the sand is a fair field for this sport and exercise, in which they take great pleasure, and are very nimble at it; they play for eggs, fowl, hocks, or tobacco; and so eager are they for victory, that they strip themselves to their shirts to obtain it: they use swimming and diving, and are very expert in both.

The women have their assemblies in the middle of the village, where they discourse of their affairs, in the mean time employing their distaff, and spinning in order to make their blankets; they sing and jest for diversion, and in their way understand poetry, and make verses. Both men and women are very courteous; as often as they passed by us every day, they saluted us with their ordinary compliment of "God save you;" each of them making their respective curtsies.

Both sexes have a great inclination to novelty; and, perhaps, any thing may be thought new with them that is but different from their way of managing land, cattle, fowl, &c. A parcel of them were always attending the minister and me, admiring our habit, behaviour, &c. In a word, all we did or said was wonderful in their esteem; but above all, writing was most astonishing to them: they cannot conceive how it is possible for any mortal to express the conceptions of his mind in such black characters upon white paper. After they had with admiration argued upon this subject, I told them, that within the compass of two years or less, if they pleased, they might easily be taught to read and write, but they were not of the opinion that either of them could be obtained, at least by them in an age.

The officer, in his embassy in July last, travelled so far as to land on the continent next to Sky, and it was a long journey for a native of St. Kilda, for scarce any of the inhabitants have ever had the opportunity of travelling so far into the world.

They observed many wonderful things in the course of their travels; and think Mack-Leod's family is equivalent to that of an imperial court, and believe the King alone to be superior to him: they say his lady wore so strange a lowland dress, that it was impossible for them to describe it; they admired glass windows hugely, and a looking-glass to them was a prodigy; they were amazed when they saw hangings covering a thick wall of stone and lime, and condemned it as vain and superfluous.

They reckon the year, quarter, and month, as in Great Britain. They compute the several periods of time by the lives of the proprietors and stewards, of whose greatest



actions they have a tradition, of which they discourse with as great satisfaction as any historian reflecting on the Cæsars, or greatest generals in the world.

They account riding one of the greatest of earthly grandeurs, and told me with a strange admiration, that Mack-Leod travelled not on foot, as they supposed all other men did, and that they had seen several horses which were kept on purpose for him to ride upon.

One of their number landing in the isle of Harries, enquired who was the proprietor of those lands? They told him that it was Mack-Leod; which did not a little raise his opinion of him. This man afterwards, when he was in the isle of Sky, and had travelled some miles there, one day standing upon an eminence, and looking round about, fancied he saw a great part of the world, and then asked to whom those lands belonged? and when one of the company had acquainted him, that Mack-Leod was master of those lands also, the St. Kilda man, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, cried out with admiration, "O mighty prince, who art master of such vast territories!" This he expressed so emphatically in the Irish language, that the saying from that time became a proverb whenever any body would express a greatness and plenitude of power.

One of the things they admired most was the growth of trees; they thought the beauty of the leaves and branches admirable, and how they grew to such a height above plants, was far beyond their conception: one of them, much astonished, told me that the trees pulled him back as he travelled through the woods; and they resolved once to carry some few of them on their backs to their boats, and take them to St. Kilda, but, upon second thoughts, the length of the journey, being through the greatest part of the isle of Sky, deterred them from this undertaking, for though they excel others in strength, they are yet but bad travellers on foot, being so much unused to it.

One of their number travelling in the isle of Sky to the south part of it, thought this a prodigious journey; and seeing in the opposite continent the shire of Inverness, divided from Sky only by a narrow sea, inquired of the company if that was the border of England.

One of the St. Kilda men, after he had taken a pretty large dose of *agua-vitæ*, and was become very heavy with it, as he was falling into a sleep, and fancying it to be his last, expressed to his companions the great satisfaction he had in meeting with such an easy passage out of this world; "For (said he) it is attended with no kind of pain." In short, their opinion of foreign objects is as remote from the ordinary sentiments of other men, as they are themselves from all foreign converse.

I must not omit acquainting the reader, that the account given of the sailor's rudeness to the inhabitants has created great prejudices in them against seamen in general; and, though I endeavoured to bring them into some good opinion of them, it will not be improper to speak of the terms upon which the inhabitants are resolved to receive strangers. They will admit of no number exceeding ten, and they too must be unarmed, or the inhabitants will oppose them with all their might; but if any number not exceeding the above, come peaceably, and with good designs, they may expect water and fire *gratis*, and what else the place affords on the easiest terms in the world.

The inhabitants of St. Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty: what the condition of the people in the golden age is feigned by the poets to be, that theirs really is, I mean, in innocence and simplicity, purity, mutual love and cordial friendship, free from solicitous cares, and anxious covetousness; from envy, deceit, and dissimulation; from ambition and pride, and the consequences that attend them. They are alto-  
gether



gether ignorant of the vices of foreigners, and governed by the dictates of reason and Christianity, as it was first delivered to them by those heroic souls whose zeal moved them to undergo danger and trouble to plant religion here in one of the remotest corners of the world.

There is this only wanting to make them the happiest people in this habitable globe, viz. that they themselves do not know how happy they are, and how much they are above the avarice and slavery of the rest of mankind. Their way of living makes them contempt gold and silver, as below the dignity of human nature; they live by the munificence of Heaven, and have no designs upon one another, but such as are purely suggested by justice and benevolence.

There being about thirty of the inhabitants one day together in the isle Soa, they espied a man with a grey coat and plaid, in a shirt, floating on the sea upon his belly, and saw likewise a mall pecking at his neck; this vision continued above a quarter of an hour, and then disappeared; but shortly after, one of the spectators chanced to fall into the sea, and, being drowned, resembled the forewarning vision in all things, and the mall was also seen upon his neck; this was told me by the steward some years before, and afterwards was confirmed to me by such as were themselves eye-witnesses of it.

None of the inhabitants pretended to the second sight, except Roderick the impostor, and one woman, and she told her neighbours, that she saw, some weeks before our coming, a boat (different from that of the steward) with some strangers in it, drawing near to their isle.

*An Account of one Roderick, supposed to have had Conversation with a familiar Spirit, and pretending to be sent by St. John the Baptist, with new Revelations and Discoveries.*

AFTER our landing, the minister and I, according to our first resolution, examined the inhabitants apart concerning the new pretended religion delivered to them by their false prophet.

All of them, young as well as old, both men and women, unanimously agreed in the following account: they heartily congratulated the minister's arrival, and at the same time declared their abhorrence of the impostor's delusions, and with repeated instances begged for the Lord's sake that he might be for ever removed out of the isle.

This impostor is a comely, well-proportioned fellow, red-haired, and exceeding all the inhabitants of St. Kilda in strength, climbing, &c. He is illiterate, and under the same circumstances with his companions: for he had not so much as the advantage of ever seeing any of the Western Isles; all his conversation being with the steward's retinue only, who were as ignorant of letters as himself.

In the eighteenth year of his age, he took the liberty of going to fish on a Sunday (a practice altogether unknown in St. Kilda); and he asserts, that in his return homeward, a man in a lowland dress, i. e. a cloak and hat, appeared to him upon the road; at this unexpected meeting, Roderick fell flat on the ground in great disorder; the man desired him not to be surpris'd at his presence, for that he was John the Baptist immediately come from heaven with good tidings to the inhabitants of that place, who had been for a long time kept in ignorance and error; that he had commission to instruct Roderick in the laws of heaven for the edification of his neighbours: Roderick answered, that he was no way qualified for so great a charge; but the pretended Baptist desired him to be of good courage, for that he would instantly make him capable for his mission, and then delivered to him the following scheme, in which Roderick so



mixed the laudable customs of the church with his own diabolical inventions, that it became impossible for so ignorant a people, to distinguish the one from the other.

The first and principal command he imposed upon them, was that of the Friday's fast, which he enjoined with such strictness, as not to allow one of them to taste any kind of food before night, no, not so much as a snuff of tobacco, which they love extremely; this bare fast, without any religious exercise attending it, was the first badge and cognizance of his followers. He persuaded the people, that some of their deceased neighbours were nominated saints in heaven, and advocates for those who survived; he told them, every one had his respective advocate; that the anniversary of every saint was to be commemorated by every person under whose tutelage he was reputed to be. And this is observed by treating the neighbours with a plentiful entertainment of beef or mutton, fowls, &c. the impostor himself being ever the chief guest at the feast; from whence a share of the provision was punctually sent to his wife and children; the number of sheep ordinarily consumed on these occasions was proportionable to the ability of him that bestowed them.

He imposed likewise several penances which they were obliged to submit to, under pain of being expelled from the society of his congregation, which he pretended to be founded upon no less authority than that of St. John the Baptist, and threatened to inflict the severest judgments upon those who should prove refractory, and not obey his injunctions.

The ordinary penance he imposed upon them, was making them stand in cold water, without any regard to the season, during his pleasure; and if there were more of them upon whom this severity was to be inflicted, they were to pour cold water upon one another's heads till they had satisfied his tyrannical humour. This diabolical severity was evidence enough, that he was sent by him who is the "father of lies, and was a murderer from the beginning."

He commanded that every family should slay a sheep upon the threshold of their doors, but a knife must not so much as touch it; he would have them only make use of their crooked spades for their instruments to kill them with; for which, if duly considered, there is nothing more improper, the edge with which he commanded the sheep's neck to be cut being almost half an inch thick. Now this was to be done in the evening, and if either young or old had tasted a bit of the meat of it that night, the equivalent number of sheep were to be slain the following day, after the former manner.

He forbid the use of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, and instead of them prescribed diabolical forms of his own. His prayers and rhapsodical forms were often blended with the names of God, our blessed Saviour, and the immaculate Virgin; he used the Irish word *pherfichin*, i. e. verses, which is not known in St. Kilda, nor in the north-west isles, except to such as can read the Irish tongue. But what seemed most remarkable in his obscure prayers, was his mentioning Eli, with the character of our preserver. He used several unintelligible words in his devotions, of which he could not tell the meaning himself; saying only that he had received them implicitly from St. John the Baptist, and delivered them before his hearers without any explanation.

He taught the women a devout hymn, which he called the Virgin Mary's, as sent from her; this hymn was never delivered in public, but always in a private house, or some remote place, where no eye could see them but that of heaven; he persuaded the innocent women that it was of such merit and efficacy, that any one who was able to repeat it by heart would not die in child-bearing; and every woman paid a sheep to the impostor for teaching her the hymn.

The



The place and manner of teaching this hymn afforded him a fair opportunity of debauching many of the simple women; and this some of their number acknowledged to the minister and me upon examination.

He prescribed to all his auditory long rhymes, which he called psalms; these he ordinarily sung at his rhapsodical preachments.

He endeavoured to alter the common way of burying, viz. in placing the faces of the dead to the east, and would have persuaded them to place them to the south, and that he might prevail the more with them so to do, he set the bodies of those of his own family who happened to die in that position: but the inhabitants would never follow his example in this, but continued their former practice.

He persuaded the women, that if in all things they complied with his new revelation, they should be undoubtedly carried to heaven, and that in their journey thither they were to pass through the firmament riding upon white horses. These and many more such whims he imposed upon the people, of which this is a short abstract.

This unhappy fellow, to consecrate his enterprize, pitched upon a little rising spot of ground, which he called John the Baptist's Bush, upon which he said these oracles were delivered to him. This bush was from that time forward believed to be holy ground, and must not be trod upon by any of their cattle; if by chance one of them happen to touch it, it was forthwith to be slain and eaten by Roderick and the owners; and if any proved refractory, and were resolved to spare their cattle, a most dreadful commination was issued out against them, of being thenceforward excluded from any further fellowship with him, until they should acknowledge their faults, and comply with his luxurious desires, which to disobey he made them believe was damnable. It was reckoned meritorious for any body to reveal those who had transgressed the orders given by him.

This impostor continued for several years without controul, to delude these innocent well-meaning people, until at last his villainous design upon the women was found out, which he intended to accomplish under the mask of the devout hymn he taught them, and was first discovered by the officer's wife, who the impostor first made a proselyte of to his false doctrines, and after that would have debauched her from her conjugal fidelity. This woman was so heroically virtuous, as to communicate his lewd design to her husband, who ordered the matter so as to be in a room hard by at the time he supposed Roderick would be coming, where he continued till this lecher began to caress his wife, and then he thought himself obliged seasonably to appear to her rescue, and boldly reproved the impostor for his wicked practices, which were so widely contrary to his profession, and that upon the whole it appeared he had no true mission.

The impostor was very much surprised at this unexpected and fatal disappointment, which put him into an extreme disorder, insomuch that he asked the officer's pardon, acknowledged his crime, and promised never to attempt the like again. The officer continued to upbraid him, telling him he was instigated by the devil; that innocence and chastity were always the effects of true religion, and that the contrary practices were countenanced only by false prophets; and that now no other proof was wanting of his being a notorious deceiver: however the impostor's great reputation prevailed with the officer to patch up a friendship, for the continuance of which he condescended to be Roderick's sponsor at the baptism of one of his children; of which ceremony an account has been given: when there is no opportunity of being sponsor to each other, and it is thought necessary to enter into bonds of friendship at baptism, the inhabitants of the western isles supply this ceremony by tasting a drop of each other's blood.

Notwithstanding the friendship thus patched up between the officer and Roderick, the latter's miscarriages got air, which administered occasion to the most thinking among them



them to doubt much of his mission; his father, who was reputed a very honest man, told him frequently that he was a deceiver, and would come to a fatal end. For this impostor once prophesied that one of the inhabitants (whose name I have heard) should be killed in a battle, to be fought in the isle of Harries, within a limited space of time; the unthinking man relying on this infallible oracle, ventured more desperately on the rock than usual, fancying he could not fall; but it so happened that he tumbled over and was drowned, at which the inhabitants were a good deal alarmed; but the impostor still continued in the exercise of his pretended mission.

One of the inhabitants called Muldonich, *alias* Lewis, cousin-german to this man, had a ewe which brought forth three lambs at one time, which were seen feeding upon the sacred bush, but Lewis refused to comply with the order for killing the sheep, and had the boldness to aver that it was an unreasonable piece of worship to destroy so many cattle, and deprive the owners of their property, adding withal, that he never heard any such thing practised in any of the western isles upon a religious account. The impostor insisted that the heavenly command was to be observed by all his followers, adding the dreadful threatening against such as proved disobedient; but Lewis nevertheless remained obstinate, chusing to be excluded from such worship rather than kill his sheep.

The silly people expected no less than a speedy judgment to befall this recusant; but when nothing ensued upon his disobedience, they all began to have a less veneration for the impostor than before; and began to think within themselves that they might as well have ventured to run the same risque with Lewis for the preservation of their cattle.

Notwithstanding this notorious villainy, the impostor continued to maintain his authority, till one night (for it was always at night that he kept his religious meetings), by a special providence, a boy of the isle of Harries, (who had staid with his father a year in St. Kilda, and was employed in mending their boat) happened to go into the house where Roderick was preaching; the boy lurked in the dark, and gave his father an account of what he had heard, at least so far as he could remember; which the boy's father communicated to the steward upon his arrival, who being highly concerned at the relation given him, carried Roderick along with him to the isle of Skie before the late Mack-Leod, who forbid him from that time forward to preach any more, on pain of death.

This was a sensible mortification, as well as disappointment to the impostor, who had flattered himself that Mack-Leod would hear him preach, and expected no less than to persuade him to become a proselyte, as he has since confessed.

This fellow asserts, that every night after he had assembled the people, he heard a voice without saying, "Come you out;" which when he heard, he had no power to stay within; and that after his going forth, John the Baptist always met him, and instructed him what he should say to the people at that particular meeting. He says, that St. John used to repeat the discourse to him only once, which he owns he could scarcely remember one sentence of, and therefore he enquired of the saint how to behave himself in this case; that the answer was, "Go, you have it;" which the impostor believing, was upon his return able to deliver fluently all he had heard, and would continue, after his own way, for several hours together, to preach until he had lulled most of his hearers to sleep.

When the earthquake before-mentioned was over, one of the inhabitants enquired of him with admiration how the rock was made to tremble? he answered, that it was the effect of pleasant musick played by a devout saint in a church under ground: his neighbour owned his love for musick, but heartily wished never to hear any more of this kind, which carried so great terror along with it.

The



The impostor owned the truth of all this account, first to the minister and me, and then publicly after divine service, in the presence of all the inhabitants, and such as were come to that place from the isle of Harries. The minister and congregation jointly prayed for repentance and pardon to this poor wretch, which when ended, we carried him and all the inhabitants to the bush pretended to be sacred; he himself, leading the van, was commanded to demolish that wall which he had ordered to be built round the said bush (which otherwise would in a short time have proved a purgatory, to have robbed them of all their goods), which he and the inhabitants did in the space of an hour; we made them scatter the stones up and down in the field, lest their posterity might see such a monument of folly and ignorance. We reprov'd the credulous people for complying implicitly with such follies and delusions as were delivered to them by the impostor; and all of them with one voice answered, that what they did was unaccountable; but seeing one of their own number and stamp in all respects, endued, as they fancied, with a powerful faculty of preaching so fluently and frequently, and pretending to converse with John the Baptist, they were induced to believe his mission from heaven, and therefore complied with his commands without dispute, and the rather, as he did not attempt to change their laws of neighbourhood.

They now regret their wandering, and hope that God may pardon their error, as what they did was with a design (though a mistaken one) to serve him.

They are now overjoyed to find themselves undeceived, and the light of the gospel restored to them, as it was at first delivered to their ancestors by the first Christian monks, who had gone thither to instruct them.

This impostor is a poet, and also endued with that rare faculty of enjoying the second sight, which makes it the more probable that he was haunted by a familiar spirit. It hath been observed of him, before his imposture was discovered, that so often as he was employed by the steward to go to, or return from, Harries, they were always exposed to the greatest dangers by violent storms, being at one time driven fifty leagues to the north-east, and by special providence were at last cast upon the little isle Rona, twenty leagues north-east of Lewis: the steward's wife, and all his crew reflecting upon these dangers since the discovery of his imposture, could never be prevailed upon to receive him again into their boat. They often intreated Mr. Campbell and me not to admit him into our boat, but we did not yield to these fears, for we received and brought him along with us, and afterwards delivered him to the steward's servants in the isle of Pabby in Harries, where he remains still in custody in order to his trial.



## AN ACCOUNT OF HIRTA AND RONA.

GIVEN TO SIR ROBERT SIBBALD BY THE LORD REGISTER SIR GEORGE M'KENZIE, OF TARBAT.

*Hirta.*

THE island of Hirta, of all the isles about Scotland, lieth furthest out into the sea, is very mountainous, and not accessible but by climbing: it is incredible what number of fowls frequent the rocks there; so far as one can see the sea is covered with them, and when they rise they darken the sky, they are so numerous; they are ordinarily caught this way: a man lies upon his back with a long pole in his hand, and knocketh them down as they fly over him. There be many sorts of these fowls; some of them of strange shapes, among which there is one they call the gare-fowl, which is bigger than a goose, and hath eggs as big almost as those of the ostrich. Among the other commodities they export out of the island, this is none of the meanest. They take the fat of these fowls that frequent the island and stuff the stomach of this fowl with it, which they preserve by hanging it near the chimney, where it is dried with the smoke, and they sell it to their neighbours on the continent, as a remedy they use for aches and pains.

Their sheep upon that island of Hirta are far different from all others, having long legs, long horns, and instead of wool, a bluish hair upon them; for the figure and description it seems to approach in resemblance to the *ovis Chilenfis*. Some natural historians make mention of the milk of those sheep; they make butter and a sort of cheese, which my Lord Register saith pleases his taste better than Holland cheese. They have no salt there but what they make by burning of sea-tangle, which is very black. Their greatest trade is in feathers they sell; and the exercise they affect most is climbing of steep rocks: he is the prettiest man who ventures upon the most inaccessible, though all they gain is the eggs of the fowls, and the honour to die, as many of their ancestors, by breaking of their necks; which Pliny observes of these people, which he calls *hyperborei*.

*Rona.*

THE island of Rona has for many generations been inhabited by five families, which seldom exceed thirty souls in all: they have a kind of commonwealth among them, in so far if any of them have more children than another, he that hath fewer taketh from the other what makes his number equal, and the excrescence of above thirty souls is sent with the summer boat to the Lewis to the Earl of Seaforth, their master, to whom they pay yearly some quantity of meal stitched up in sheeps' skins, and feathers of sea-fowls. They have no fuel for fire upon the island; but by the special providence of God, the sea yearly casts in so much timber as serves them: their sheep there have wool, but of a bluish colour.

There is a chapel in the midst of the isle, where they meet twice or thrice a day. One of the families is hereditary beddall, and the master of that stands at the altar and prayeth, the rest kneel upon their knees and join with him. Their religion is the Romish religion: there is always one who is chief, and commands the rest, and they are so well satisfied with their condition, that they exceedingly bewail the condition of those, as supernumerary, they must send out of the island.



## A BRIEF DESCRIPTION

OF

## ORKNEY, ZETLAND, PIGHTLAND-FIRTH, AND CAITHNESS;

WHEREIN, AFTER A SHORT JOURNAL OF THE AUTHOR'S VOYAGE THITHER, THESE NORTHERN PLACES ARE FIRST MORE GENERALLY DESCRIBED;

THEN A PARTICULAR VIEW IS GIVEN OF THE SEVERAL ISLES THERETO BELONGING:

TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT IS MOST RARE AND REMARKABLE THEREIN; WITH THE AUTHOR'S OBSERVATIONS THEREUPON.

BY JOHN BRAND.\*

TO HIS GRACE JAMES DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

UPON my return from Zetland, as bound in duty, I paid my respects to your Grace, who was pleased to ask if I had kept a diary? which I acknowledged, but could not shew it, till the remarks therein contained were transcribed, which when done, your Grace should have them to glance at some leisure hour. Thus your command giving rise to this undertaking, I have presumed to make the dedication to your Grace.

The noble and illustrious family of Hamilton, the first in the nation, standeth in no need of panegyrics from me to set forth its eminency. His Grace your father, was very instrumental in settling the peace and quiet of this kingdom at the late merciful and wonderful revolution, as became a patriot of his country; under whose presidency, in the convention of estates, the government of our church was restored, which since hath been confirmed by the subsequent parliaments.

In his surviving consort, your pious mother, these endowments and qualifications requisite in the consort of a prince have eminently shined forth, which will embalm her name to succeeding generations: her likewise being so very helpful to many afflicted ones, both in the former years of this church's distress and trouble, and in the latter of great scarcity and dearth, she knowing how valuable are the blessings of those who were ready to perish.

Your Grace's honourable appearance for, and acknowledgment of, presbyterian government in the last session of parliament, was acceptable to many; and I hope your Grace shall never have cause to repent of your continuing to favour the ancient government of this church, which as it is conform to the scripture plan, so the Lord hath been graciously pleased to own and countenance it, in the great things he hath done for and by the ministers and professors thereof.

Among these things for which you stand obliged to the wise conduct of providence, one is, that you have been so well directed in the happy choice of your consorts. Your present lady of a sweet and gentle temper; her carriage obliging and discreet to all; her loving to entertain pious and religious discourse; her modest and exemplary dress; I wish she may prove a blessing to your illustrious family, and be as Rachel or as Leah, which two did build up the house of Israel.

Your noble brother Lord George hath been created, by our present gracious King, Earl of Orkney, for his heroick appearances, under the auspicious conduct of our King, who was pleased to take notice thereof, some of these being under His Majesty's view;

\* Edinburgh, 1701. Svo.



and in testimony of his royal favour, dignify him with this honourable title, which in the years of ancient times hath blazoned the escutcheons of kings.

The branches of your illustrious family do flourish in several parts of the nation, though God in his holy providence hath made lately a breach thereupon, to your grief, and the nation's loss.

Your Grace's relation to the ancient and honourable family of Douglas, gives me occasion to mention that old alliance betwixt that house and the princes of Orkney. William Lord of Niddisdale, commonly called the Black Douglas, by Egidia or Giles, daughter of King Robert II., had a daughter of the same name married to Henry Sinclair, usually styled Knight of the Cockle, of the Garter, and Prince of Orkney. To him succeeded his son William Sinclair, married to Elizabeth Douglas, daughter to Archibald Earl of Douglas, surnamed Tineman; whose titles were, Knight of the Golden Fleece and of the Cockle, Prince of Orkney, Duke of Holdenburgh, Earl of Caithness, Lord Sinclair, Lord of Niddisdale, Great Admiral of Scotland, &c.

My Lord, the knowledge of history is that which the most of men are taken with, as being both pleasant and useful; and it cannot but stain the reputation of any, though able to give account of what is rare in other countries, if they be ignorant of their own, and places which depend thereupon, where things no less remarkable do occur, which may both exercise the ingenious, and edify the gracious inquirers.

But above all, blessed are they who make a religious improvement of natural observes, and use all arts and sciences as hand-maids to religion and piety. The knowledge of Christ is the queen of sciences; hence a learned Paul "determineth to know nothing but Christ and him crucified;" and those who in all ages have been wise unto salvation, have preferred Christ's cross to the world's crown: and with Moses, "reckoned his worst things better than the world's best." The knowledge of all other things without, the knowledge of Christ, is as a shadow without the substance, and a body without the head, as some have instituted the comparison; yea they are ἀνοήτοι without mind and judgment: the cardinal virtues, as they are called, may be attained in shew, but not in truth, *Quid enim illis cum virtutibus qui Dei virtutem Christum ignorant?* all the glory and grandeur of the world, laid in the balance with this piece of saving knowledge, is but as a grain weight to counter-balance a huge mountain: hence a notable saying of a truly noble lord, when set upon by the Jesuits to change his religion, tempting him with splendid and rich offers, "Let their money (saith he) perish with them, who think all the glory of the world worth one day's communion with Jesus Christ." And truly it is but small gain the most painful and able student doth reap, if after all his labour in the records of antiquity and researches of nature, and it may be through the maze of intricate disquisition he lose his soul, and notwithstanding of all his learning be thrust into hell, being forced to cry out on death-bed, as it is reported the learned Grotius once did, *Ab vitam perdidit, operose nihil agendo.*

My Lord, I hope it will not prove unfavoury to your Grace that I have a little enlarged this epistle, in commending of Christ and religion, which so much transcendeth our commendation and praise, whence so many advantages do accrue to us, and among others, when there are early impressions of piety on any, the conscience for ever after useth to hang about them, notwithstanding the tenor of their lives hath been assaulted with manifold tentations. That your Grace may still continue to be a true lover of your country, and a zealous asserter of her rights and liberties, is and shall be the desire of him who is,

May it please your Grace,  
Your Grace's most humble and most dutiful servant,  
JOHN BRAND.



## PREFACE TO THE READER.

I SHALL not insist on an apology why I trouble the sweating press, though I might use and plead the common topics taken from the advice and importunity of others, and to prevent the publishing of some of these remarks, excerpt from my papers, by some into whose hands they had fallen, after they had lain by me several months.

There are several grave persons in these isles of good and solid judgment, both ministers and others, who being better acquainted with the places of their ordinary residence than it can be supposed I had occasion to be, might have published something more valuable on this head, and set their remarks in a clearer light; as likewise some of my dear brethren of the commission might have done it to greater advantage. Yet the engagements that lay on me to transcribe the most remarkable occurrences, and the solicitation of some thereupon to publish them, have some way obliged me to make this appearance. However if others hereby shall be excited to serve the public, by giving a fuller and clearer description of these generally little known places, this essay will not prove altogether useless; and if I had known that any intended to have published something of this nature, the world had not been troubled with my scribbling.

I hope none will judge that I act without my line, in giving descriptions of this nature, seeing all are called to "remember the works of the Lord and talk of his doings," as they have occasion: and all along I endeavour to keep in mind the character I bear, dropping something of a spiritual improvement.

Our historians, such as I have consulted, have given but a very brief and lame, and in some things a false, account of those places, especially Zetland, which is unknown to the most of the nation, if not that they have only heard there were such isles as the Zetlandick. It is true, there is one Mr. Wallace, a late minister in Orkney, who hath gratified the world by giving a description of the Orkney isles; but neither Zetland nor Caithness doth he meddle with: and as to Orkney, there are several things which deserve their own remark he makes no mention of; and others have fallen out since his time, which I have noticed: so that, on the whole, the account now given even of Orkney will appear almost new to any who shall be pleased to compare the two descriptions together.

No doubt but such as know these places will desiderate several things no less remarkable than what are observed; but still my reader would remember that this is but a diary transcribed. Yet this I may say, as I have not willingly suffered myself to be imposed on, so neither have I imposed any thing on the credulous world; but delivered such things which either I was witness to, or had good ground to believe from persons worthy of credit; so that if any thing appear questionable, I have ordinarily in general given my author for it.

I suppose the judicious reader, in perusing the following sheets, will find things both curious and instructive, affording matter of meditation to the wise observers of Providence.

As to any philosophical or philological observes, as I am unfit for, so am I far from a magisterial dictating of them to any, but soberly proposed my own sentiments, which if my reader do not relish, he may follow his own.

Although the style be not quaint and elegant, embellished with the ornaments of art, yet I hope it will be found plain and intelligible; and though sometimes obliged to express myself in the dialect or idiotism of the country, yet ordinarily such words and phrases are some way explained: so when I speak of Orkney or Zetland, as not in Scotland, though depending thereupon, I express myself as the country do.



As to the commissions work I have not meddled therewith, except when the thread of the history did require me to touch it. However, this I may add, our weak endeavours for the advancement of the interest of our Lord Jesus in these remote corners have not been found by superior judicatories altogether unsuccessful; and I suppose it repents none of us of our voyage thither, however dangerous it did prove.

## A DESCRIPTION OF ORKNEY, &c.

### INTRODUCTION.

**I**T is a principle generally acknowledged, that all men in their several stations, according to their capacities, are carefully to study the maintaining and promoting of the good and interest of that kingdom, nation, or society, whereof they are members; for if it go not well with the public in common, it cannot reasonably be thought that the happiness of any in particular can long continue, more than it can go well, with the several members of a natural body, when the body itself is distressed. It was this generous love and concern for their country that so signalised the ancient Romans, and made them in a short time arrive to such a height of glory and honour: unto this did their philosophers, poets, and orators warmly excite their fellow-citizens, so that the more or the less any laid out themselves this way, their achievements accordingly were reputed noble and heroic, and their persons renowned.

Yet much more will we find ourselves bound to advance one another's good, if we look on ourselves not only as men and members of the body politic, but as Christians and members of that body, whereof Christ is the head; therefore our love of, care for, and sympathy with one another, is much commended in holy scripture, which the apostle well illustrateth in several places by that apposite and elegant similitude of the members of a natural body, their conspiring to the mutual good of one another; and expressly commandeth, "Look not every man on his own things, but also on the things of others;" and the want thereof he doth heavily regret in the same chapter: "For I have no man likeminded, who will naturally care for your state: for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's:" which selfish and narrow spirit, as it hath too much prevailed in all ages of the Christian church since the days of the apostles; so in none more than this of ours, as the learned Owen observeth, imputing the shame and the almost ruin of Christianity thereunto. "The Lord Christ (saith he) hath ordained that the members of the same church and society should mutually watch over one another, and the whole body over all the members unto their edification; and that the practice of it is so much lost as it is, is the shame and almost ruin of Christianity."

But more especially these clothed with authority civil or ecclesiastic stand obliged to this public care, ministers being as pilots or governors under Christ to the ship of the church, as magistrates under God are to that of the state. And the charge of ministers having a more immediate respect to the soul and better part of man, they are called the more diligently to take heed thereto, and so to steer their course through the boisterous sea of this world, as that not only they themselves at length may arrive and rest at the fair-havens of Immanuel's land, but that also through grace they may carry along many with them embarked on the same bottom of the covenant, by the means of word and discipline. Ministers are stewards, watchmen, shepherds, bishops, or overseers, &c.; all which do imply a charge to be discharged by them for the good of others.

Ministers



Ministers may be considered in a threefold relation. 1. As Christians related to Christ, which is common to them with all believers. 2. As ministers, and related to that particular church or portion of the church in general, the inspection whereof is assigned to them, and in which more especially and immediately they are called to labour. 3. As they stand related to the church national, whereof they are ministers, whose good they are to endeavour, as God in his holy and wise providence shall afford them access. And that in all these respects ministers may the more approve themselves unto their great Lord and Master, according to his appointment, the apostles' example, and the practice of the church in all ages, they do associate themselves unto councils, meetings, or assemblies, more or less general, that so by common counsel and consent they may consult the interest of the church of Christ within their respective districts and bounds; which as it hath been the laudable practice of other churches, so of the church of Scotland, ever since her first reformation from popery.

For which end the general assembly of this national church moved with zeal for the glory of God, hath travelled much since the late happy Revolution in planting the north of Scotland, and, that they might not be wanting in visiting the utmost bounds thereof, with the isles thereto belonging, have deputed several commissions, who, repairing thither, might upon the place take under their consideration the concerns of the church of Christ in these corners, and determine therein as they should see cause, according to the word of God, and acts of assemblies of this church. Particularly one was sent to Caithness and Orkney, anno 1698, who did God and his church good service there.

In like manner the general assembly, anno 1700, upon the desire of certain ministers in Zetland, and information of the state of affairs in these remote islands, found it necessary to depute a commission thither, consisting of seven ministers and one ruling elder; with power not only to visit and order the churches there, but likewise to concur with and assist the presbyteries of Orkney and Caithness, as there should be occasion.

Of this commission the author, being one, designs a brief description of these remarkable parts; after a short journal of his voyage thither, with some cursory observes thereupon.

CHAP. I.—*Containing a brief Journal of our Voyage from Leith to Orkney, and thence to Zetland; as likewise of our Return from Zetland by Orkney to Caithness; together with a summary Account of the remarkable Dangers we were in.*

ON Friday, April 12, 1700, about six a o'clock in the morning, we set sail from Leith for Orkney, the wind fair though faint, which not being able to bear us up against the tide, we dropt anchor two miles east of Inch-Keith, where we lay from ten till three in the afternoon, when a brisk gale arising, we weighed anchor, and sailed down the Firth, the ship making so good way, that before next morning at break of day we were past Montros.

On Saturday the wind lessened, yet about sun set we past Peterhead, steering towards the point of Kinnair, leaving the Bridges of Ratray (a ridge of blind rocks) on our larboard. Next morning, being the Lord's Day, with a gentle wind, we made the best of our way through Murray Firth, spending the day, in religious exercises with the mariners and some passengers in company with us. When before Peterhead we saw the fins of a great fish, about a yard above the water, which they call a pricker; also



about ten at night, a whale was seen by the help of moonlight, at a little distance from our ship, casting forth the water in a hideous manner.

Next morning about seven o'clock we got sight of Orkney, and the wind blowing somewhat harder than it had done the former night, in the afternoon we passed the east end of Pightland-firth, which, though ordinarily raging with the impetuous current of a sea, by reason of the many tides meeting there, yet we found it not so; but in the midst of that part we passed, dined upon deck, so meeting with least danger, where we feared the greatest. We put into Holms-found, and arrived there about seven at night, on the Monday after our setting sail.

The ship's crew told us, that though they had frequently failed these seas to and from Orkney, yet never had they a better or pleasanter voyage: which providential favour was the more observable, the wind, next day after we landed, blowing strong from the north, and lasting several days. Which, if it had come on before we had accomplished our voyage, we would not only have been blown back to sea, but thereby a tempest arising, we had been in no small danger. We desired to look upon this as a signal mercy, and a token for good.

We would have hired our bark to Zetland, but the master being under charter-party, was obliged to return with a freight of victual to Leith, and not having the occasion of any other ship or bark, we were forced to hire one of these open boats of about sixty meils, which the Orkney men use for carrying victual to Zetland, else we could not go for Zetland this season, though the ministers and others told us our passage might prove dangerous.

Our stay in Kirkwall, the chief town in Orkney, (assisting that presbytery in some of their affairs) was from the 16th to the 27th of April, when with three ministers of this country on the commission, we took boat for Sanda, about thirty miles north-east from Kirkwall, and in our way to Zetland, having ordered our own boat to follow with the first fair wind. We put off about two in the afternoon, the men rowing with six oars about half way, when the wind rising something favourable, with a little sail and four oars we got over Stronza-firth. Though, as we came near our landing-place in Sanda, the increasing wind raised the waves so high, that sometimes they intercepted the sight of the island. Yet we all got safe on shore betwixt nine and ten at night. The mercy of our escape was the more remarkable, that our boat was thronged with passengers, and so overladen that the water came almost to her brim; so that if the sea had not been smooth and calm when we passed through Stronza-firth, we had been probably all lost: as these who had knowledge of those seas did afterwards declare unto us.

We waited in Sanda for a wind from April 27 till May 9, when the wind presenting, we went to the isle of Eda, lying a little to the west of Sanda, where our boat was, but before we could get aboard, the wind shifted to south-east and then to east and by south, which was too scrimp to fetch Zetland; however the wind now being very changeable, we judged it expedient for us to lie near our boat, and lay hold on the first occasion: so May 11, the wind at south-east, we put to sea, but scarce well were we without the Red-head of Eda, when the wind proving contrary, we returned to Calf-found May 12, being the Lord's-Day we spent in religious exercises with the people of the isle; in the evening the wind turning fair, we resolved next morning early to get aboard, if the wind held. This last night, after we returned to Calf-found, was terrible for wind and rain from the west, (the wind soon altering, after we had got in again to Calf-found) with which we could not have kept the sea, in all probability. A great mercy then it was, that we were determined to return, and did not keep the sea, as some advised, for, though within half an hour after we had got into the found, the wind  
turned



turned fair, yet being too strong, the sea became foul and tempestuous, which was not for our open boat.

Monday morning, May 13, about two o'clock, we were called to go aboard, which we did accordingly; the wind at west, or west and by north, the gale was brisk, but not very great, which we were glad of, thereby expecting a speedy passage: so we with two other boats in company loosed, but scarce were we a league without the heads, when we saw a storm of wind and rain making in the west, whence the wind blew, whereupon one of the boatmasters in company advised us to tack about, and endeavour to fetch Calf-sound again; which counsel we, judging to be safe, accordingly essayed to follow it, but the wind and sea rising more boisterous, and the current of the ebb being strong from the sound, we could not by any means effectuate our design, though we made several trips not without danger; the sea with its broken and swelling waves threatening to swallow us up every moment: the mariners stood by their sails, crying, this work was very dangerous; and at one time, as one of them observed the boat had taken in about ten barrels of water, the pump was still kept going, we judged ourselves to be lost men, and some expressed so much. In these straits we desired the boatmaster sitting by the helm, to see if he could make any other harbour or bay; he answered, "God have mercy on us, for the sea we dare not keep, and there is not another harbour in Orkney we can make;" the men were fatigued with the toil of their hard work, and almost at the giving over. We then knew to our experience the meaning of that Scripture, Ps. 107. 27. of seamen in a storm's being at their wit's end. Though the wind was fair for Zetland, yet we durst not hold on our course, the sea not only being tempestuous, but we had also several roufts, or impetuous tides to pass, and then the ebb was in the sea, which made them so much the more dangerous. Thus straitened, we thought it adviseable to go down with some sail before the wind to the north end of Sanda, and endeavour to get into Otterswick or Taphnefs-bay; we first attempted Otterswick, and lest we should have been blown by the bay's mouth, we held so near land, that the boat beat several times upon a rock, however we got in and dropt anchor on the weather-side of the shore.

We were all much refreshed with this great deliverance from so imminent a danger. When we had ridden some hours at anchor, the wind and sea calmed. About seven at night, one of the boatmasters in company, who had entered the bay a little before us, weighed anchor and put to sea again. Some of our number were for lying still, till the weather was better settled; others thought that seeing God had commanded a calm, that we had a favourable wind, that the sky appeared to be well set and promising, and that the other loadened boat had gone to sea before us, it might seem from these things Providence invited us to sea again: whereupon we put off, but before we had come the length of North Ronalsha, scarce a league distant from the bay we had been in, the wind became so faint, that the mariners took them to their oars to help them through North Ronalsha Rouft, thence when we came to Dennis-Rouft, we made some way with our sails without oars, the tide then turning and the flood beginning to run in the sea.

Tuesday, May 14, about one or two in the morning, the wind shifted to east-south-east, then to east, and our boatmaster telling us, that he was forced to steer a northern course, else he could not bear sail, and so holding on, not a stone in Zetland he could hit, as he expressed himself, we all judged it most proper to return to Orkney: when we had tacked about, the wind shifted to north-east, a strong gale, together with great rains, which caused a rolling and a swelling sea, (for rains here without winds do raise, or canker, (as they term it) the sea, and much more when wind and rain come on at once;



once; however we got in safely to Stronza-road, which was the readiest we could make. It was a happy providence that we then returned at that nick of time, for the flood not being all spent, we were thereby likewise hastened in our way, so that within a few hours we came to our port, though, as was reckoned, we were near midway between Orkney and Fair Isle. The storm increased with the day, and after our landing it was so very great, that we were obliged to keep within doors for several hours: and if then we had been at sea, it is terrible for us to think upon the dismal effects which might have followed thereupon, for, without all peradventure, we had certainly perished, if the Lord by some wonder of mercy had not rescued us, as indeed he had formerly done. "O that we would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men;" and that so long as we live, we may never forget the 13th and 14th days of May, wherein the Lord wrought a great deliverance for us.

Thus being discouraged, we were in great perplexity, not knowing what to do, whether to make any further attempt, or to return home, *re infecta*, seeing God in his providence had so crossed us hitherto, and it might be his mind we should not go forward. Upon these fluctuating and perplexing thoughts, we asked God's mind in the matter, after which more light did arise, and we unanimously resolved yet to try what the Lord would do with us.

Friday, May 17, between eight and nine in the morning, wind and sky promising well, we put to sea, and passed the Fair Isle, about five afternoon, keeping it on our starboard, then our gale increasing, but continuing fair, at south-west we made good way. About midnight we passed Swinburgh head, the southernmost point of land in Zetland, having thence twenty-four miles sail up within land to Lerwick, whither we were bound. The wind growing more vehement, we lowered our mainsail, and took in a riff; with the breaking of the day there arose a mist, whereby we could scarce see land, however we judged it safest to keep as near it as we could, and sailed away by the coast; but being to pass through a sound, having the isle of Mufa on our starboard, and Burra Land on our larboard, our seamen mistook the point of Mufa, taking another point in the mainland for it, and the mist lying on, we were almost engaged in the land, and so would have fallen among the rocks, which they coming to suspect held to sea, resolving to sail without the point, which they did with difficulty, the boat being so close haled, and the blast so great, that the helm a-lee was scarce able to command her and keep her by the wind: which, when they had done, came to discover their error. Hence sailing through Mufa-sound, we came to Braffa-sound, and arrived at Lerwick on Saturday about four o'clock in the morning.

We had a quick passage, sailing about a hundred miles in nineteen or twenty hours time: especially considering that we were not half an hour on shore, when a strong wind blew from the north, which if it had come on but a little sooner, we would have been driven back to sea. There is likewise another providence remarkable, that we had only an ordinary desirable gale, when we passed the Fair Isle, where always there goes a great rolling sea, but when within the heads of the land of Zetland we had it very strong, so that scarcely we could have wrestled and held out against it in the ocean.

We arrived in Zetland May 18, and, having brought to some period and close our principal work there, we set sail for Orkney, June 11, saluting and bidding heartily farewell to the ministers, and some gentlemen of the country, and to the most considerable inhabitants of Lerwick, who kindly accompanied us to our boat. We left Zetland Tuesday, June 11, about five afternoon, and having the wind at north-west or north-west and by north, we passed the Start-head of Sanda about four next morning, and,



and, endeavouring to fet into Ketteltaft in Sanda, to put one of the minifters of that ifle afhore; out boat, through our boatmafter's inadvertency, ftruck on a rock, without fufstaining any damage we knew; but the wind not permitting to turn up to that road, we all came to Kirkwall, and arrived there before nine in the morning. Our paffage from Zetland to Orkney was yet quicker than it was from Orkney to Zetland, we being but fixteen hours in running one hundred and twenty, or, as fome fay, one hundred and twenty-eight miles. Staying in Orkney a few days, we paffed Pightland-firth to Caithnefs, and having difpatched our work in conjunction with the prefbytery there, we came home by land, repairing with joy to our feveral charges, where we may fet up our Eben-Ezer, faying "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

I think we are called ferioufly to reflect upon the manner of the Lord's dealings with us, we have been long detained and croffed in our way to Zetland, though we made feveral attempts to go forward; as to our commiffion we were appointed by the general affembly of this church, and it being put upon us without any defire of ours, or inclination that way, we accordingly undertook our voyage, and came with a favourable gale to Orkney: it is true, that there are natural caufes of wind and rain, whereof we are to make a fpiritual improvement, efpecially when they do impede or promote our defign; moreover God's judgments are a great depth, and by the courfe of nature, in giving greater or leffer winds at his pleafure, he may carry on his more general works of providence, and yet thereby more efpecially intend the punifhment of the wicked, or the chaftifement of his people, which they are called to confider and improve: and as true it is, God in his wife fovereignty may fo deal with his people, for the trial of their faith and other graces, that they may be ftill and know that he is God, ruling as he pleafeth among the children of men: the devil alfo who is the prince of the power of the air may have an evil and malicious hand in things of this nature, efpecially when men purpofe to do good, which tends to the overthrow of his kingdom. O that what we have met with may be fo bleffed as to render us more zealous againft him and all fin, whereby his kingdom is eftablifhed in the world, "That we may fight with devils, and be more than conquerors through him who loveth us." I fay though thefe things and the like fometimes may and ought to be had a regard unto, yet I do humbly judge that upon thefe fo very dreadful dangers we have in great mercy efaped, we are called to examine ourfelves, and fearch unto our fins as we are Chriftians and as we are minifters, for which the Lord may have a controverfy with us; our not being fo faithful in our perfonal and pastoral work, in working our own and others falvation; our impatience in not waiting the Lord's time, but being too anxious to be in Zetland at any rate: and it is like in our not being fo fingle in our ends in going as we ought to be, &c. I conclude this chapter as the Pfalmift doth Pf. cvii. reflecting on the wonders of Providence, "Who is wife, and will obferve thofe things, even they fhall underftand the loving-kindnefs of the Lord."

CHAP. II.—*A Description of Orkney, its Situation, Name, firft Planters, Language, Manners of the People, Wholesomenefs of the Air, Corns, &c.*

THE Ifles belonging to Scotland have commonly been divided into three claffes: the western, fattered in the Deucaledonian Ocean, on the weft, the Orkney and Zetlandick, both lying to the North of Scotland. As to the Western Ifles, though in number far exceeding both the ifles of Orkney and Zetland, yet I take no notice thereof, in the fubfequent defcription: our commiffion not being deputed thither, fo only the latter



latter shall I give some brief account of, not intending to advance any thing, but what I have either found to be true from my own observation, or had by good information from sensible and grave persons worthy of credit: and shall begin with Orkney, as order requireth, we first landing there.

Orkney lies to the north of Scotland, bounded on the west by the Deucalionian ocean; on the east, by the German; on the north, by the sea, which divides Orkney from Zetland; and on the south, by Pightland Firth, twelve miles broad, from Duingibie-Head or John Groat's house, the northernmost house in Scotland to Berwick in South Ronaldsha, the southernmost point of Orkney. It is commonly said to be about the fifty-ninth degree of latitude at Kirkwall which lies within the country; though the southernmost point of South Ronaldsha, is distant from the northernmost of North Ronaldsha near a degree.

That Orkney or Orcades is the name of these isles is agreed in by ancient and modern writers, but of the etymology and whence the name is derived, none I suppose will be found to give a satisfying account. Some alledging it to come from Orcas which Ptolomy reckons to be a promontory of Caithness, opposite to Orkney; others from the Greek word *ἐπρω* *coerceo*, these isles breaking and restraining the force of the raging waves: or from Hurricano, because of the boisterous winds and hurricanes which often blow in this country: or from Erick or Orkenwald, or some other Pictish prince famous there at its first plantation. Which derivations, some of them at least cannot but appear far-fetcht to the thinking reader: and indeed many in giving the reasons of names, do rather please their own curiosity than render a true account of their original; seeing the reasons generally of the ancient names of countries are buried in oblivion, through the want of writers, and neglect of the first inhabitants, especially in these parts of the world, wherein learning more slowly advanced.

The first planters, and possessors of the country seem to have been the Picts, there being several old houses, both here and in Zetland, which to this day are called Picts or Pight Houses, and the Firth between Orkney and Caithness is still called Pight-land Firth; whereupon some of our historians, as Boethius, writing of the Isles of Orkney, doth observe, design Orkney the most ancient kingdom of the Picts; *Orchades insula, antiquissimum Pictorum regnum a quibusdam nostrarum rerum scriptoribus vocitatae*. And we find mention made of the Kings of Orkney, as Buchanan tells us of one Belus who having invaded Scotland was defeated and put to flight by Ewen II. King of Scots, killing most of his army, upon which Belus being much discouraged and broken in spirit, despairing of life, put hand in himself; and became his own executioner. Boethius calls him Balus; *Balus autem Orchadum rex fractus animo, desperatâ salute, ne in hostium potestatem veniret, manum sibi intulit*. And in the church of Birsâ at the West end of the mainland in Orkney, there is a long stone yet standing erect, with the name Belus inscribed thereon in ancient characters; probably this was the place of his interment. Also the minister of Sandwick's Manse is said to have been the residence of one of the kings of Picts, and therefore to this day is called Konnifgar, or the King's House; and that part of the manse, which they say served for the palace of a king is so little, though now kept in some repair, that it could not accommodate a family of an ordinary rank; the figure thereof and contrivance of its two rooms or chambers one above and another below, of narrow dimensions, are antique, and the building hath been but coarse. Boethius likewise tells of another King called Banus, whom Claudius Cæsar having subdued *anno Christo 43*, he carried him with his wife and children captive to Rome, and were led by him in triumph: Buchanan questions the truth of this history, Tacitus affirming that part of Britain then to have been altogether unknown to the Romans, *nec*



*temere temen crediderim quod nostri tradunt scriptores &c. quod Tacitus affirmet ante Julii Agricolæ adventum, eam Britanniae partem Romanis omnino incognitam fuisse.* But if Boethius his relation be true, the vanquishing of Orkney hath been reputed something considerable, seeing not to every conqueror was allowed by the Roman Senate, the glory of a triumph.

It is also probable the government of these isles continued with the Pictish Prince till the days of Kenneth II. King of Scots, a warlike prince, who having prevailed with his nobles contrary to their own inclination, by a notable piece of craft, to engage in a war against the Picts, with an undaunted valour and courage routed the Pictish army and wasted their country with fire and sword, pursuing them to the Orkney Isles, which he then annexed to the crown of Scotland, reigning from Orkney to Adrian's Wall *Anno Dom. 854*. Thence Orkney continued in the possession of the Scots till the days of Donald Bane, about the year 1099, who, that he might secure the kingdom to himself, promised the isles to Magnus King of Norway, if he would assist him with a necessary force; which offer Magnus accepting, the Norwegians became masters of the isles, till Alexander III. about the year 1263, recovered them by expelling the Norwegians; which ever since were possessed and disposed of by our kings. To be brief, at length William Douglas Earl of Mortoun got a wadset of Orkney and Zetland from King Charles I. which wadset with all the rights, contracts, infeftments, &c, thereunto appertaining, was reduced by a decret of the Lords of Session, obtained at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate against William Douglass also Earl of Mortoun, grand-child to the aforesaid Earl, February 1669, which decret was ratified and confirmed by act of parliament the December following, erecting the Earldom of Orkney and Lordship of Zetland into a stewartry to be called in all time coming the Stewartry of Orkney and Zetland. The reason commonly given, why the Earl of Mortoun lost the wadset, was because some chests of gold were seized by the Earls Deputs in Zetland, got out of a rich ship, called the Carmelan of Amsterdam, cast away there *anno 1664*; none of this gold coming to the King's treasury, though some of it, as was alledged, came to the Earl's hands.

From our history we may know, that Orkney and Zetland have been reckoned so great and considerable a part of His Majesty's ancient kingdom, that for divers ages they occasioned much expence of blood and treasure, for the maintaining thereof against the invasion of foreigners, and recovering the same out of their hands by arms and treaties. The title likewise of these isles hath still been reputed honourable, hence it hath pleased our present King to confer this title of Earl of Orkney upon Lord George Hamilton, brother to his grace the Duke of Hamilton, for good services done by him to His Majesty's person and government.

I proceed to consider the present state of the country. The people here are personable and comely, and many of them, as I observed, are of a ruddy complexion, which may be by reason of the sea air and their frequent fish diet, such a colour and countenance, as our mariners use to have and retain for some days after they are come from sea: they are generally hospitable and civil, giving kind and humane entertainment to strangers, which we found to our experience. Both men and women are fashionable in their cloaths, no men here use plaids, as they do in our Highlands: in the North Isles of Sanda Westra, &c. Many of the country people wear a piece of a skin, as of a seal, commonly called a felch, calf or the like, for shoes, which they fasten to their feet with strings or thongs of leather. Their houses are in good order, and well furnished according to their qualities.

They generally speak English, neither do I think they have so much of the northern accent, as in many places of the north of Scotland, yet several of the Isles have some words



words and phrases peculiar to themselves. There are also some who speak Norse especially in the mainland, as in the parish of Hara there are a few yet living, who can speak no other thing, this language not being quite extinct among them, since the Norwegians whose language it is, had this country in possession. And though Caithness be near to Orkney, yet none in Orkney can speak Irish, though the greatest part in Caithness can; nor can any in Caithness speak Norse, though some in Orkney yet can do it.

The air, as it is piercing and cold, so it is free and healthy; hence many arrive at a good old age: one in Evie brought forth a child in the sixty third year of her age, as the minister who had enquired thereunto declared: a man in the parish of Holm, who died not many years since, lived with his wife in a conjugal state above eighty years, as the present minister of the place informed me: a gentleman in Stronsa, who died about two years since, was begotten of his father when one hundred years old, this was attested by the ministers who knew the truth thereof, one William Muir in Westra lived one hundred and forty years, and died about sixteen years ago, by a decay of nature's heat and vigour, incident to such an infirm decrepit age, without any ordinary sickness, as a gentleman in these bounds, well acquainted with him, told me. The disease they are most obnoxious unto is the scurvy, occasioned, as is judged, by the sea air, fishes, salt-meats, &c. It is observed likewise that it is colder in the summer time than it is with us in the south, but warmer in the winter, the snow not using to lay long; for (beside other things that might be said on this head, which also respect other countries) in the summer cold breezes come off the sea, which tempers the heat; and in the winter season the same breezes may qualify the extreme cold and frost, which useth to be greatest, when the air is most quiescent, and least disturbed with winds; the great motion also of the rapid tides may contribute not a little thereunto.

Their ordinary grain are oats and barley, and though other grains should be sown, the product would not be great if any at all, they not taking with such a weak and cold soil, and the many brinish blasts these isles lay exposed unto. As for wheat bread it is rare and scarce to be had, if not at Kirkwall and some gentlemen's houses, who bring the flour from Murray, or the south of Scotland. As for their oats and barley, the grain is less and blacker than it is with us: yea though they should bring good and fair seed from other countries, within a few years it would degenerate and become like their own; which is the reason why their meal and bread are of such a black colour. Yet in some places the meal is whiter, and said to be better than in others. Their not being so diligent in winnowing their corns, not having such good mills for grinding as we have may be partly the cause thereof. In some place also they use not to shear their corn, but pluck it up by the roots, as we do the lint, because of the scarcity of fodder to to their beasts, which corns, if not taken pains upon, will abound with sand and dust. Nevertheless, for aught I hear or know, their bread and ale are wholesome, and the natives take well with them. I thought first when we landed in Orkney, their oat bread and flesh also had some fish-taste, but when we had tarried some days there, we were not so sensible of it.

Their arable ground is better and more fertile than at first to strangers appeareth; whence I heard some gentlemen declare, it was wonderful to think how great the product of these isles is considering the many barren mountains and much waste ground that are in them. They dung their land for the most part with sea-ware, which having gathered they suffer to rot, either on the coasts, or by carrying it up to the land upon horses or on their backs; they lay it in heaps, till the time of labouring approach; which is the reason, why the skirts of the isles are more ordinarily cultivated, and do more abound with corns, than places at a greater distance from the sea, where they have

not



ot such gooding at hand. Their ploughs are little and light, having only one stilt, and but little iron in them; hence when at the end of the ridge, he who holds it lifts it up and carries it to the other side of the ridge, and if he please may carry it home on his shoulders: the reason they give of this is, that although some of their ground be strong, yet their beasts are weak and unable to go through with a plough of any considerable weight.

Their horses, kine, sheep, lambs, &c. are of a lesser size than with us, and are to be bought at an easier rate, for a good cow which will be had for five pounds Scots, or four pounds, sixteen shillings, at which price they are obliged to sell her at Kirkwall about Martinmas. A good wedder for twenty shillings Scots. A hen for two shillings or two shillings and six-pence, &c. The sheep here are generally wild, therefore when they would have them taken, they ordinarily do it by dogs trained for the purpose, the owner of the sheep giving to the master of the dog two shillings Scots for each one that is taken, and if they be not so wild but one shilling. Some husbandmen told us, they would rather labour their land over again than take their sheep when they would have them washed and shorn; I saw a young man come from the hills wet and weary, having a long time pursued one to kill for our use. Their kine are of divers colours, some white, others of a pied, some red, others red and white, &c. So that I think, there are as many of these colours as are of a black. They have no rivers, no place of the land, being above two or three miles distant from the sea, therefore they draw water out of wells for their cattle, or drive them to lochs or lakes, some whereof they have, or to some small brooks which run from these lochs: which lochs likewise cause their mills to go.

They have abundance of cattle in many places, whereby is afforded them plenty of milk, which yieldeth much butter, some whereof is very good, yellow and sweet, but that which is called Orkney butter at Edinburgh, is only their farm-butter, which they are obliged to pay to the taxmen or masters, whereof a quantity according to compact and agreement being gathered, they are at little or no trouble to make and keep it clean. Their sheep also are very fruitful, many of them having two, and some three at a birth, which as Mr. Wallace lately, so Boethius of old did observe, *oves illic pene omnes geminos, immo trigeminos pleraque partus edunt*.

Fishes of divers sorts are taken in great plenty, yet not so numerous as formerly, for now before they catch their great fishes as keeling, ling, &c. they must put far out into the sea with their little boats, and thereby undergo great danger, which in former times they used to get nearer the coasts: however such a number is taken, that, beside what for their own supply, many are sent abroad to other countries for sale. Particularly there are grey fishes, called silluks, scarce half so big as a herring generally, which swim and are taken in great numbers upon the coasts, so that sometimes they soon sell one thousand of them for six or seven shillings Scots. This fish is pleasant to the taste, and also they say very wholesome, which seems to be confirmed by this, that in the late years of great scarcity, the poorer people lived upon them, almost as their food, they often not enjoying a crumb of bread for many weeks. So our good God, on the shutting of one door, opened another in his holy and wise providence for the relief of the poor.

Herrings do swim here in abundance, which formerly occasioned several ships frequenting these isles, but since the battle of Kilfyth, they say that trade hath failed, many of the Enster men, who were ordinary fishers upon these coasts, being killed there. When I was in Papa Westra, they pointed out to me a holm upon the east side of the isle, where I saw the ruins of some huts or little houses, whereunto these Enster men sometimes resorted, during the herring-fishing. A gentleman living in this isle told me, that the former year, 1699, there was a great quantity of herring sperm or spawn driven upon



upon the shore, and lay there for sometime in heaps : which evidenceth that herrings in their season are yet on these coasts : though means be not used to take them.

Beside the many other excellent fishes, as keeling, ling, skate, turbot, and sometimes they say sturgeon &c., there are also many shell fishes taken ; as lobsters sold for an half-penny or four pence Scots ; oysters, much bigger than with us, for four shillings Scots per hundred ; partens and mussels : and cockles in so great plenty, that they make much good lime of their shells, beside which they have no other lime in Orkney, save what they bring from the south.

They have plenty both of land and sea fowls : as eagles, hawks, ember-goose, claik-goose, dunter-goose, solen-goose, swans, lyres, scarffs, kettiwaiks, plover, muir-fowl, duck and drake, &c. The king's falconer useth to go every year to the isles, taking the young hawks and falcons to breed, and every house in the country is obliged to give him a hen or a dog, except such as are exempted. The eagles do much hurt to the young store, falling down upon their lambs and hens, and taking them away with them to their nests, killing and pulling out the eyes and hearts of their sheep ; hence there is an act standing in the steward's books, that whoever shall kill an eagle, shall have a hen out of every house of the parish, where he is killed ; yet notwithstanding of this encouragement, I hear but of few killed, they fleeing high, and dispatching their prey so quickly : I saw a young one in the palace of Birfa, almost twice the bigness of a goose, though not a month old, it is a ravenous fowl, and would have run upon us if we had not kept it off with our staves ; as to its colour, it is for the most part black, and something of a yellow or golden colour about the head and in some parts of the wings. It is to be observed of the eagle, that he doth more destruction in places at some distance from his nest than in these that are nearer it. Eagles, hawks, and such like fowls have their nests ordinarily on some high ragged rock, washed by the sea beneath, some of which we saw as we had occasion to sail by them.

The ember goose though not altogether so big as our land goose, yet it useth to weigh a stone weight. It hath short wings, not able to bear up the body for fleeing, hence it is never seen to fly, neither sit on any rock in the sea, as other fowls do, but hath its nest, wherein it hatcheth its eggs, one or two at once, under the water, at the foot of a rock, as they informed me hath been found. It is of a darkish grey colour, and white about the neck, of broad feet like our land goose, and a long beck and though ever in the water, yet hath not, I think, such a strong fish taste, as the solen goose. It is more difficult to get them shot than other sea fowls, they being very quick-sighted, and on the first apprehension of danger get beneath the water : yea by reason of their many feathers, they will receive a shot on their breast, and it not penetrate : wherefore who would be at them, design for their heads, or to shoot them against the feathers. The lyre is a rare and delicious sea-fowl, so very fat, that you would take it to be wholly fat ; it is somewhat less than a duck.

The sea fowls are so numerous, that a gentleman in Westra told his minister, that some years ago, he for his own part killed so many, as afforded him fifty, sixty, and some years one hundred stone weight of feathers, (whereby accrues to the owners more gain than by the flesh of the fowls) though for some seasons past he had taken but few ; for it is observed, that these fowls follow the small fishes, which are their ordinary food, hence the more fishes, the more fowls, and when the fishes forsake this and the other place, the fowls likewise do so within a short time. Because of this abundance of fowls, therefore it is, that the gentlemen and some others have the rocks in several places divided among them, as they have their land. Which fowls they either kill by small shot out of boats at the foot of the frequented rocks, or else men are let down by ropes from the top of the



the rocks, who search for the nests, taking the eggs and what fowls they can apprehend. Many kinds of the sea-fowls are of a pied colour, some of which are not to be found with us in the south.

There are here no partridges, but plenty of muir-fowls, hence in some isles they will take twenty, thirty, or forty pair in one day, the hills covered with heather, being by nature fitted for their living and accommodation. Conies also do abound in most of the isles, but no hares are to be seen; so that if any be brought into the country, as they say hath been tried, they will not live and propagate as in other places. I hear of few, if any, venomous creatures in these isles, as Boethius of old did observe: *Serpentes aut aliud animal venenosum nullum, id quod de Hiberniâ quoque verum est.* No bees either are here, there being no provision proper for them, beside they would not take well with this cold climate.

No trees there are in this country, nor bushes, save a few in the bishop's garden at Kirkwal, which are esteemed as a rarity, for when planted and taken care of, they sometimes grow up the height of their garden wall, but afterwards they gradually go back and decay. This several gentlemen very desirous of having trees to grow declared, which then must be imputed to the nature of the soil, and sharpness of the sea air, and not to the sloth of the inhabitants, as our historian asserts: *Nulla usquam arbor ac ne frutex quidem præter ericam, nec id tam cæli aut soli vitio quam incolarum ignaviâ, quod facile ostenditur ex arborum radicibus, quæ pluribus in locis cruuntur.* For though indeed it be true that roots, and sometimes bodies of trees, are found in mosses, yet this is rare, and only to be had in some places; whereas gentlemen say, they bring in exotic or foreign plants, they sow seed for nurseries, which useth to arrive at some greater growth than what is planted, yet after all their pains and expence in using such proper means, so conducive for obtaining their end, no perfection or bearing of fruit can be attained: and that trees, which yet are but small, and look dry and withered, do grow in the bishop's garden, may be because of its inclosure, having the church on one side, the town of Kirkwal on the other, and the bishop's house on a third; which kind of fences may keep off the cold breezes that come from the sea, and destroy the growth of trees in other places.

Though there are no trees, and so no fruits for the table, yet there is no lack of good roots for the kitchen, as cabbage, carrots, parsnips, turnips, crummucks, artichokes, &c.; all which useth to be bigger here than with us ordinarily, especially their artichokes excel; hence some gentlemen do barrel and send them out of the country for a present to their friends: besides these, they have likewise variety of herbs in the field, very beneficial to such as understand their virtue and use.

Peats and turf are the ordinary fuel they use, which they have very good and in great plenty through the country, except in some places, which do not so abound therewith, as in Sanda they are obliged to bring peats from the adjacent isles, they not having in their own isle to suffice them; and the usual manner of agreement with the proprietor of the moss is for so much a day for so many peats as a man can cast: and in such places where there is scarcity of fuel, the poorer sort make use of dried kine's dung, or tangles, which in summer's heat they prepare for the winter's cold. They have a few salt-pans in some places, where plenty of peats, which are very useful to the country: at some times much timber, the wrecks of ships cast away at sea, or broken on their isles, is driven ashore, which the inhabitants seizing keep for burnwood, and if good and fresh (as sometimes ships from Norway suffer shipwreck upon or nigh to these isles), they make other uses of it: I saw several chimney-pieces thereof. The more ignorant people construct this as a favourable providence to them, therefore they call these wrecks



God's fend, though not so favourable to the poor mariners and others who suffer thereby.

Although the sea seemeth to favour them, by bringing such timber, and sometimes casks and hogsheds of wine, brandy, &c. to their doors, yet this turbulent swelling sea, and strong current of a tide pays them home sore, for frequently thereby their small passage or fisher-boats are cast away, sometimes all in them perishing, at other times some saved with difficulty. And at all times it is highly dangerous for any not experienced with these seas to pass through between the isles, though with small boats, because of the many blind rocks lying there, upon which sometimes the inhabitants themselves do split, what through some mistake, inadvertency, darkness of the night, or otherwise.

The ministers inform us they are often in great danger in going to their churches from isle to isle, visiting their parishes, going to the presbytery, &c. Sometimes pale death; with its grim countenance, presenting itself, and staring them in the face, as one drawn out by the hair of the head; another escaping on the keel of the overwhelmed boat; sometimes they are arrested by a storm in the isles, and kept from their own families for some weeks, even when the passage will be scarce a mile or half a mile over. They tell us, in the isle of Westra, there was a marriage not long since, where about an hundred persons were convened from other isles, and were detained for six or seven weeks together, so that the many of them daily saw their own houses, yet they durst not adventure to pass over, till the falling wind and sea took off their confinement.

In every isle there is a Wart or Ward-hill, the highest hill in the isle, on the top whereof they used to kindle a fire when they saw an enemy approaching, or discerned any danger, that so they might alarm the neighbourhood, that the dispersed inhabitants of the country having thereby notice given them might convene for their succour, or be upon their own defence, which beacons on the tops of mountains the scripture makes mention of, as Isa. xxx. 17. And a late learned author asserteth, "That great flame with smoke rising up out of the city, which was appointed as a sign between the men of Israel and the lyers in wait, Judg. xx. 38, 40, seems to be meant by this."

There are several gentlemen in Orkney who have considerable estates, but the King is the great proprietor, having about the one half of the rents of the whole country; which rents are let out to tax-men for so much *per annum*, as is agreed upon at the public roup, who by their deputies gather in the revenues of the crown, and being the King's stewards, they are the principal judges of the country. The rents when collected, whether paid in money, meal, oats, barley, or butter, are ordinarily sent south, which causeth a great grudge among the people, some of them thereby being redacted to great straits, not getting meal, barley, or the like sometimes to buy, as in the late dearth, though then the product of these isles, comparatively, were beyond that of many other places in the kingdom. The bishop's rents amounting to eight or nine thousand merks *per annum*, and so more considerable than the rents of several other bishopricks in the kingdom, now since the abolition of prelacy coming in to the King's treasury, and at his disposal, are also sent south, and not consumed within the isles, as they used formerly to be, when the bishops resided here, at which the people are likewise dissatisfied, and thereby, as some better acquainted with their humours and inclinations do inform me, the presbyterian government is made the less acceptable to many of them.

The people greatly cry out of the oppression they groan under, by reason of the frequent change of stewards their masters, who being tax-men, and so only to continue for such a definite time, each endeavours to gather in his rents, and that as soon as may be, which many of the poor people cannot get so quickly given, whereupon several of them are put to doors, and all taken from them, which hath occasioned much of the King's land



land now to be lying waste and lee; whereas if they always had one master, their circumstances might be much better, for sometimes it so falleth out that the husbandman will gain as much in one year as will compensate the loss of another, the master likewise would be more encouraging to them, and concerned in their welfare, and they having leases set them, would more endeavour the improving of their ground, which now they do not, they not knowing but the next year they may have a new master, whose little finger may be thicker than his predecessor's loins. Yet let not my reader judge that I hereby intend the impeachment of any particular person or persons who have been taxmen there, or now are; but my design is to shew that this is the common complaint of the country both in Orkney and Zetland.

The gentlemen tell us they have another kind of holding here than is in other places, and the best right they have to their lands is that which they call Udall right; a possession which the natives successively have without either charter or seisin, all their lands being either such Udall lands, or King's lands, or fered lands. This Udall right is said to be called from one Ulaus King of Norway, who when he possessed the country gave to the inhabitants a right to so much land, he always retaining to himself the third part, and enjoying the increase thereof.

Their measure is not the same with ours, they not using peck and firloft, but instead thereof weigh their corns on pismires or pundlers. The least quantity is called a merk, which is eighteen ounces; twenty-four merks make a leifpound or setten, which with the Danes is that which we call a stone; six settens a meil, which is their boll; and eighteen meils make a chalder. Neither do they use pocks or sacks as we do; but carry and keep their corns and meal in a sort of vessel made of straw, bound about with ropes of the same, called Cassies.

CHAP. III.—*Wherein the several Isles and Parishes belonging to Orkney are enumerated, and briefly described.*

HAVING given some description of Orkney in general, I shall now give some more particular account of the several isles thereunto belonging, which are divided into such as are inhabited, and so are more commonly called isles; and such as are not inhabited, which they call Holms, only used for pasturage. The isles are said to be twenty-six in number, viz. Pomona, or the Mainland, being much larger than any of the rest, Gramsey, Hoy, Swinna, South-Ronaldsha, Burra, Lambholm, Flotta, Faira, Cava, Copinsha, Shapinsha, Damfay, Inghallo, Gairfa, Rousa, Eaglesha, Stronsa, Papa-Stronsa, Eda, North-Faira, Westra, Papa-Westra, Wyre, Sanda, and North-Ronaldsha. To which may be added Pightland Skerries, it being sometimes inhabited in the summer-time, and Waes which in a high stream is divided from Hoy, whereunto it is joined by a low and narrow neck of land; as also the Calf of Eda, it having a salt pan in it. It may be observed that most of the names of these isles end in *a* or *ey*, which in the Teutonic tongue signifieth water, to shew that these isles are pieces of land surrounded with water.

The first is Pomona or the Mainland, said to be twenty-four miles in length from east to west, and in some places six or eight miles broad; nigh to the middle whereof is the town of Kirkwal, about three quarters of a mile in length from south to north, the only remarkable town in all this country, and beside which there is no other royal burgh in Orkney or Zetland. The Danes, who had the Orcades long in possession, called it Cracoviaca, which name Buchanan takes to be the same with Kirkwal, but corrupted: *Quod Dani Cracoviacam appellabant, nunc nomine corrupto Kircua Scotis dicitur.* It standeth upon the north side of the isle, in a low and moist ground; hence a minister in this



country told me that in several places of their large church, where the more respected burghers ordinarily bury their dead, they can scarce dig two feet of earth but water will arise; so that he hath seen when they interred the corpse, they behoved to press them down in the water till the mold or earth was cast upon them. It is now much decayed as to trade and number of inhabitants, as many ancient burghs in this kingdom are. In it hath been two stately edifices, the King's and the bishop's palace: the former is now very ruinous, being the ancientest of the two, built, as is thought, by some of the bishops of Orkney, it having the vestige of a bishop's mitre and arms engraven upon the wall that looks to the street, and in which, it is said, the bishops of old had their residence; the other, called the bishop's palace, wherein the bishops lately lived, was built by Patrick Stewart Earl of Orkney, *anno* 1606, son to Robert Stewart, natural son to King James V. This palace is also going to ruin, though with some expence it could be kept in good repair.

The church is a very noble and large structure, having in it fourteen or fifteen strong pillars on each side; the steeple standing on four bigger and higher pillars in the middle of the church, wherein there are several old and good bells. In the easter part only of this great church is divine service performed; which is furnished with good seats for accommodating the inhabitants, and other conveniencies proper for that end. It is commonly called St. Magnus Church, being built, or at least, as some say, the foundation laid by Magnus King of Norway, whom they report to have been buried here; though others say he was buried in Eaglesha, an isle to the north of Kirkwal. There are many of this name of Magnus in this country.

At Kirkwal there is a safe road; but ships coming from the south cannot get so easily into it, by reason that the same wind which brings them to Orkney, often will not suffer them to turn up to Kirkwal, they being obliged to encompass a point of land stretching to the north-east before they can make the road, so that frequently they lie at Elwick or Deer-Sound, two anchoring places to the east or north-east of Kirkwal, until that the wind shall favour them.

On the Mainland good corns do grow in several places, though likewise there be much moorish ground; but the pleasantest part of the isle I take to be the west end thereof, about Birsa, Hara, Sandwick, and Stromness, where there are several spots well furnished with grafs and corn. In the parish of Birsa is the King's house, situated on a plain champaign ground on the west end of the Mainland, nigh to the sea or Deucalionian ocean, which formerly when in order hath had several pleasant and diverting avenues about it. At a large quarter of a mile's distance to the south we saw the pleasantest mixture of gowans, so commonly called, or daisies white and yellow on every side of the way growing very thick, and covering a considerable piece of the ground, that ever we had occasion to see. The palace was built in form of a court by Robert Stewart Earl of Orkney, about the year 1574; it is two stories high, the upper hath been prettily decorated, the ceiling being all painted, and that for the most part with schemes holding forth scripture histories, as Noah's flood, Christ's riding to Jerusalem, &c.; and the scripture is set down beside the figure: it was inhabited within these twenty years, but is now fast-decaying. When we entered the palace gate, we saw above it that inscription so much talked of, and reputed treasonable by King James VI.: *Robertus Steuarius filius Jacobi Vti. Rex Scotorum hoc edificium instruxit*; which inscription could not but offend the lawful heir of the crown, for it cannot well be thought that the Earl and all about him were such blunderers in the Latin tongue as to put down *Rex* instead of *Regis*, if there had been no design in it. Within the palace we saw also the motto above his arms: *Sic fuit, est, et erit*, which was a piece of too great arrogancy for any man



man to assume that unto himself which properly belongs to the Son of God, whose wife judgment is not unworthy of our remark, that now only it can be said of his house and family, now extinct, *sic fuit*; which that great King Nebuchadnezzar knew to his experience, "That these who walk in pride God is able to abase."

Among other pleasant places in this west end of the Mainland we may take notice of Kirfal-Hill, a little to the east of the house of Brachness, in the parish of Sandwick, which is very large on the top, and plain almost like a bowling-green, so that nine or ten thousand men could easily be drawn up in order thereupon; it is all over very green, without any heath or such like growing there, neither are there any rising hillocks on it that we could discern, as ordinarily are to be seen on other hills; and because of its being so very pleasant, the inhabitants about call it Chearful-Hill. Within a few miles also of the west end of the Mainland is the Loch of Stennis, the largest in Orkney, whereon are some mills; some trouts and salmon gillies are found in it and the brooks that run from it.

Beside Kirkwal-road, there are several other harbours or bays on the Mainland, wherein ships can safely lie; as one at Kerston, a small village at the west end of the Mainland, much frequented by ships going to the west of Scotland or Ireland, or coming therefrom; another is at Holm's Sound, towards the south-east side of the isle, to which sometimes barks do resort from the south; several ships also going through Land from the south to the west sea drop anchor here; and when they pass they must sail between Lambholm, a little isle in the sound, and the Mainland; for the way on the other side between Lambholm and Burra, though it seem more open, yet it is, they say, shallow and dangerous. But none I think will dare to sail through these isles without some measure both of skill and experience, else it will be to the hazard of their lives, and the loss of ship and cargo, there being several turnings, blind-rocks, and shallows; wherefore many do judge it the safest course to keep the wide sea, and so sail without the isles, especially if the weather be not well set and promising. Another convenient road is at Deer-Sound, to the east of the Mainland, where a great bay commodious for navies to ride in. Some other harbours and bays also there are upon the Mainland; but these are the most remarkable.

Nigh to the point of Deer-Ness some years ago was cast away a ship transporting some prisoners to America, who were for the most part west-countrymen, apprehended, imprisoned, and then banished for adhering to presbyterian principles: there were, as is said, above an hundred who perished, being kept under the deck, and tied together by pairs, whereas if they had been at liberty, the greatest part, if not all, might have been saved, as a few were, then upon deck with the mariners. The country people here did, and do think, that the captain of the ship willingly suffered her to drive upon this point, and the men there to perish; and if so, it is probable that others, though not aboard, have been concerned in this mischievous design, as the authors and abettors thereof.

In the Mainland are seven parishes, but thirteen kirks; for many ministers in Orkney have two and some three kirks, wherein they ordinarily preach by turns: the first is Deerness and St. Andrew's, at the east end of the isle, where two kirks, one at Deerness, and another at St. Andrew's, wherein their minister preacheth by turns; here live the lairds of New-work and Tankerness. Under this minister's inspection also is Copinsha, a little isle to the east of the Main, wherein a few families, some corn land and pasturage: it at a little distance appears to be as an high rock conspicuous to seamen; but it declineth and lieth low towards the west. To the north-east of it lieth a Holm, called the Horse of Copinsha.

The next parish is Holm, also on the east of the Main, to the west of Deerness and St. Andrew's, wherein is but one kirk; in this parish liveth the laird of Graham's-Hall.

To



To their minister's charge belongeth Lambholm, a little isle to the south of the Main, wherein a family or two. North-west from Holm the parish and town of Kirkwal lieth, where one church, but they should have two ministers: a part of their charge is called the parish of St. Ola. To the west of Kirkwal is Orphir, where is but one kirk. To the north-west of Kirkwal lieth Firch and Stennis, having two kirks, wherein their minister preacheth *per vices*, or by turns: to this parish belongs Damfey, a little isle. To the north of Firth and Stennis is Evie and Rendal, having two kirks, wherein their minister preacheth *per vices*. To this parish belongeth Gairfey, a little pleasant isle, wherein liveth Sir William Craig, of Gairfey.

To the west of Evie and Rendal is Hara and Birfa, where are two kirks, in which the minister preacheth *per vices*; the King's house is in Birfa as abovesaid. Next to Birfa, to the south-west, is Sandwick and Stromness, wherein are two kirks, which their minister goeth to *per vices*. To Stromness belongeth Kerston, where the best harbour in Orkney, and by reason it is daily increasing as to houses and number of inhabitants, (who are encouraged to dwell here upon the account of the many ships that do frequent this port, and often tarry for some time); the minister and gentlemen concur in supplicating judicatories competent, that Kerston with some of the country adjacent may be erected into a parish by itself, that so the inhabitants of the place, and strangers resorting thereunto, may be served with preaching and other parts of the pastoral work; their present church at Stromness being four miles distant from them, wherein also they can have sermon but every other Sabbath. In Sandwick lives the laird of Brachness.

To the south of Stromness and Sandwick lieth Hoy and Waes, which ordinarily make but one isle, though sometimes by a high stream overflowing the low and narrow passage whereby they are joined to one another, they are divided into two: the isle is about ten or twelve miles long from west to east. Waes, at the east end of the isle, is better inhabited than Hoy, at the west end thereof, it lying lower, and so fitter for pasturage and labouring; whereas Hoy is more mountainous, only having some houses on the skirts of the hills, by the coasts, and some corn land about their houses. The hill of Hoy is the highest in Orkney, whence we have a fair prospect of all the circumjacent isles, as also of Caithness, Stranaver, Sutherland, &c. on the south side of Pightland-Firth, yet though it be so high, it cannot hold true what some do assert, that from this hill is to be seen the sun all the night over in the month of June, when he is about the tropic of Cancer, for seeing the sun is for several hours seen above the horizon the shortest day of winter, he must necessarily be so far depressed the shortest night in summer, so that his body cannot then be seen, though something of a clear light may be discerned, as it were, accompanying the sun from his setting to his rising point, by reason of the reflection and refraction of his rays upon and through the sea, he dipping so little below their horizon. For the further illustration of this, the ministers of the northern isles of Orkney told me that in the month of June they will see to read small print or write at midnight; and in December for some days they can neither see to read nor write unless that they light a candle, as one of them attested from his experience. To the south of the entry into the Sound between Hoy and Kerston in the Mainland is the Comb of Hoy, the highest rock in Orkney, looking to the west or Deucalionian Ocean, much frequented by sea-fowls.

The minister of Hoy hath two kirks, one in Hoy, and another in Gramfey, a little pleasant isle about a mile long, lying to the north of Hoy, between it and Kerston in the Mainland; but ships that go through this Sound use to sail between Gramfey and the Mainland, the way between Gramfey and Hoy being very dangerous. The minister of Waes hath two kirks, one in Waes, and another in Flotta, a pleasant little isle, and as

capable



capable of improvement as any isle in Orkney; Faira and Cava, also two other little isles, are a part of his charge; these isles lie to the east of Waes and Hoy.

Nigh to the east of Waes and Hoy lies South-Ronaldsha, five miles long from north to south, and about two broad in several places; it is the southernmost of all the isles of Orkney, and very fertile and populous; at the south-end thereof is Burwick, whence the ordinary passage is to Duncan's-bay in Caithness over Pightland-firth. Their minister hath three kirks, two in South-Ronaldsha, one at the south end of the isle, called our Lady's-Kirk, and another at the north end, called St. Peter's-Kirk. He hath a third kirk in Burra, a pleasant little isle to the north of South-Ronaldsha, wherein is much corn-land and many rabbits; in this isle liveth Sir Archibald Stuart. To this parish belongs Swinna, a little isle in Pightland-firth, of which more afterwards, when we come to discourse of Pightland-firth.

To the north of the mainland lies the Northern Isles, as Shapinsha to the north-east, four or five miles long, to this parish belongs but one kirk. It hath a safe harbour at Elwick, on the south of the isle: here is the house of the found, which looketh well, and hath a pleasant situation on a rising ground, lying to the south.

To the north-east from Shapinsha lieth Stronfa, about four or five miles long, it is well inhabited, and the grafs and corns are good: Papa Stronfa is a little isle over against it towards north-east, wherein but one family, between Papa-Stronfa and Stronfa is a safe harbour or bay, well fenced by promontories or capes of land: it is said to be the best north bound harbour in all the Northern Isles. Opposite to Stronfa to north-west lies Eda, about four miles of length from north to south, it is full of moss and moor, and but thinly inhabited: some of the neighbouring isles get their peat hence. In it a loch and mill. To the north-east of Eda is the calf, a holm so called; between which and Eda is Calf-sound, a convenient and safe road. The minister of Stronfa and Eda hath two kirks, one in Stronfa and another in Eda, where he preacheth every third sabbath. To the west of Eda lies North-Faira, a little pleasant isle, wherein a few families.

On the east side of Eda stands a house built by John Stewart Earl of Carrick, *anno* 1663. Some of whose offspring are yet living in the neighbouring isles, the occasion of his coming and living in this remote corner is reported to have been some discontent which fell out between him and his lady; he built at a great expence twelve salt-pans in the Calf of Eda, over against his house, which for some time were all at work, he designing to have driven a foreign trade with his salt, but he dying after a few years abode there, the house and pans, not being kept in repair, went to ruin, so that now only one salt-pit is standing. Thus his project died with himself.

To the north-east of Eda is Sanda, the pleasantest, I think, of the Orkney Isles, nine or ten miles long from south to north, in many places a mile or a mile and a half, and in some scarce half a mile broad, having several tongues of land washed by the sea, hence some do compare it to the shape of a lobster: no place in the isle is high and mountainous, and many spots of it are very plain, and even like a bowling-green, everywhere it is well furnished with grafs, and much good corn, said to be the best in Orkney; it alone payeth to the King forty-two chalders of victual, every one of which chalders is twenty-one bolls of our measure; the whole isle is but as one rich cuningar, or a cony-warren, for I never saw a greater number of conies running in any place than I did here; hence the heritors kill several hundreds of them yearly for their use. There are several bays for ships, as Kitleoft, Otterswick, and Taphness-bay. Some gentlemen also who have considerable interests, as Burgh, Lapness, &c.: many fowls frequent



frequent this isle, as duck and drake, plover, &c. so that there is good sport for the fowler. The stirlings or flares are as numerous, I judge, as the sparrows are with us.

In Sanda are two ministers, one having one kirk called Lady-Kirk, on the east side of the isle towards the north end thereof, in this isle are some sober, knowing, and good people; particularly in this Lady parish, in the former Presbyterian times, there was a goodly zealous minister, Mr. Arthur Murray, who went south after the revolution, an. 1660, and died there, some of the old people yet alive, who were under his ministry, cannot speak of him without tears: "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance." The other minister hath under his inspection three kirks, two in Sanda, Cross Kirk, and Burness, and one in North-Rondalsha, an isle to the north of Sanda, two or three miles long. Both these isles of Sanda and North-Rondalsha lie low, and dangerous for seamen, who cannot discover them at any distance, especially in a misty day or dark night, till close upon them, and so are ready to suffer shipwreck, as many do.

To the west of Sanda lies Westra, seven miles long, it is well inhabited, having much corn in it; here is Pitta-hill, where they say the fairies are frequently seen, it is the highest hill in all the northern isles of Orkney. In the north end of this isle is the castle of Noutland, built by Gilbert Balfour for the use of James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, married to Queen Mary the 27th of May, an. 1567, in the abbey of Holyrood-house, who fearing he should not always retain and enjoy his present grandeur, which the nobles envied him for, he likewise being suspected guilty of the murder of my Lord Darnley, her former husband, caused to be built this strong castle, which upon a change of the scene, he might betake himself unto, situated upon a high rock nigh to the Deucalionian Ocean, having plain champaign ground about it; it is four stories high, and the lowest is strongly vaulted, above which is a high hall, having two air-holes through the arch, so to give vent to the powder, if at any time they should be surprised with a blast, the walls are very thick, and all the free-stone for the building was brought from the south: the roof is flat and fenced with rails of stone, whence we have a fair view of the circumjacent country. There are several holes or slits in the building, not only to let in the light, but to gall an approaching enemy with small shot, if at any time they should be attacked: but the Lord often taking the sinner in his own craftiness, suffered him not so to escape, by sheltering himself in this nest. This castle was never completed, for in one part thereof the walls are but half the height intended, and never hitherto covered with a roof, and he being pursued by the Lords of the congregation, never possessed it, or so much as saw it, if not at a distance, for he taking himself to sea with two or three ships came to Kirkwal in Orkney, and being driven thence by William Kircaldy of Grange, he fled to Zetland, where the pursuer had almost overtaken him, if the pilot's skill in these seas had not made a way to escape, in holding down by the side of a blind rock well enough known to the pilot, which the pursuer ignorant of split upon; which rock to this day is called the Unicorn, from the name of a ship that perished upon it. Bothwell escaped to Norway, where being apprehended, he was taken to Denmark, and cast into a filthy prison, where he died after ten years imprisonment: his wicked life having this miserable end: "Though hand join in hand the wicked shall not go unpunished;" and ordinarily murder, (whereof he was suspected to be guilty,) so crieth from the ground, that it bringeth down remarkable and often tremendous judgments in time. There are several gentlemen's houses in Westra.



The minister of Westra hath three churches wherein he preaches *per vices*, two in Westra, one at the west end of the isle called the West-Kirk, and another nigh to the north end called the North-Kirk, the third church is in Papa-Westra, a little isle of three miles long from south to north; betwixt it and Westra there is a convenient harbour for ships at Piriwa; as also in the same sound a little to the north of this harbour lies a holm wherein there hath been a little chapel, whereof some of the ruinous walls are yet to be seen. Papa-Westra aboundeth with rabbits, and hath some corn land, but not so much as some other isles, it being hard and stony ground; it belongeth to a gentleman called Holland, and hath been reputed famous for St. Trodwell's Chapel and Loch or Lake. To the east of this isle lieth the Holm, where the Enster men had thier huts as above.

To the south of Westra lies Roufa, an isle six miles long, full of heathy hills, abounding with moor-fowls; there is not much corn in it, and but thinly inhabited. There is a loch and mill thereon that goeth ordinarily all the summer over, which is rare in these isles. The minister of Roufa hath two kirks, one in Roufa and another in Eglesha, a pleasant isle two miles long, where a church much frequented by superstitious people, with a high steeple seen at a great distance, where (as some would have it) St. Magnus was buried. To his charge also belongs Inhallo, a little isle to the west of Roufa, also Wyre a small isle.

Thus I have glanced at the description of the Orcades; most of which I have had occasion to see, wherein we see there are seventeen parishes; eight in the mainland, viz. Kirkwall, Holm, Deerness and St. Andrews, Evie and Kendal, Firth and Stennis, Orphir, Birfa and Hara, Sandwick and Stromness; and nine in the other isles, viz. South Ronaldsha and Bura, Waes and Flotta, Hoy and Gramsey, Shapinsha, Stronfa and Eda, Lady-Kirk in Sanda, Cross-Kirk and Burness in Sanda, and North Ronaldsha, Westra and Papa Westra, Roufa and Eglesha; but there are thirty-one kirks; and these ministers look upon themselves as more happily posted, who have only one kirk, especially if they have not more kirks in several isles; this tending more to the edification of the people under their charge, and consequently to their peace and encouragement, they every Lord's Day dispensing ordinances in the same place, to the same people, whereas those who have more kirks committed to them are sometimes obliged to preach in one place and sometimes in another, and the people generally frequent but their own kirk, especially if they be in different isles, hence ordinarily they enjoy the ordinances only every other Sabbath, and in some places but one of three, which cannot but obstruct the progress of the Gospel among them. Besides it is uneasy, expensive, and dangerous for them to travel from isle to isle, and sometimes a storm arising they are necessarily detained there. The stipends here are small, and for the most part paid by the steward or his depute, the king being the principal proprietor, yet they can live very well upon them, victuals being had at an easy rate.

The people are generally tractable, submissive and respectful to their ministers, which is very desirable and encouraging to those who labour among them, when true zeal enlargeth the desires, and puts an edge upon the spirits of pastors in the discharge of the Lord's work for the good of souls.

#### CHAP. IV.—*Some Things remarkable in Orkney, as ancient Monuments, strange Providences, &c. are represented.*

HAVING taken a view of the country in general, and the several isles in particular, I shall now divert my reader with some things remarkable, not altogether unworthy of



our observation, such as some ancient monuments, strange accidents, and some other things not only curious and delectable, but also profitable to the judicious; affording matter "of meditation to the wise observers of these things, who regard the works of the Lord, and duly ponder the operations of his hands, in the years of ancient and latter times."

The first we take notice of is the stone, called the Dwarfie Stone, lying in a valley between two hills, to the north of the Hill of Hoy, it is about thirty-four feet long, sixteen or seventeen broad, and eight thick, hollowed by the hand of some mason, as the print of the mason-irons do yet shew; it hath a square hole for the entry, looking to the east, two feet high, with a stone proportionable standing before this entry at two feet distance, within at one end is hewen out a bed with a pillow, wherein two persons may lie almost at their full length; opposite to this, at the other end, is something also hewen out like a couch, between which bed and couch there is a large hole above about the bigness of the entry, through which a person may come up to the top of the stone, and might serve for a vent to the smoke, if so be they had put any fire upon a hearth between the two beds. Beneath this stone runs to the south a cold and pleasant spring, which might afford drink to the inhabitants. Who hewed this stone, or for what use it was, we could not learn, the common tradition among the people is, that a giant with his wife lived in this isle of Hoy, who had this stone for their castle. But I would rather think, seeing it could not accommodate any of a gigantic stature, that it might be for the use of some dwarf, as the name seems to import, or it being remote from any house might be the retired cell of some melancholy hermit. The stone also may be called the Dwarfie Stone, *per antiphrasin*, or by way of opposition, it being so very great.

To the north-west of this stone is a high mountain of a steep ascent, called the Wart-hill of Hoy, looking to the north; nigh to the top of which hill about mid-day, is seen something, and that at a good distance, which glitters and shines wonderfully, and though some have climbed up and searched for it, yet could find nothing; it shines most in the summer time: the people talk of it as some enchanted carbuncle; others take it to be a water that reflecteth the sun's rays, and so causeth such a sparkling and splendor; but a gentleman who liveth nigh to this rock told us, that it shines most in the greatest drought, when no water is near it.

At the west end of the mainland, about a mile and a half to the west of the house of Skael, on the top of high rocks, there is something like a street, near to a quarter of a mile in length, and between twenty and thirty feet in breadth, all laid with stones of different figures and magnitudes, of a reddish colour: some of which stones bear the image and representation of a heart, others of a crown, others of a shoe, a leg, a last, a weaver's shuttle, &c. And that which renders it yet the more strange is, when these stones are raised many of them have the same figure and shape below on the one side, that they have above on the other; which street all beholders look on as very wonderful. I saw a part of the garden wall of the house of Skael, decored in the forepart thereof with these stones, we intended to have sent a parcel of them south to our friends as a rarity, if they had not been forgot at our return from Zetland. Whether these stones be so laid and figured by art or by nature will be hard to determine. For there is no house nigh to this street, neither are the ruins of any which formerly have been there to be seen. So puzzling are the works of God to the most ingenious and accurate observers of Providence.

At the loch of Stennis in the mainland, in that part thereof where the loch is narrowest, both on the west and east side of the loch, there is a ditch, within which there



is a circle of large and high stones erected: the larger round is on the west side, above one hundred paces diameter; the stones, set about in form of a circle within a large ditch, are not all of a like quantity and size, though some of them, I think, are upwards of twenty feet high above ground, four or five feet broad, and a foot or two thick, some of which stones are fallen, but many of them are yet standing, between which there is not an equal distance, but many of them are about ten or twelve feet distant from each other. On the other side of the loch over which we pass by a bridge laid with stones after the manner of a street, the loch there being shallow, are two stones standing of a like bigness with the rest, whereof one hath a round hole in the midst of it, at a little distance from which stones there is another ditch, about half a mile from the former, but of a far less circumference, within which also there are some stones standing, something bigger than the other stones on the west side of the loch, in form of a semicircle, I think, rather than of a circle, opening to the east, for I see no stones that have fallen there save one, which when standing did complete but the semicircle. Both at the east and west end of the bigger round, are two green mounts, which appear to be artificial; in one of which mounts were found, saith Mr. Wallace, nine *fibulae* of silver, round, but opening in one place like to a horse-shoe.

It is most probably thought that these were the high-places in times of pagan idolatry, whereon sacrifices were offered, and that the two artificial mounts of earth served for the same purpose, or were the places where the ashes of the sacrifices were cast, as some will have it. Boethius, in the life of Mainus King of Scots, observeth, that the people called these huge stones drawn together in the form of a circle, the ancient temple of the gods: *Ut populus ad religionem moverentur, priscis sacris novas quasdam et solennes ceremonias superaddidit (Rex nimirum Mainus) diis immortalibus peragendas, ut immensis saxis variis in regionum locis (ut res exposcebat) in coronidem admotis, eorumque maximo ad meridiem porrecto, cujus pro ara foret usus: victimæ ibi diis immortalibus sacrificium cremarentur. Extant in rei fidem, vel hoc nostro ævo ingentia ea saxa ducta in circos, prisca deorum phana vulgus appellat.* Many of the country do say, that in the larger round the sun, and in the lesser the moon, was worshipped by the old pagan inhabitants of these isles.

And indeed to build their altars of earth or unpolished stones seems to have been the custom of ancient times, and even of the first ages of the Roman empire, as the learned Spencer endeavours to prove from Tertullian, *Et si a Numa concepta est curiositas superstitiosa, nondum tamen aut simulacris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat. Frugi religio et pauperes ritus et nulla capitolia certantia cælo; sed temeraria de cespite altaria, et vasa adhuc Samia, et nidor ex illis, et Deus ipse nusquam.* And further confirming the same from Cluverius writing of the German antiquities. And concludes with giving the reason why the Gentiles of old were so taken with rude, undigested, artless and unpolished altars and places of worship, because they judged them more holy and more acceptable to the Gods: *Gentes antiquæ, saith he, natura vel traditione doctæ, naturalia omnia rudia licet et impolita, sanctiora et diis suis gratiora crediderunt.* And here in these monuments nothing like art or form: the stones are not polished nor all of a like thickness, height or breadth, nor of an equal distance from each other.

In the isle of Sanda there is a chapel called the chapel of Clet, wherein there is a grave nineteen feet long, which when opened some years ago, there was nothing found in it save the piece of a back-bone of a man, greater than the back-bone of any horse. This the minister of the place declared unto me, who saw the grave opened, and measured it from the head to the foot stone thereof, who also for some time had the bone



in his custody. The vulgar tradition is that there was a giant there, who was of so tall a stature that he could have stood upon the ground and put the copstone upon the chapel, which no man now living by far could do.

There are also bones found in Westra between Tukey and the West Church, as great as horse bones, as the minister of Westra informed me. And some there have been lately of a gigantic stature in these isles: as that man who died not long since, whom for his height they commonly call the Meikle Man of Waes.

Through this country we find several obelisks, or very high and great stones set up, as one in the isle of Eda, another on the mainland within a mile of Birsá, &c. they appear to be much worn, by the washing of wind and rain, which shews they are of a long standing, and it is very strange to think how in these places and times they got such large stones carried and erected. *Mirabile profecto quisquis ea spectaverit qua arte quibus corporis viribus lapides tanta mole in unum locum fuerint congesti.* The reason and end of their setting up cannot be certainly known; however we may conjecture, that probably it was in remembrance of some famous battle, or hath been the ancient funeral monuments of some renowned persons, who have fallen in battle or been buried there. Several of which stones and monuments are to be seen in many places through Scotland, and in Norway they are very common, as our travellers who have seen them inform me. And it is like these stones have been set up by the Norwegians, when they possessed this country.

In Scapha about a mile from Kirkwall to south-west it is said there was kept a large and ancient cup, which they say belonged to St. Magnus King of Norway, who first instructed them in the principles of the Christian religion and founded the church of Kirkwall, with which full of some strong drink their bishops at their first landing were presented; which, if he drank out, they highly praised him, and made themselves to believe, that they should have many and fruitful years in his time. This Buchanan relates, and as Mr. Wallace observeth, is still believed there, and talked of as a truth. *Scyphum habent antiquum, fuisse Buchanan, quem divi Magni, qui primus ad eos Christi doctrinam attulit, fuisse prædicant; is cum ita superet communium poculorum amplitudinem, ut è Lapitharum convivio reservatus videri possit, eo suos episcopos initio ad se adventantes explorant: qui plenum uno haustu ebiberit (quod admodum raro evenit) miris eum laudibus prosequuntur, atque hinc velut læto augurio sequentium annorum proventum animis præcipiunt.* The country to this day have the tradition of this, but we did not see the cup, nor could we learn where it was. And indeed that which renders this the more credible is, that the Norwegians at present, as merchants and mariners inform us, have a custom like unto this, that if any come to pay them a visit, especially if they be strangers, they use to present them with a large cup full of drink, which they take not well if their guests drink not out. They say, some of these cups will contain three mutchins, others a pint, and some a quart of our measure.

The wind, and sea, in any storm beats most tempestuously and vehemently here upon the rocks: a little to the west of Kercton in the mainland, there is a rock called the Black Craig of Stromness, about seventy fathom high; upon which in a storm the sea from the Deucalionian ocean doth beat with such violence and force, that the waves, breaking thereupon, cause the water to rise to the top of the rock like snow, and fly like a white sheet before the wind, blasting the corns for three or four miles behind the rock, if it fall out in, or a little before harvest; and this it doth likewise in several other places of the country, as some gentlemen, who knew it to their experience, did declare. Yea so great is the violence of these tempestuous seas, that thereby some great stones are cast out and others are worn, so that large caves in some places run from the sea within the rock, beneath



beneath the ground for some considerable way, I saw one of these at the east end of the mainland in the parish of Holm, it is all covered above with the rock and earth, save that within these few years some of the rock and earth fell in, or was blown up (as they call it) in one night, by a violent storm blowing from south-east; hence now there is a hole in the hill above, like the eye of a coal-pit: which is terrible to look down into: there is another, something like this in South-Ronaldsha. In these caves, doves and sea fowls in great numbers use to nestle.

Several strange fishes are here taken, or cast ashore sometimes, which are, they say, very beautiful to look upon, but we never had occasion to see any of them. There are likewise a great number of little whales, which swim through these isles, which they call spout-whales or pellacks, some of which I have seen; and they tell us it is dangerous for boats to fall among them, lest they be overturned by them: the former year *anno* 1699, there was thirteen of these whales driven on shore upon Gairsay's Land, and eleven upon Eglesha's, about one time, as the gentlemen themselves did inform me, of which oil is made, very beneficial to the masters of the ground. The otters also, seals or felchs, and other such sea-creatures are very numerous, but now their number is so much diminished, that not one of twenty is to be seen, and they have found several of them lying dead upon the shore; some hence observing that the judgments of God, as to scarcity of suitable provisions to these creatures, are upon the waters also.

The tides here are so rapid that they will carry a ship along with them, though the wind be contrary, if not very strong, and in going among these isles scarce are they out of one tide when they are engaged in another; and in going from place to place they will find sometimes the same flood for them, and at other times against them, and so with the ebb, especially there are some impetuous tides which they call rousts, caused by the strong current of a tide meeting with a narrow passage; the quickness and rapidity of the tide, compensing the narrowness of the passage, as it is in lanes, which straitens the blowing wind, and makes the wind to blow so much the harder, in a proportion to the pressure it suffers by the straits of the lane; so may we reason concerning the rousts which run among the isles. I have seen some of these rousts boil like unto a seething pot, with their high, white, and broken waves in a calm summer day, when there was no wind blowing. At one time sailing by the side of Lasha Roust between Sanda and the Calf of Eda, the roust getting some hold of us, turned about the head of our boat very quickly, and though there were four able young men rowing, beside the help we had by the sail, we could not without great difficulty make our way through it: they tell us, that if the greatest ship in Britain fell into this roust, where it is strongest, it would turn her about at pleasure, and detain her till the tide fell weak, even though she had a right favourable gale. These rousts are more dangerous in an ebb than in a flood, the ebb being observed still, *ceteris paribus*, to make the foulest and most tempestuous sea, and especially they will foam and rage, if the tide be running in the wind's eye: and when there is any storm, they will cause any ship or boat to stand on end and be ready to sink her in the fall. Several of which rousts we had occasion to meet with, but the Lord brought us safe through.

Though the general current of the tide be still the same, from west to east in a flood, and from east to west in an ebb yet running with violence upon the land, they cause a contrary motion in the sea next to it, which they call Easter or Wester Birth, according to its course. And there are some things which have been observed as very strange in the running of the tides, as that it flows two hours sooner on the west side of Sanda than it doth on the east: and at Hammoness in the same isle, both ebb and flood runs one way except at the beginning of a quick stream, when for two or three hours the flood runs south; in North

Faira



Faira the sea ebbs nine hours, and flows but three, but the reasons of these phenomena will not be so intricate or hard to resolve, if we consider the situation of these isles, where the tide seems to alter his course ; for the flood coming from the west to the west side of Sanda, it takes some time before it can get about the points of the isle to the south side thereof ; so in North Faira, the sea is more open whence the flood cometh, but the ebb runeth through several isles, turning many points of land before it come to North Faira, which cannot but retard its motion : so at Hammonefs in Sanda, the situation of the place much determineth the running of the tide.

The rapid motion of these tides among the isles, and their meeting with one another makes it very dangerous, and sometimes more especially in a calm, so a minister there told us, that he was never nearer death in his life than in a dead calm when nigh to Westra, for they saw the sea coming, which they thought would swallow them up, and there being no wind they could not get out of the way, but God so ordered it in his wise providence, that the sea or swell of the sea which they feared broke on the fore-part of the boat, and so they escaped.

There are frequently Finmen seen here upon the coasts, as one about a year ago on Stronfa, and another within these few months on Westra, a gentleman with many others in the isle looking on him nigh to the shore, but when any endeavour to apprehend them, they flee away most swiftly ; which is very strange, that one man, sitting in his little boat, should come some hundred of leagues from their own coasts, as they reckon Finland to be from Orkney ; it may be thought wonderful how they live all that time, and are able to keep the sea so long. His boat is made of seal-skins, or some kind of leather, he also hath a coat of leather upon him, and he sitteth in the middle of his boat, with a little oar in his hand, fishing with his lines : and when in a storm he sees the high surge of a wave approaching, he hath a way of sinking his boat, till the wave pass over, least thereby he should be overturned. The fishers here observe that these Finmen or Finland-men by their coming drive away the fishes from the coasts. One of their boats is kept as a rarity in the Physicians-Hall at Edinburgh.

On the west side of Papa Westra, between it and Westra, there is an Holm, wherein once there was a little chapel, whereof some of the side-walls are now only standing, in which they say, there were seven sisters buried, who were nuns, and desired to lie in this holm, about whose graves this chapel was built : about a year ago, there were seen several times at mid-day, about twenty men walking on that holm, among whom there was one higher and greater than the rest, who sometimes stood and looked unto the chapel, this my informer with a hundred people in the isle of Papa saw, who could attest the same : after which appearance there was a boat cast away on that holm with four men in her, who were all lost.

In the links of Tranaby in Westra, and of Skeal in the mainland, washed from the west by the Deucalionian Ocean, some places are discovered when the sea washeth away the sand, which shews that such places have been cemeteries or burying places for their dead of old, of a square figure, and the stones are joined together by some cement, when opened earth and sometimes bones are found in them ; the reason some do give of this is because the way of interring dead bodies among many of the ancients, (as among the Saxons in the isle of Britain) was not in deep graves, but under clods or turfs of earth made into hillocks. But none of these we had occasion to see. Concerning that rock called Less, surrounded with the sea, nigh to the Noup-head in Westra, upon which some say, if any man go, having iron on him, the sea will instantly rage, so that no boat can come nigh to take him off, nor the sea be settled till the piece of iron be cast into it ; when in Westra we enquired about it, but found no ground for the truth thereof.

Mr.



Mr. Wallace narrates a remarkable providence, which the ministers here confirmed to us as a truth; concerning four men in Stronsa who used to fish together in one boat, among whom there was one John Smith whose wife being desirous he should intermit his fishing for a time, he having purchased a great plenty of fish, which he not being so willing to do, on a day she rising before him stopped the windows, and other places in the house, whereby light was let in, and so went to the fields; the other three men after their usual manner went to sea, whose boat she saw overturned and themselves perish; upon which she returned home to her husband: and no doubt would have given the sad news of his neighbours perishing, not without joy congratulating, that he was not this day in company with them: but upon her coming into her house she had yet a more melancholy sight; her husband lying dead, choaked in that vessel, wherein they used to make urine.

An honest man in Orkney told me that some years ago, when he was coming home with timber and some other things in his boat, from Innerness, and was almost the length of the isle of Eda, where he lived, the boat turned and lay upon her side, but the sails being spread in the water hindered the mast to go down, and her altogether to overturn. much of what they had in went to the sea, and he with the other seamen in company sat upon the side of the boat, and were so for some hours tossed up and down, whither the tide did drive them, they in the mean time comforting and refreshing one another with places of scripture and notes of sermons, which lately they had heard, and sometimes putting up earnest prayers to God whom the wind and seas do obey; at length God not turning away his mercy from them, nor their prayer from him, graciously gave ear unto their cry, and brought them all safe ashore together with the boat on the west side of Sanda, much of the timber and what they had in being driven ashore to the very place before them. A great mercy when not only they, but their boat, and most of their loadening, were saved. Some of those men whom I am acquainted with, and do judge godly, cannot speak of this deliverance but with great concernedness and affection, which makes me to think this mercy not to have been cast of common providence, but a gracious return of their prayer.

The effects of thunder in this country are very surprising; 1670 the steeple of Kirkwall was burnt with lightening: and *anno* 1680, there was a gentleman in Stromness in the west end of the mainland had a stall, wherein there were twelve kine, the thunder killed every other one, killing one and passing another, so that there were six killed, and six alive; this the ministers confirmed as a certain truth to their knowledge.

There was a man that died not many years ago, who when a child being left in the field, (the mother, as some say, shearing at a little distance from him) was taken up by an eagle, and carried from the parish of Orphir, in the mainland, to the isle of Waes over three or four miles of sea, but in God's good providence, the eagle being quickly pursued to his nest whither the child was taken, he was recovered without any hurt.

It was observed that in these isles before the late dearth, there were several strange birds seen, such as they have not seen formerly nor since. One of the ministers told me, that one bird frequented his house about that time for a quarter of a year, which was of a black, white, red and green colour: as also he saw another, all striped or sprained on the back, which birds were beautiful to behold.

There was a monster about seven years ago born of one Helen Thomson spouse to David Martin, weaver, in North Ronaldsha, having his neck between head and shoulders a quarter and an half of a yard long, with a face, nose, eyes, mouth, &c. to the back, as well as before, so that it was two faced, which monster, came living into the world: this the minister declared unto us having taken the attestation of the women  
present



present at the birth, he not being on the place at the time: and it is said that a certain woman should have wished this upon the mother, whom she alledged had lyed upon her, in her wrath wishing, that if she spoke a lie she might bring forth a monster, which accordingly came to pass in God's holy and wise providence.

Some say there are several mines of silver, tin, lead, &c. Also some veins of marble and alabaſter; Buchanan commends this country for white and black lead, of which there is to be had as good as in Britain. - *Sex diverſis in locis hujus inſulæ, metallæ ſunt plumbi albi and nigri tam probi quam uſquam in Britannia reperiatur.* As alſo ſeveral of fine ſhells to be found on the ſhore and rocks, but we had occaſion to ſee none of them, ſave ſome of theſe nuts, whereof they make ſnuff-boxes.

CHAP. V.—*Some Heatheniſh and Popiſh Rites, Charms, &c. yet remaining in the Orkney Iſles, are glanced at.*

BEFORE that I bring to a cloſe my diſcourſe concerning Orkney, I ſhall give an account of ſome cuſtoms yet prevailing among them, which can be conſtructed to be nothing elſe ſave the four dregs of Pagan and Popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, yea and many of them ſuch as the charms practiſed by them to be the mere and woeful effects of pure devilry, and not the product of nature's operation.

But leaſt I ſhould be miſtaken I judge it not amiſs to premiſe, that not all nay nor the generality of Orkney are hereby impeached as guilty of theſe evils, for I know there are many judicious and wiſe men, and I hope ſome real chriſtians among them, who abhor and deteſt ſuch things as much as any, but hereby ſome fooliſh and ſilly ones are intended, whom, deceiving and being deceived, ſatan leadeth captive at his will; nor yet that all the iſles are alike lying under the charge, for there are ſome of them, whoſe inhabitants are generally more moral and diſcreet: neither is it alledged, that ſuch ſinful and corrupt cuſtoms prevail as much now as formerly, for they are much away by what they were, and that even of late: nor is it denied but that honeſt and faithful miniſters will labour to have them aboliſhed every where, ſeeing alas! there is much horrid wickedneſs and maniſeſt devilry too with us in the ſouth, as well as with them in the north, ſo that no part of the kingdom can plead, not guilty.

But my principal ſcope and deſign is to maniſeſt the works of darkneſs, and to ſhew how buſy the god of this world is in deluding and blinding poor ſouls, and how ready we are to be his drudges and ſlaves; that ſo theſe things, being wiſely and ſeriously conſidered, all may be induced to make a Chriſtian improvement thereof, both with reſpect to themſelves and others, whom they are called to pity and pray for, “if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth, that they may be recovered out of the ſnare of the devil;” and more eſpecially that the general aſſemblies, and other judicatories of this church as they are called, may be pleaſed to continue their fatherly care over theſe northern iſles, that though they be remote from them as to ſituation, yet they may be near unto them as to a warm and kindly affection, which our church hath not been wanting in hitherto.

And firſt we would take notice, that the old maxim “Ignorance is the mother of devotion,” ſo much cried up by the Papiſts and their judiciſially blinded clergy, is ſo far from being the mother of devotion, that it is both the mother and nurſe of the moſt damnable errors. Superſtitious and deluſions, as theſe iſles know to their ſad experience; for ignorance of the principles of our holy religion doth greatly prevail among the commonalty, ſo that as one of their miniſters, not without ſome concern and grief for the ſame, told me, not one of a hundred in ſome of their pariſhes can read. How



this comes to pass, that the people should be so grossly ignorant I shall not undertake to determine, it is commonly imputed to their want of schools, through the country, which indeed I will not say, but is one great cause thereof, and therefore that this so very dreadful an evil may be effectually remedied, care should be taken by all concerned, that schools be erected in every parish, and a competent salary provided for the master's maintenance and encouragement; and that also in every isle where there is any number of inhabitants, some person should be appointed for the instruction and education of their children; and until that such a course be taken, the people generally will be ignorant still, and the ministers as to the preaching part, may complain in the words of the prophet, "Whom shall we teach knowledge? and whom shall we make to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts." For it is much about one to preach to auditors besotted with stupidity and ignorance, as it is to give exhortation unto babes, therefore it is that our church in her assemblies hath so frequently and seriously pressed the learning of children to read, and the providing of schools for that end, pastors to be diligent in that initiating and necessary work of examination and preaching catechetical doctrines; and the concurrence of parents with both in laying out themselves for the instruction of their children, as well by themselves as by others; godly ministers well knowing that the success of ordinances and edification of their people, dependeth much thereupon, as the means which the Lord useth to bless for the bringing in of his elect; knowledge being so necessary to the being of faith, that the latter is sometimes expressed by the name of the former.

And seeing they retain not God in their knowledge, it is no wonder they be given over to a reprobate mind, to do things which are not convenient; no wonder they frequent their old chapels for superstitious ends, of which the corrupt and purblind reason of man hath been always very fond: no wonder that being in the dark without the lanthorn of the knowledge of scripture revelation, they mistake their way, and by the using of charms and consulting of charmers, they "run to Beelzebub, instead of having recourse to the God of Israel." Which ignorance to be the cause of these evils, will appear the more evidently, if we consider, that in these isles, where there is a greater measure of the knowledge of God, there is not such a following of these horrid and hellish practices.

There are several old chapels in these isles, which the people resort unto, but that which I heard of, as most famous is St. Tredwel's chapel in Papa-Westra, which they have such a veneration for, that they will come from other isles in considerable numbers to it; some of us having occasion to be on that isle, we saw this chapel, situated on a small low rock, within a loch commonly called St. Tredwel's Loch, to which we passed by stepping stones; before this chapel door there was a heap of small stones, into which the superstitious people when they come do cast a small stone or two for their offering, and some will cast in money; the chapel hath been but little, and is now ruinous, only some of the walls are standing, which the people are so far from suffering to be demolished, that they labour to keep them up, and though the proprietor of the ground hath some way inclosed it, yet this proves not effectual to prevent the frequenting thereof. At the north-east side of the loch, nigh to the chapel, there is a high stone standing, behind which there is another stone lying hollowed in the form of a manger, and nigh to this there is another high stone standing with a round hole through it, for what use these stones served, we could not learn; whether for binding the horses of such to them as came to the chapel, and giving them meat in the hollow stone, or for tying the sacrifices to, as some say, in the times of Pagan idolatry, is uncertain.

This St. Tredwel's Loch, nigh to the east end of which this chapel is, is held by the people as medicinal, whereupon many diseased and infirm persons resort to it, some saying that



thereby they have got good ; as a certain gentleman's sister upon the isle, who was not able to go to this loch without help, yet returned without it ; as likewise a gentleman in the country who was much distressed with sore eyes, went to this loch, and washing there became sound and whole, though he had been at much pains and expence to cure them formerly. With both which persons he who was minister of the place for many years was well acquainted, and told us that he saw them both before and after the cure. The present minister of Westra told me that such as are able to walk, use to go so many times about the loch as they think will perfect the cure, before they make any use of the water, and that without speaking to any, for they believe that if they speak this will marr the cure : also he told that on a certain morning not long since he went to this loch and found six so making their circuit, whom with some difficulty he obliging to speak, said to him they came there for their cure.

How it cometh to pass that this loch should accomplish the cure of any I leave to my reader to judge, whether it be by any medicinal or healing virtue in the water, which I incline not to think, the cure being so circumstantiated, or if the force and strength of the imagination of the persons afflicted may have any tendency that way, which some judge hath its own influence in some such like cases ; or rather by the aid and assistance of Satan, whom God in his holy and wise providence may permit so to do, for the further judicial blinding and hardening of these who follow such unwarrantable and unlawful courses, God so punishing them by giving them up to such strong delusions : yet I hear, that when they have done all that is usual for them to do, as going about the loch, washing their bodies or any part thereof, leaving something at the loch, as old clouts and the like, &c., it is but in few in whom the effect of healing is produced. As for this loch's appearing like blood before any disaster befall the Royal Family, as some do report, we could find no ground to believe any such thing.

These chapels the people frequent, as for other ends, so for prayer, they placing a kind of merit therein when performed in such places, and this they observe more than private retirements ; and if they be under any sickness, or in any danger, as at sea, they will vow so to do : and when they go to the chapels to pay the vows taken on, they used to lay several stones one above another, according to the number of vows which they made, some of which heaps we saw in St. Tredwel's chapel ; and none must go empty handed, but leave behind them something, either a piece of money, or of bread, or a stone, which they judge will be sufficient.

As at all times, when occasion offers, they observe these superstitious practices, so especially during Lent they will not neglect their devotions in such places ; and on Easter Sunday several boats will be seen going to them from other isles : and though their ministers both privately and publicly have spoken to them, yet they cannot get them to forbear and abandon these customs. And the minister of South-Ronalsha told us, that many of the people in that isle, especially such as live at the south end thereof nigh to the kirk, called Our Lady's Kirk, whereof, though now the walls only be standing without a roof, yet the very stones thereof they reverence, and are not far from adoring ; and so tenacious are they, that when in rough weather he hath procured the conveniency of a barn to preach in, yet the people obliged him to come to this ruinous fabric, else many of them would not have heard : they are now about the putting of a roof on this church, which the gentlemen of the isle are not inclined to, judging other places more commodious for it to be built in ; but proposals of this nature do not relish with the people, they being so superstitiously wedded to the place of its present situation : whereupon the heads of families will rather by themselves contribute to the repairing of this old church, than suffer a new one to be built in any other place of the isle, though less to their cost.



In this old fabric of Our Lady's Church there is a stone lying, about four feet long, and two feet broad, but narrower and round at the two ends, upon the surface of which stone there is the print of two feet, concerning which the superstitious people have a tradition that St. Magnus, when he could not get a boat on a time to carry him over Pightland-Firth, took this stone and setting his feet thereupon passed the Firth safely, and left the stone in this church, which hath continued here ever since; but as I think, and some more judicious people do likewise suggest, it hath been a stone upon which, under popery, the delinquents stood bare-footed suffering penance. It is like when thus St. Magnus came over the Firth, it hath been at that time, when he was seen riding through Aberdeen, giving the first account of the defeat of the English at Bannockburn, and afterward was seen going over Pightland-Firth. And indeed both are alike destitute of any shadow of truth, credible only by these superstitious and silly ones whom the god of this world hath blinded.

Several of the isles have their saints' days, which some do superstitiously observe. There is one day in harvest on which the more ignorant, especially in Rousa, say, if any work the ridges will bleed. The lark some call our Lady's hen: and some such popish dregs are to be found: the Lord preserve this land from popery's inundation; for as it is credible from what hath been said, and some better acquainted with this country did inform us, that if popery get footing again (from the fears of which in the good providence of God we were lately delivered) many of the inhabitants of these isles would readily embrace it, and by retaining some of these old popish rites and customs seem to be in a manner prepared for it.

Next to glance at their charms, which I shall briefly do, and not give any account how they perform them, lest thereby I should seem to point out to any how to try the experiment of this hellish art and tremendous devilry, which I think I do sufficiently guard against, not only by barely reciting there are such, but also by proper precautions adduced in this chapter.

They have a charm whereby they stop excessive bleeding in any, whatever way they come by it, whether by or without external violence. The name of the patient being sent to the charmer, he saith over some words, (which I heard,) upon which the blood instantly stoppeth, though the bleeding patient were at the greatest distance from the charmer: yea, upon the saying of these words, the blood will stop in the bleeding throats of oxen or sheep, to the astonishment of spectators; which account we had from the ministers of the country.

There is a charm likewise they make use of for the tooth-ach, whereof I had the following instance from an honest man worthy of credit. Some years ago there was one who used this charm, for the abating the pain of one living in Eda tormented therewith, and though the action then was at a distance, the charmer not being present with the patient, yet according to the most exact calculation of the time when the charm was performed by the charmer, there fell a living worm out of the patient's mouth when he was at supper: this my informer knew to be a truth, and the man from whose mouth it fell is yet alive in the isle of Sanda. Whether this worm was generated in the corrupted part, and so fell out by the devil's means at the using of the charm, or the worm was brought by an evil spirit *aliunde* to the mouth, and thence falling down, I shall not determine.

Also when the beasts, as oxen, sheep, horses, &c. are sick, they sprinkle them with a water made up by them, which they call Fore-spoken-water; wherewith likewise they sprinkle their boats when they succeed and prosper not in their fishing: and especially on Hallow-even, they use to seim or sign their boats, and put a cross of tar upon them, which my informer hath often seen. Their houses also some use then to seim.



They have a charm also whereby they try if persons be in a decay or not, and if they will die thereof, which they call Casting of the Heart. Of this the minister of Stronza and Eda told us he had a very remarkable passage, in a process yet standing in his session records.

Several other charms also they have about their marriage, when women in travail, when their cow is calving, when churning their milk, or when brewing, or when their children are sick, by taking them to a smith (without premonishing him) who hath had a smith to his father and a smith to his grand-father. And of several such like charms, we had an account from the ministers, as likewise how these charms were performed; but of these enough.

Although these charms sometimes, yet not always do they produce the desired effects; as in the instance of staying of blood, one of the charmer's wives fell once a bleeding, which he by all his art was not able to stop; whereupon he is said thus to have expressed himself: "I have stopped the bleeding of an hundred, and yet I cannot do it to my wife."

That such admirable effects upon the using of the charms are produced by the agency of demons, I think few, if any, will doubt, God so permitting it to be in his holy and wise providence, for the further punishment and judicial blinding of those who follow such unlawful courses, and the devil thereby engaging his slaves more in his service: yet not always the effects desired and expected do follow, that all may know the devil is a chained one, and can do nothing without the permission of a sovereign God, who is Lord over all. Our assemblies, sensible of the great sin and evil that is in using these charms, and consulting of charmers, have made several acts both against the one and the other, strictly inhibiting and discharging all such hellish practices, and requiring all ministers diligently to see to the observance and execution thereof.

Evil spirits, also called fairies, are frequently seen in several of the isles dancing and making merry, and sometimes seen in armour: also I had an account of the wild sentiments of some of the people concerning them; but with such I shall not detain my reader, we hastening our voyage to Zetland.

#### A DESCRIPTION OF ZETLAND.

#### CHAP. VI.—*The Country in general described. The Soil, Product, Manners of the People, &c. hinted at.*

ZETLAND lies to the north-east from Orkney, between the sixtieth and sixty-first degree of latitude, there being about twenty or twenty-one leagues betwixt the Start-Head of Sanda, the northernmost point thereof, and Swinburgh-Head, the southernmost point of land in Zetland, over a very rolling and swelling sea, wherein there constantly runs the strong current of a tide, which causing the sea to rise with its swelling waves, the whole passage betwixt Orkney and Zetland is but as one continued roust, or strong and impetuous tide, especially about the Fair-Isle, still such a great sea goeth, even in the greatest calm, that the boats are like to sling the masts out of them; and our boat-master told us, that frequently when he had been passing the Fair-Isle in a dead calm, the boat hath been so tossed by the swelling sea, that it would have taken in water on every side: and I have heard the mariners often declare, that there is more hazard in these seas than in going to the Eastern or Western Indies. The Fair-Isle (of which more afterward) is reckoned to be but eight leagues from Zetland, whereas it is about



twelve or thirteen leagues from Orkney; so that we shall consider it together with the isles belonging to Zetland.

Zetland consisteth of more isles than Orkney, whereof some are more, others less considerable, beside many holms serving for pasturage. The largest of them is that which they call the Mainland, sixty miles long from south or south and by west, to north or north and by east: as to breadth not all alike; for though in some places it be sixteen miles, yet in others it is scarce one mile broad, it being so intersected with voes, founds, or lochs, that it may be said to consist of a great number of promontories or branches of land stretching themselves into the sea.

All this country, consisting of so many isles goeth under one common name, called by some Hethland, by others Zetland, and also Schetland. The etymology of which names is very uncertain, as was that of Orkney, some assigning one reason of the name, and others another at their pleasure: that which seemeth most probable is, that this country is called Hethland, because it is very mountainous, and riseth high above the waters; so a high land in Norfe is called Hoghland: it is called Zeland, or Zetland, because of the great sea wherewith on all hands it is encompassed, zee being sea in that language; and called Schetland, because of a kind of custom or tribute called *Scat*, which they paid to their Norwegian masters when they were in possession of this country, and the tribute or custom imposed upon the inhabitants of Norway to this day is called *Scat*; and though Zetland be now annexed to the crown of Scotland, yet there is a certain rent or due which the gentlemen and some others here do pay yearly to the King or his steward, which is still called *Scat*. I say, although we cannot be positive in determining the reasons of the name, yet it seems to be of a Norwegian or Danish original.

Seeing I have already had under consideration by whom Orkney was first planted and inhabited, and how it hath been disposed of hitherto, I judge it not very needful for me to add any more to that purpose concerning Zetland; for it is more than probable that about the same time, by the same persons, hath Zetland also been inhabited, seeing there are many more Picts houses remaining there, and some of them as to outward appearance in better case, than are to be found in Orkney, and always our historians in their descriptions of these northern isles of Orkney and Zetland have reckoned them as under the government of the same masters; therefore without further premising preliminaries of this nature, I come to consider the present state of the country.

Although the country be large, yet it is in many places but thinly inhabited, and that for the most part upon the coasts, and indeed otherwise it cannot well be, for there are few, if any, places in Zetland but they are within two miles of the sea, which they incline to dwell nigh unto, being more convenient for their fishing, and for the gooding of their land, which is ordinarily by sea-ware, hence it would be incommodious for them upon these accounts to be at any distance from it. Besides, the country is generally mossy and mountainous, all covered over with heath, yea the far greater part thereof is as one great moss or quagmire made up of water and earth blended together, which kind of ground would require much labour and expence to bring in either to be grazing or corn land, if at all in many places they could get it done; for from Scalloway on the west side of the Mainland, to Lerwick on the east side thereof, four miles over land, it is but a continued tract of moss and moor, so that there is not one house all that way, till we come near unto Lerwick; whereas we would think that this piece of ground should be better inhabited than many others, considering the great resort of strangers in the summer time thereunto, if nature had not laid such inconveniences in the way, which would prove so difficult to overcome.



The people are generally discreet and civil, not so rustic and clownish as would be expected in such a place of the world, which may be much owing to their converse and commerce with strangers, who repair to these isles in the summer season, with whom the inhabitants do keep a constant bartering or trade; which trading as it makes them the better to live, so it may tend not a little to the cultivating of their manners. They are also very fashionable in their cloaths, and the gentry want not their fine stuffs, such as Holland, Hamburgh, &c. do afford, so that they are to be seen in as good an order and dress as with us in the south: the boors, fishers, and other country people also do go honest-like and decent in their apparel, as becometh their station.

They also have always been in repute for hospitality, and indeed we have seen no other to contradict that which is spoken so much to their commendation and praise; for at any time when we had occasion to visit gentlemen, merchants, or others, we were always by them kindly entertained: and so much are they said to be given to this commendable piece of humanity, that if they do purchase any thing from foreign merchants, which they put any value upon, such as wheat-bread, some strong liquor, &c. even the country people will not use it themselves, but reserve it for the entertainment of strangers. As for those old inhabitants of the Danish blood, of whom it was said, "that they were seeming fair, but really false, and superlatively proud," they are much worn out of this country; and if at any time ships be driven ashore upon their coasts, the inhabitants use very kindly and humanely to treat the distressed company, of which humane treatment a ship belonging to the Firth had a late experience, being broke on the coast there in December last, as some of the ship's company informed me. Such a kind and generous reception merchants and mariners meet not with in many places upon which they are unhappily cast, from whom better things would be expected. In the matters of God and religion the body of the people are said to be very ignorant, by those who know them better than we can be supposed to have had access to do, considering the short time of our stay and abode among them; which may be imputed to their want of convenient schools for the instruction of their youth in many places of the country; which also was assigned as the reason why ignorance doth so much prevail in the Orkney isles; which great evil, the mother and leader of many others, all should labour to redress as they are severally called and concerned, authority also interposing their command, and not denying their countenance and encouragement thereunto.

Yet we must say, that the people do frequent the dispensing of gospel ordinances, and seem to hear with some measure of attention and reverence, and as appeared to us, not without some seriousness and concern upon their spirits, which after hearing continued with some, as we found by our converse with them; which encouraged us to set and keep up two week-day sermons at Lerwick during our stay in the bounds, which the people thronged unto, thereby shewing great respect to the ordinances dispensed by us; so that matters looked far otherwise than what was expected by ourselves and many others before we came to this country. And indeed, after conference upon this head, all of us judged that if things were got put into a better order, and some evils removed, which I forbear to mention, knowing that they will come under the cognizance and consideration of others, who are in a capacity to redress them, there might be a harvest through grace.

Although there be a Latin school at Kirkwal in Orkney, yet there is none in all this country, which cannot but be very prejudicial to the inhabitants, the advancement of the education of their youth being thereby hindered, many promising and pregnant ingenies lost, and letters discouraged; for gentlemen are either obliged to keep their children at home, and so they must want that piece of learning which tends so much to form and



polish their minds, and to complete them as gentlemen, or else send them to other countries where education is to be had, which many are averse to do, not only because of the charge and expence they will be at, but also of the fear they will be in, in sending their children over sea, and keeping them so long at such a distance from them. As for chaplains, though they could be had, which would be with difficulty in this corner, yet all gentlemen who have children to educate cannot well bear the charges of bringing them over from Scotland, and keeping them with them for so long a time: whereupon the ministers there are very desirous that the government may be addressed for encouragement to school-masters through the country, and particularly that a Latin school be set up either at Lerwick or Scalloway.

English is the common language among them, yet many of the people speak Norse, or corrupt Danish, especially such as live in the more northern isles; yea, so ordinary is it in some places, that it is the first language their children speak. Several here also speak good Dutch, even servants, though they have never been out of the country, because of the many Dutch ships which do frequent their ports. And there are some who have something of all these three languages, English, Dutch, and Norse. The Norse hath continued ever since the Norwegians had these isles in possession; and in Orkney (as hath been said) it is not quite extinct, though there be by far more of it in Zetland, which many do commonly use.

It is observable that the names of the descendants of the old inhabitants differ from the names of others now numerous among them, for these only have a name without a surname, save what is taken from their father's name, and by adding son or daughter thereunto, *exemp. gra.* Agnes Magnus daughter; her own name is Agnes, her father's is Magnus, to which daughter is added, which is the whole denomination or designation under which such a woman goes: so Marion, Peter's daughter; Laurens, John's son, &c., which they say is yet the Danish way of expressing and distinguishing names: and for further clearing, if there be two men or women of the same name, they use also to design them by the places where they ordinarily reside, as Agnes Magnus daughter in Trebister, that so she may be discriminated from another woman of the same name living in another place. It is probable that hence flowed these surnames, such as Williamson, Robertson, Jamieson, Davidson, &c., which do abound with us in Scotland. In some words also their pronunciation doth differ from that of ours; as for instance, they often use to leave out the letter *h* in their pronunciation, as if it did not belong to the word; so *three* they pronounce as *tree*, *thou* as *tou* or *tu*, &c. They have also some Norish words which they commonly use, which we understood not till they were explained; such as *air*, which signifies a sand-bank; *oyse*, an inlet of the sea; *voe*, a creek or bay, &c.: and these words are much used both in Zetland and Orkney.

It would appear that the country is now much better inhabited than formerly some ages ago it hath been; for we hear but of few who leave this country, having once fixed their abode therein, though there be many who have lately come to it from Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, Buchan, and other places, especially in the north of Scotland: so that in all Lerwick, the most considerable town in the country, there are but very few whose grand-fathers have lived in those isles. And in Lerwick itself, about thirty years ago, there were only four houses, and some years before there were none at all, though now there are between two and three hundred families in it.

Though the ground be generally bad, and the climate cold, yet it is not unwholesome living here, as appears from the many vigorous old people that abound in the isles, whose health I think is rather more firm and sound than with us; neither are they liable to such frequent sickness: whether this is to be imputed to the freeness and purity  
of



of the air, or to the quality of their diet, or the sobriety of their living, or to all these and the like, I shall not judge: yet they tell us they used to live much longer in former ages than now they do; as of one Tairvile, who lived one hundred and eighty years, and all his time never drank beer or ale: his son also and grand-children lived to a good old age, who seldom or never drank any other thing save milk, water, and their country-bland. It is said also that this Tairvile's father lived longer than himself. There was also one Laurentius, in the parish of Waes, whose heir-eyes do yet live there, who arrived at a great age, whom Buchanan mentioneth that he lived in his time, marrying a wife after the hundredth year of his age, and in the one hundred and fortieth went a fishing with his little boat when the sea was tempestuous. *Salubritatis firmitudo in Laurentio quodam nostra ætate apparuit, qui post centesimum annum uxorem duxit: centesimum quadragesimum annum agens, sævissimo mare in sua naviculâ piscatum prodibat: ac nuper nulla vi gravioris morbi labefactatus, sed senio solutus decessit.* For surely as all skilful physicians do grant there is nothing more conducive to the maintaining of a sound and healthful constitution than a sober and regular diet; whereas they who live otherwise, to speak with respect to second causes, do impair their health, and cut themselves off often in the midst of their days; especially such as feed high, and indulge themselves in drinking strong liquors, which tends to the exhausting of that natural and innate heat, the fountain of our animal life; whereas it is observed of all these who arrived at such a great age that they seldom, if ever, drank any strong liquor.

There is no sickness or disease this country is more subject unto than the scurvy, as is Orkney likewise, which is occasioned doubtless by their salt-meats, fishes, upon which many for the most part do live, sea-air, &c.: and sometimes this scurvy degenerates into a kind of leprosy, which they call a Bastard-scurvy, and is discerned by hairs falling from the eye-brows, the nose falling in, &c.; which when the people come to know, they separate and set them apart for fear of infection, building huts or little houses for them in the field: I saw the ruins of one of these houses about half a mile from Lerwick, where a woman was for some years kept for this reason. This bastard-leprosy they judge is caused by the many grey fishes, such as fillucks, pillocks, &c. which they eat; for bread failing many of the people in the summer-time, that often for four or five months they will not taste thereof, these fishes are almost their only meat, and especially the livers of these fishes, which are thought to be more unhealthful than the fishes themselves, and they much incline to eat, do occasion this. The drinking also of hot bland (which is a kind of a serum of milk, of which more afterwards) together with these fishes, do beget such corrupt humours, to the distemp'ring of the body. These scorbutic persons are more ordinarily in Dunrofsness and Delton, and more rare in other places, and that because they have more grey fishes in these two parishes than in others.

And it hath been observed often by the inhabitants, that when in holy providence any sickness cometh upon, or breaketh up in, the country, it useth to go through them like a plague; so that since we came off the small-pox hath seized upon many, both old and young, and was so universal, that upon one Lord's day there were ninety prayed for in the church of Lerwick, all sick of the same disease; whereas when we were there a few weeks before, there was not one that we knew sick thereof. They say a gentleman's son in the country who had lately gone from the south, and was under it when he came home, brought it with him, which very quickly spread among the people, the old as well as the young; and so sad have been the desolating effects thereof, that one told me who arrived here lately from the place, that he verily judgeth the third part of the people in many of the isles are dead thereof.

Although



Although many of the inhabitants have each their particular trades and employments wherein more especially they lay out themselves, and are taken up about, yet are they all generally some way acquainted with the sea, and can with some dexterity and skill attained by experience manage their boats, not only because of their frequent passing from isle to isle, and going over the voes or lochs which lie in upon, and cut the Mainland, but by reason of their great fishing, not only for their own use, but for the use of merchants who buy their fishes, or give them the value in foreign commodities: hence most of the inhabitants not only have some pasturage for their cattle, and some corn land about their houses which they manure, but also their parts of boats for the end aforesaid. Yet there are many who follow no trade but their fishing.

Beside their fish trade with foreign merchants, they do likewise drive a great trade with Orkney, from which every year several boats do pass to Zetland laden with corns, meal, malt, &c. upon the coming whereof they often wait for barley-feed, though the last year they had a considerable crop, so that the barley-feed was sown before the boats came over. The Orkney men also bring sometimes stockings, ale, and the like, which they know to be vendible here: hence every year considerable sums of money go from Zetland to Orkney, and some have told me that most of the money they have in Orkney is from Zetland. So great is the advantage that these isles do reap by their neighbourly commerce with one another, for as Zetland could not well live without Orkney's corns, so neither could Orkney be so well without Zetland's money.

As Orkney have much of their money from Zetland, so Zetland have all theirs from foreign nations and countries, whose merchants traffic with them, as from Holland, Hamburgh, Breme, &c. The Dutch money doth ordinarily pass among them, as stivers, half-stivers, and since the rates of the money were raised in Scotland, many here have been considerable gainers by the ducket-douns, which is the species of money that the Hollanders bring more ordinarily with them.

The king's rents are but the third part of what they are in Orkney; for though this country be by far greater and more spacious than Orkney, yet it is not so well inhabited, neither is the ground so good: these rents are paid to the taxmen in butter, oil, and money; the oil is made of the livers of fishes, and is sent south for the making of soap, or is otherwise disposed of, as may be most advantageous. The bishops had no rents from this country; and, though it belongs to the diocese of Orkney, and is a considerable part of that charge, yet we did not hear that ever any of these soul pastors of their dioceses, as some are pleased to call them, visited these bounds.

There being so little corn-land here, is the cause why none of the revenues of the crown are paid in meal or corns, whereas in Orkney it is far otherwise, as hath been said; for any corn-land they have is ordinarily but a few ridges nigh to the coasts, for at any distance from the sea, and in many places also nigh unto it, there is nothing but a mossy and mountainous desert covered with hadder, and only some places plentiful with a few kine, sheep, or shelties, though in other places you will go some miles and see none. This moss and moor, which so much aboundeth, renders travelling very dangerous, even to the natives themselves, and so deep is it in many places and that in the summer and drougthy season, that horses cannot pass it, and men on foot not without difficulty and hazard: as in the isle of Yell the minister, in going to the church from his house, is obliged to go on foot eight miles almost wading up to the knees. And indeed the easiest and safest way of travelling is by sea in boats about the skirts of the isles, which also is not without danger.

And though the greatest part of this country be thus mossy and moorish, yet there are some pleasant spots in it well furnished with grass and corn, as nigh to Scalloway,



Ustness, &c. in the Mainland, some places in the parishes of Dunrossness also on the main, in the isle of Unst, &c. Hence some years they will have twenty-fold of increase, but this is more rare, for at other times, in several places, they will scarce have the double of their seed. They make much use of barley-bread, which appears to be fairer than their oat-bread, for their barley they take to be the best grain, it agreeing better with the ground than oats. And as it is in Orkney so is it here, if any white corn be brought *grain* unto the country for seed, it will soon degenerate and become like their own.

I think the kine and sheep are of a greater size, than they are in Orkney, though their horses be of a less; as for the sheep I take them to be little less than they are in many places of Scotland; they lamb not so soon as with us, for at the end of May their lambs are not come in season; their harvest also is much later, for they judge it very early if they get their corns in against the middle of October; they observe that our seasons will be two months before theirs, but I do not think they differ so much.

If their sheep were well kept, it would be very pleasant to behold them in flocks, they being of divers colours: some of a pied, others of a brown, others of a brown and white, others of a black colour, some also have black sprains on their backs, others on their foreheads; and some say they have as great a number of black sheep as they have of white; which diversity of colours would render them very beautiful, if they were taken due care of; for they neither wash nor clip their sheep, nor have they any sheers for *shearing* that end, but pull the wool off them with their hands; which as it is painful to the beasts, so it makes them look not so well favoured, but like these with us, whose wool is scratched with briars or thorns.

Their ordinary drink is milk or water, or milk and water together, or a drink which they call Bland, most common in the country, though not thought to be very wholesome; which so they make up, having taken away the butter from their churned milk, as likewise the thicker parts of this milk which remains after the butter is taken out, they then pour in some hot water upon the serum, whey, or the thinner part of the milk in a proportion to the milk. Which being done, they make use of it for their drink, keeping some for their winter provision: and this drink is so ordinary with them, that there are many people in the country who never saw ale or beer in all their lifetime; the ale is rare among them, they making bread of much of their barley-grain, but the Hamburgh beer both small and strong is to be had in plenty, though at a good rate, six shillings or eight shillings our pint; which beer and other liquors, as also wheat-bread the Hamburgers bring with them in the month of May for sale, hence sometimes liquors, as beer, ale, &c. cannot be had for money, till the Hamburgers bring it.

The great confluence of strangers makes kine, sheep, hens, and almost all victuals to sell at a greater rate than in Orkney, for often when the bushes are here, they will give double or triple for a sheep, or a hen, than it is to be bought in Orkney for; for the Hollanders with their bushes being numerous on these coasts, they send sometimes ashore to buy fresh meats, which if to be had, they will not want for the price.

They have fowls, especially sea-fowls, in great plenty, which do frequent the rocks, holms, &c. which they take as they do in Orkney, and are very beneficial to the proprietors. There are also many eagles, which do great prejudice and hurt to the country; for the lambs they will lift up in their claws, and take whole to their nests, and falling down upon the sheep, they fix one foot on the ground and the other on the sheep's back, which they having so apprehended, they first pick out their eyes, and then use the carcases as they please. All sorts of duck and drake, dunter-geese, cleck-geese, ember-geese, &c. they have as in Orkney.



They have many crows, but neither here nor in Orkney are they of that colour which they are of with us; for their heads, wings, and tail, only are black, but their back and breast from the neck to the tail are of a grey colour, and the country people look upon it as a bad omen, when black crows come to these isles, they portending that a famine will shortly ensue.

There are many conies in some places, but no hares, neither are there any moor-fowls, which are numerous in Orkney; some say that a few from Orkney have been brought over for trial, but they could not live here: no poddocks or frogs are to be seen, though many in Orkney. Neither are there any rats to be found, except in some isles, and these are greater than ordinary, and thought to come out of ships, when riding at anchor nigh to the shore, but they have mice in abundance. Neither are there any venomous creatures in these isles. They have many otters, one of which was so tamed that it frequently used to bring fishes out of the sea to a gentleman's house in Halkashie, as one told me who knew the truth thereof.

They have a sort of little horses called shelties, than which no other are to be had if not brought hither from other places; they are of a less size than the Orkney horses, for some will be but nine, others ten nives or hand-breadths high, and they will be thought big horses there if eleven; and although so small yet are they full of vigour and life, and some not so high as others often prove to be the strongest, yea there are some whom an able man can lift up in his arms, yet will they carry him and a woman behind him eight miles forward and as many back: summer or winter they never come into a house, but run upon the mountains in some places in flocks, and if at any time in winter the storm be so great that they are straitened for food, they will come down from the hills, when the ebb is in the sea, and eat the sea-ware, (as likewise do the sheep;) which winter storm and scarcity of fodder puts them out of case, and bringeth them so very low, that they recover not their strength till about St. John's mass day, the 24th of June, when they are at their best: they will live till a considerable age, as twenty-six, twenty-eight, or thirty years, and they will be good riding in twenty-four, especially they will be the more vigorous and live the longer, if they be four years old before they be put to work. These of a black colour are judged to be the most durable, and the pied often prove not so good; they have been more numerous than now they are; the best of them are to be had in Sanston and Elton, also they are good in Waes and Yell, these of the least size are in the northern isles of Yell and Unst.

The coldness of the air, the barrenness of the mountains on which they feed, and their hard usage may occasion them to keep so little, for if bigger horses be brought into the country, their kind within a little time will degenerate; and, indeed, in the present case we may see the wisdom of Providence, for their way being deep and mossy in many places, these lighter horses come through when the greater and heavier would sink down: and they leap over ditches very nimbly, yea up and down rugged mossy braes or hillocks with heavy riders upon them, which I could not look upon but with admiration, yea I have seen them climb up braes upon their knees, when otherwise they could not get the height overcome, so that our horses would be but little if at all serviceable there.

The great fishing which they have upon the coasts makes the place desirable to the natives, and to be frequented by strangers, it excelling any other place of the King of Britain's dominions for herring, white and grey fishing; the white fishing they call the killin and lmg, &c. their grey the filluks and feths; there are also sometimes very strange fishes here to be found, as about twenty-four years ago there came a great number of small thick fishes into a voe on the south-side of Neston; they were of a golden colour,



very-pleasant to behold, they were about the bigness of an ordinary trout, and all of an equal size; they being very numerous, the country made much use of them, who judged them very savoury, tasting like a turbot; and never before or since that time were these fishes seen in these seas, as my informer an old gentleman could remember. Their tusk is a rare fish but more ordinary with them, of which more when we come to speak of their fishing. Also many rare shells are to be found on the coasts, but we had not time to inquire and look after them.

Through the isles for fewel they have good peats in abundance, though in some places they are at a distance from them, as those who live in the Skerries are obliged to bring them from other isles, as from Wharfey, and the passage being dangerous many boats are cast away with them; some also living in Dunrofness are at a loss this way, they not having the moss at hand, as generally they have in other places on the Main. Much broken timber also is driven ashore upon these isles, so that the inhabitants of the Skerries trust the one half of their provision to this driven timber, and broken ships in great quantity often cast ashore, partly through the many ships that split on these isles, and partly as the wreck of ships cast away at some distance, which is brought here by the ebb from Norway, or other places lying to the east of Zetland.

There are no trees in this country more than in Orkney; we saw some old white and weather-beaten stocks standing in Scalloway; for whatever reasons may be alledged for trees not growing in Orkney, far more do I judge they will hold in Zetland, both with respect to the air and to the soil; there are also at Scalloway some goose and rizzer-berry bushes, which use every year to be laden with fruit, which are a great rarity in this place of the world.

Many excellent herbs are found growing here, though little known or made use of: a certain English physician and skilled botanist who was at Lerwick some years ago, told our host, that there were many choice and rural herbs here not to be found in England. They have much scurvy-grass, God so ordering it in his wise providence that *juxta venenum nascitur antidotum*, that seeing the scurvy is the common disease of the country, they should have the remedy at hand.

There is here much lime-stone, (though for aught I heard not to be found in Orkney,) which in some places they have but lately come to the knowledge of, as in Unst but about four years since, and in other places they know not yet how to use it; the parish of Tingwal (they say) consists almost of lime-stone, they having few if any other stones than such.

The stones wherewith they build are generally broad, and like flag-stones; by reason of which figure and shape the stones lying the more easily, the builders are at less trouble in fitting them for the wall; and I have observed that in some houses there is little lime, clay, or any such thing for cementing of the building, which renders their dwelling so much the colder, the piercing air passing through between the chinks of the stones, which they have no need of under this cold and airish climate. But some of these houses they may designedly so build, that the wind may have free passage through them for drying of their fishes, which houses some call skeos.

There are several superstitious customs and practices which the more ignorant people follow, some of which we will have occasion to note in the sequel of this discourse, but not so many did we hear of, as there in Orkney. But I hope the vigilance and diligence of our church in inspecting these isles, and putting all to their duty, will prove a blessed mean, in the hand of God, for the eradicating and utter abolishing of these relicts of paganism and idolatry.



Sailing about these coasts is often very dangerous, whence the waters prove graves to many of the inhabitants. While we were there in the month of May a boat was cast away going by the shore to Dunrossness, and a man and his sister therein perished, and another man in her was saved by getting upon the keel of the boat; and sometimes boats are cast away when not one saved. About the isles are many blind rocks, which the natives sometimes unhappily fall and break upon, either through a mistake, or the tide and wind driving them upon them: at other times the wind rising causeth the sea so to swell that the waves breaking upon their small boats are ready to overset them, and sometimes do: also though the winds be not so strong, there will come flans and blasts off the land as to their swiftness and surprisal something like to hurricanes, which beating with a great impetus or force upon their sails, overturns the boat, and in a moment hurries them into eternity: by such a flen the Laird of Munas, a gentleman in this country is said to have perished the former year 1699, when within sight of his own house, and all that were in the boat with him, said to be nine or ten persons, save one servant who escaped upon the keel. I remember that night we came to the land of Zetland our seamen thought fit in their prudence not to fail too nigh the land for fear of such flans. "O to be as watchmen on our towers, looking out and waiting for the Lord's coming."

For this cause it is, that during the winter season they have ordinarily converse or commerce with none, except that ships be driven in by stress of weather; for the open boats dare not come, and the close-decked not without danger, the sea commonly at that time being so tempestuous, the tides and rousts so rapid, that they threaten all who come near them with being swallowed up: therefore it is, as they tell us, that from October till April or May, they ordinarily see no strangers, nor know any news, which makes the winter so much the longer and wearisome unto them: an instance whereof we had, that the late Revolution, when his Highness the Prince of Orange our present King, was pleased to come over to assert our liberties, and deliver us from our fears, falling out in the winter, it was May thereafter before they heard any thing of it; and that first they say from a fisherman, whom some would have had arraigned before them, and impeached of high treason because of his news, as some did inform us.

Their country lying very open, and in many places but thinly inhabited, exposeth them to the hostile incursions of pirates in a time of war, as of late the French did much infect their coasts, some of their men landing did by shot kill their kine and sheep, and take them away with them; yea sometimes they spared not the churches, but sacrilegiously robbed them, pulling down the timber thereof, as seats, &c. and taking them for burnwood; so they did to a church in North Mevan. But they never came into Brassa Sound, lest they had been locked up within land, winds turning contrary.

In the month of June they have a clear light all the night over, for at the darkest hour thereof, you will see clearly to read a letter; the sun setteth between ten and eleven at night, and riseth between one and two in the morning, but for this they have so much the shorter day and longer night in the winter.

CHAP. VII. — *A particular View is given of the several Parishes, and most considerable Isles in Zetland.*

THUS far having considered the state of the country in general, we come next to take some particular view of the isles, which that I may the better and more methodically do, I shall lay before my reader the several parishes, with some brief description of the principal Isles thereunto belonging. For as to the number of the isles, I never heard an ex-



act account given thereof, there being many of them small, wherein is only a family or two, and so but little noticed.

The first is the parish of Dunrossness on the Mainland to the south, and is the parish which lies next to Orkney and Scotland, wherein are three churches, in which their minister performeth divine service, Cross-Kirk, Sanwich, and Fair Isle; in this parish are several very good voes or harbours commodious for ships to ride in. In this there is also much corn land, there ground bearing the richest grain, in many places not so mossy and covered over with heath, as other parishes are, which makes them to have less fuel, though more corn. Much of the land here is sanded, and the sea almost yearly gaineth something on the lower parts thereof; the land lying so low and sandy in many places, is convenient for conies, which abound here about the ness or southernmost point of land. In this parish, there is a great fishing, this southernmost point hath two heads, Swinburgh Head, and Fitwalls Head, two high rocks seen by mariners coming from the south at a great distance, which when discovered they direct their course towards them.

To the north-west of the Ness lies St. Ninian's isle, very pleasant; wherein there is a chapel and an altar in it, whereon some superstitious people do burn candles to this day. Some take this isle rather to be a kind of peninsula, joined to the main by a bank of sand, by which in an ebb people may go in the isle, though sometimes not without danger.

The Fair Isle belongeth to this parish, lying eight leagues or twenty-four miles to the south, or south and by east of Swinburgh Head, by Buchanan it is called *insula bella*, the pleasant or pretty isle. Though I do judge fair may be as well taken properly as appellatively, for the isle Faira or Fara, there being another isle lying to the north of this which they call North Faira which relates to another Faira by south; now there is no isle lying to the south of this North Faira, which hath any name that can be interpreted Faira, but this Fair Isle. Moreover I neither did see, nor was I informed of any thing, that afford us any reason why this isle should be so appellatively taken and denominated *bella* or Fair. This Fair isle riseth high above the waters, and is seen by mariners at a great distance; it is about a mile and a half long from south to north, and nigh to a mile in breadth, the side thereof towards the west is a continued ragged rock from one end to another, always beat upon by the impetuous currents of a swelling sea; above this west side is the craig which they call the Sheep Craig, whereon there are no houses nor corn land, but sheep use to feed: the side, lying to the east, is lower, declining towards the sea; there are in it two harbours, one upon the northern end, looking to Zetland, and another towards the southern point, but ships or boats do not ordinarily resort thereunto, if not put to it, and better cannot do, for so it hath been a safe shelter and refuge to many.

There use to be about ten or twelve families in it, but now they say death hath almost depopulated the isle, the small pox having lately raged there, and swept away two thirds of the inhabitants, so that there is not a sufficient number spared to manage their fishing-boats; that gentleman's son, above-mentioned, having touched here in his way to Zetland. They have good pasturage for sheep and kine, and some corn land, and are very hospital and kind. Their minister useth to visit them once in the year, in the summer time, and staying with them about a month, preaching, baptizing their children and doing other parts of his pastoral work; after which he returning to Zetland, they are without public ordinances till the next year's revolution.

The hawks, they say, which are to be had in the Fair Isle, are best in Britain, which use to fly to Zetland or Orkney for their prey, these being the nearest lands, and sometimes they will find moor fowls in their nests, which they behoved to bring from Orkney,



ney, seeing there are none in Zetland, and the nearest isle they could have them in was Stronza or Weftra, which is between forty and fifty miles of sea, over which at one flight they must carry these fowls to their nests. hands

Many ships use to cruise about this Fair Isle in the summer time, and by it the Holland's fleet going to or coming from the East-Indies, use to pass, though sometimes as in the late wars they sailed by the north of Zetland, that they might be more free of danger. Ships also going to or coming from Norway or the east sea frequently pass this way, when wind serveth them so to do: and this Fair Isle being seen by them at fourteen or sixteen leagues distance, in a clear day it is as a myth or mark for directing their courses.

The second is the parish of Tingwall, lying on the east of the main to the north of Dunrossness, wherein are four churches, Tingwall, Whiteness, Wifedale and Lerwick, but the minister useth not to preach by turns at Lerwick, as he doth at his other three churches, he not finding himself obliged so to do, it being but built lately at the expense of the inhabitants, however sometimes he hath sermon there, and baptizeth their children. Lerwick in this parish is now become the principal town in the country, lying on the east of the main at Braffa Sound, over against the isle of Braffa.

Lerwick is more than half a mile in length, lying south and north upon the side of the sound, and will consist of between two and three hundred families, it is but within these few years, that it hath arrived to such a number of houses and inhabitants. It is become so considerable, because of the many ships which do yearly frequent the Sound, whereby merchants and tradesmen are encouraged to come and dwell in this place, and not for the pleasantness of its situation, or the fertility of the country about, for it is built upon a rocky piece of ground, wherein they can have no street, but a kind of a narrow passage before their doors, betwixt them and the Sound, which in some places will not admit of two men's going in a breast, and at the back of the town there is a hill of black moss, wherein they cast their pites, which in some places cometh to their very doors, and no corn land is there about it, save a little within the castle, for near a mile of way.

Many of their houses are very commodious to dwell in, most of them being two stories high, and well furnished within, their inhabitants consist of merchants, tradesmen, and fishers, who keep up a good trade with foreigners, from whom they buy much of their domestic provision, some of them are persons of a considerable stock, which they have many ways to improve for their advantage. They are very civil and kind, of an obliging temper, which we had the experience of, during our abode among them; there are but few begging poor to be seen here, or in any place of the country, where we had occasion to be; there being a great store of small fishes, for the supply of their necessity.

They have upon their own charges built a convenient church, at the back of the middle of the town, and furnished it with good seats high and low; they are at present a part of the parish of Tingwall, but very desirous to be disjoined, and erected into a parish by themselves, that so they may enjoy a minister of their own: for the promoting of which good work, they are most willing according to their ability to contribute for the settling of a fund for a stipend to a minister, but not being in a capacity to give all, they resolved to make application to the government, for to have some allowance out of the revenues of the bishopric of Orkney, or otherwise as the wisdom of the government should see meet, so that there may be a competency made up.

Upon their application to us, we judging it most convenient, yea necessary, that this town, with some of the adjacent country should be erected into a parish, cherished this their pious design; telling them, that we intended to recommend it to the commission of the general assembly: that they may interpose with the lords and other honourable members



members of the respective judicatories, before whom this affair shall come, for the better effectuating the same. For the town itself is considerable, and the principal one in the country much frequented by the gentry; as also by strangers, in the summer time: And their minister preaching seldom here, they are ordinarily destitute of gospel ordinances; the people scarce being able, in the summer season, and almost impossible for them in the winter, to travel to the next church, where their minister preacheth: it being about four miles distance from them, of exceeding bad way, as we knew when we did perambulate the bounds. Which want of ordinances maketh their case very sad and deplorable; it nurseth ignorance, occasioneth much sin, especially horrid profanation of the Lord's Day by strangers as well as by inhabitants; and doth effectually obstruct the conversion of souls; preaching of the word being a special means of convincing and converting sinners, and building them up in holiness and comfort through faith unto salvation.

At the north end of the town is the castle or citadel of Lerwick, begun to be built in the time of the Dutch war *anno* 1665; by workmen sent by authority from Scotland, for that end, but the work was never perfected, the workmen returning home *anno* 1667. At that time also three hundred soldiers were sent over, for the defence of the country, against the hostile incursions of the Hollanders, and were quartered in places near to the fort, who likewise returned home about the same time with the workmen: the garrison could do much to command the Sound (for then there was no town here) so that none durst land nigh unto them; the walls are yet in a good condition, high in some places without, but filled up with earth within, whereon they raised their cannon; in the weakest part of the wall towards the north, there hath been a sally-port, dangerous to attack, by reason of a deep ditch before it, fed by a spring, into which the garrison by cunning artifices might endeavour to draw the enemy, who, by the stratagems of war thus being brought on and ensnared, did incontinently sink down into the Sound below them at the foot of the hill, whereupon the castle is situated: within the walls is a house of guard, which hath been two stories high, burnt by the Dutch, after that our soldiers had left the fort. Upon the walls towards the Sound are standing three iron cannons, one a six, another a seven, and a third a ten-pounder, not left by these who kept garrison, but since that time within these thirty years taken out of the sea nigh to Whalsey, a ship of force there being cast away about eighty years before, which guns the inhabitants of Lerwick lately mounted upon the walls of the castle, whereby they might be in a capacity to defend themselves against the French privateers, who at any time should come up the Sound and assault them.

Between Lerwick and the isle of Braffa on the east lieth a pleasant bay or found, commonly called Braffa Sound, famous for its being so safe a road for ships to anchor and ride in, and that in the greatest storm, being inclosed with land on every side, except the entry thereunto from the south, which is half a mile broad, but within the found as at Lerwick it is a mile; it hath another narrow passage at the north end of it, but dangerous to go out or in at, because of some blind rocks therein. This found is the ordinary place to which the Holland bushes do resort in time of herring fishing, who, before they put out their nets, (which must not be, according to a law they have among themselves, before the 24th of June,) use to come here and put themselves ships and nets in order, and the time by them appointed being come, they all go to sea together, fishing near to this land: sometimes there have been seen in the Sound two thousand, or two thousand two hundred sail at once, and every year some hundreds as five, six, or seven hundred. Yea sometimes so thick do the ships lie in the found, that they say men might



might go from one side of the sound to the other, stepping from ship to ship; and during their fishing they will come in to the sound for fresh water, or other necessary provision, and return to sea again.

To this parish of Tingwal also belongeth Scalloway, lying on the west side of the Mainland, four miles, which is the breadth of the country in that place from Lerwick. It was formerly the chief town in the country, and the seat of the presbytery, enjoying by far a pleasanter situation than Lerwick, about which is good grass and corn, and some meadow, betwixt which and the church of Tingwal is the Strath of Tingwal, two miles of hard, even, and pleasant way; they say about Scalloway is as pleasant a spot as is in all this country. In all the towns there will be scarce eighty or one hundred persons, there not being such encouragement by trade to live here as at Lerwick.

At the east or south-east end of the town stands the castle of Scalloway, built *anno* 1600, by Patrick Earl of Orkney, son to Robert Stewart also Earl of Orkney, who built the palace of Birsa formerly mentioned: above the gates, as we enter into the house, there is this inscription, *Patricius Orchadiæ & Zetlandiæ Comes*, and below the inscription this distich, *Cujus fundamen saxum est domus illa manebit; Labilis è contra, si sit arena perit.* That house whose foundation is on a rock shall stand; but if the sand it shall fall. The reason of the inscription is reported to be this: the Earl greatly oppressed both Orkney and Zetland; and particularly at the building of this house, his hand lay very heavy on the poor people, by causing them in great numbers to be employed about the building, which could not but divert them from their ordinary work, as fishing, &c. whereby they provided sustenance for themselves and families. After this, one Mr. Pitcairn, minister of North Mevan, said to be a godly and zealous man, coming to pay his respects to the Earl, the Earl desired him to compose a verse, which he might put upon the frontispiece of his house; from this the minister took occasion to lay before the Earl his great sin of oppression, upon which the Earl's anger was incensed, and in his rage he threatened him with imprisonment. However the Earl afterwards coming to some composure of spirit, Mr. Pitcairn said unto him, Well if you will have a verse, I shall give you one from express words of holy scripture, Luke vi; which verse the Earl being pleased with, caused it to be inscribed on the lintel above the gate, with Luke vi. added to the verse, the minister thereby insinuating that this house could not stand long, having such a sandy foundation as oppression. As indeed neither did it, for shortly after the Earl being beheaded, the house was not taken care of, and is now become ruinous.

And herein the wise providence of God may be observed, that as the inscription on the gate of the palace of Birsa in Orkney did hold forth the ambition of the father, so this inscription on the gate of the castle of Scalloway in Zetland did shew the oppression of the son; and though it may be many years since the death of them both, yet the very houses built by them, to make their honour and grandeur to appear, do yet stand to their dishonour and infamy, and in a manner do bear witness against them: so truly verified in them, is that scripture, "That though the inward thoughts of great men be that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all generations; nevertheless they being in honour and not understanding, are like the beasts that perish. And the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance: but the name of the wicked shall rot."

The house or castle is three stories high beside kitchens and wardrobe, and hath in it many excellent chambers, and other apartments with their several conveniences; also there hath been much good painting, some of which is yet to be seen, though much defaced; the chambers are high between floors, but especially the gallery or dining-room: in the kitchen there is a well in the side of a wall, the water whereof is very good though



little used: the slates have for the most part fallen from the roof, and are daily falling with every storm, so that the timber, much of which is yet very good and fresh, is beginning to rot and consume, by the rain falling through the house from floor to floor. The stone walls are yet in a good condition, they being considerably thick; in the building are many free-stones, as lintels, jambs, &c. which they say were brought from Scotland. I give a more particular account of this house, because built in this country, and to shew how transient, passing, and perishing, the glory and riches of the world are. In this castle of Scalloway some English soldiers for some time kept garrison, when their army was in Scotland.

The church of Wisdale, which belongeth to this parish, is much frequented by the superstitious country people, who light candles therein, drop money in and about it, go on their bare knees round it, and to which in their straits and sickness they have their recourse, yea some are so silly as to think, that if they be in any distress, though not at this church, yet if they turn their faces to it, God will hear them. One of the justices told us, that though they have laid out themselves to get these superstitious conceits eradicated, yet they cannot get it altogether effectuated, but still they continue among the people. A minister also told me, that it was much frequented by women, who, when they desire to marry, went to this church making their vows and saying their prayers there, so assuring themselves that God would cause men come in suit of them; but this is not now so much in use as formerly.

Before Scalloway lieth a little isle called Troudra two or three miles long, wherein are a few families.

The third parish is Neston to the east of the Main, to which belongs four churches, two on the main, and other two in isles; in Neston is good harbouring and many grey fishes.

To the north-east lies the isle of Whalsey, wherein is a church, it is about three miles long and as many broad. Here are great rats and very numerous, which do infest the isle, destroying their corns and other goods.

From Whalsey to the east lies the Skerries, several broken isles, wherein is a church, here are two good harbours, but dangerous to enter, by reason of rocks that lie before them, but when in, ships will ride very safely: there are no pites in them, but many ships being cast away upon them, the inhabitants make use of the wreck for burn-wood, and also bring some pites from Whalsey. Here was cast away that great and rich ship, called the Carmelan of Amsterdam, *anno* 1664, when the war was between us and the Hollanders, computed to the value of 3,000,000 of guilders, wherein were some chests of coined gold (of which more above in our description of Orkney,) and none of the men, as they report, were saved but four, who were on the top-mast, discovering the land; but before they could give timely advertisement to the captain, the ship struck on a rock, and the mast breaking by the deck, the top thereof fell on one of the skerries, and so these four men perished not with the rest of their company; they say for twenty days after the inhabitants of the Skerries drank liberally of the strong liquors driven on shore in casks. It is said this ship so richly laden was bound for the East-Indies.

In the way from Brassa Sound to Neston, lies the blind rock called the Unicorn, the top whereof is seen at a low ebb, upon which the ship called the Unicorn was cast away, wherein was William Kircaldy of Grange, who, pursuing the Earl of Bothwell, followed him so close, that they were within gun shot of one another, but Bothwell coming first through Brassa Sound got in a pilot, which Grange neglecting to do, they both failed through the northern passage of Brassa Sound; and Bothwell's pilot having a great re-  
ward



ward promised him, if they should escape, ran down by the side of this rock upon which the Unicorn did spilt, and so Bothwel got free of the danger he was in, by this hot pursuit. It is most dangerous sailing among these isles without a pilot.

The fourth parish is Delton on the Main, wherein are two churches, it lieth north-east and south-east; here are many grey fishes taken, whereas in the northern isles of Unst and Yell they lay out themselves more for the taking of white fish, as killing, ling, &c.

On the east lies Fishholm, to the north-east Little Rue, and on the west Meikle Rue, eight miles long, and two miles broad, wherein a good harbour. All these isles have their own advantages.

The fifth is Sansting and Esting lying on the Main between Delton and Waes wherein are two kirks, one in Sansting and another in Esting. The way in this parish is very bad, and the people are said to be among the poorest and naughtiest in all the country; here is good pasture for sheep, and the best wool; as also the best shelties.

Nigh to Sansting and Esting lie several small pleasant isles, Vemantrie, a pleasant isle full of harbours, Oxney, Papa Little, Hildesha, &c.

The sixth is Waes on the main to the west, to it belongs four churches, one in Waes, another in Sandness, the third in the isle of Papa-flour, and the fourth in the isle of Fowla. To the south of Waes lieth the isle of Vaila, wherein a cat will not live, of which more afterwards.

The isle of Papa-flour is said to be the pleasantest little isle in all this country, two miles long, and well furnished with fuel, grass, corn, rabbits, &c. In it are four good harbours, one to the south, two to the north, and one to the west, nigh to this isle lies the Lyra Skerries, so called, because the lyres (these fat fowls, spoken of in our description of Orkney,) do frequent this Skerrie.

Foula lies about eighteen miles west from the Main, it is about three miles long, wherein a high rock seen at a great distance I have heard say, that in a calm and clear day, they will see it from Orkney: there is only one place in it for harbouring, which if you do not hit, you will be driven to the sea, what by wind and tide. Their corn land is all in one end of it; and the inhabitants live most by fowls and eggs, which are very numerous, and they are the best climbers of rocks in all the country.

The seventh is North-Mevan on the Main lying to the north, wherein are three kirks, Hillwick, Oloberry and North-Rhae, they report, the people of this parish to be discreet and civilized, beyond their neighbouring parishes; which, under God, is owing to the labours of Mr. Hercules Sinclair, sometime minister there, reputed to be zealous and faithful: he, in his zeal against superstition, razed Cross-Kirk, in this parish; because the people superstitiously frequented it: and when demolished, behind the place where the altar stood, and also beneath the pulpit, were found several pieces of silver in various shapes, brought thither as offerings by afflicted people, some being in the form of a head, others of an arm, others of a foot, accordingly as the officers were distressed in these parts of the body; as a friend of his, a present minister in the country, did inform me. O that the pains and expence these superstitious souls have been at, might excite us the more dutifully to serve and worship our God in spirit and in truth! There are also many more people in this parish, who can write and read, and give a tolerable account of their proficiency in the knowledge of the principles of religion, than there are in others.

Before it lies Lamma a small pleasant isle; as also another to the west-north-west.

The eighth is Brassa, an isle to the east of Tingwal and Lerwick to which three churches do belong, two in Brassa, but only in one of them, they use to attend ordinances; the other being built nigh to the manse, for their late old minister's accommoda-



tion. Brassa is about five miles long and two broad, all covered with heather, except some corn land by the coasts. Before Brassa to the east lies the Nofs of Brassa, a small isle wherein is one family; it hath a high rock lying open to the east sea, and seen by mariners at a distance.

The minister of Brassa also hath a church in the isle of Burra, which he goeth to every second Sabbath, it lying nigh to the Mainland, west-south-west from Scalloway, so that the minister is obliged to travel from the east to the west side of the Mainland when he goeth to this his church. The isle will be three miles long, divided in the middle into two small isles by a sea-break. The church is very large, and hath a high steeple in it. To the south south-east of Burra lies Haveroy, a mile and a half long. Both in Burra and Haveroy is good pasture, and about them good fishing.

The ninth is Yell, an isle north-east and by the east from the Main, sixteen miles long, and as to breadth it is much like the figure 8, because of the many creeks and voes which divide and cut the land, yet in some places it is six or eight miles broad: in it are three churches and many old little chapels; it is more mossy than some other isles, though there be in it some good pasturage and corn land. To the east of Yell lies Haskashie, two miles long; to the south-west Samphrey, one mile long; to the west-south-west Biggai, a mile and a half long, all pleasant, and well grassed, having much fuel, and especially excellent for fishing; for if the wind blow from the west, the boats can lie on the east; if from the east, they can lie on the west side of these isles, and that nigh to the shore.

To the east-north-east of Yell lies Fetlor, five miles long and four broad; in it some chapels and Picis houses, as there are likewise in several other of the isles. In this isle there is a church wherein the minister of Yell preacheth every fourth Sabbath; it used formerly to have been served by a preaching deacon, but the vicar by his diligence hath got the minister of Yell also obliged to serve in Fetlor, though Yell be more than sufficient for any one man to have the charge of.

The tenth parish is Unst, eight miles long, and four miles broad in many places; in it three churches; it is said to be the largest pleasant isle in all this country: in it also three harbours, Uzia Sound, Balta Sound, and Burra Firth; here some good corn land and pasturage; also several old chapels (of which more afterwards). A little isle called Uzia lieth off Unst, a mile and a half long, as likewise several pleasant holms. Unst is the most northern isle in the King of Britain's dominions, under the sixty-first degree of latitude.

Thus I have given some account of the several parishes within the bounds of the isles and country of Zetland, and hinted at, if not all, yet the greatest part of the isles, the principal whereof are Unst, Yell, Fetlor, Brassa, and Burra.

Whence we see there is no minister here, but hath at least two churches, wherein he dispenseth gospel ordinances, and some of them hath three, and others four. Some of which churches are at a great distance from one another, to travel to which is not only toilsome and dangerous to the respective ministers, they also not having little manfes or houses for their accommodation when they come to them; though often when storms do arise they will be detained in the isles for some time until they lessen: not only I say is this troublesome to the ministers, but highly prejudicial to the people, among whom the work of the gospel is greatly retarded (as we had occasion likewise to note concerning Orkney), few of the people using to repair to other churches when there is not public worship at their own, which at most will be but one of two Sabbaths, and in many places but one in three or four, and in some not to be had for some months, which as undoubtedly occasioneth great ignorance, so many gross scandals, as adulteries, fornications,



fornications, &c. ; the faithful preaching of the gospel doing much, if not to convince and convert, yet to moralise a people, and put a restraint to these horrid enormities.

And though the difficulty would not be small, if at all it could be got done, to have ministers constantly to preach in the several churches, even in the most considerable isles, yet there might be some more ministers here than there are ; four or five at least, to whom the tithes, if rightly employed, could afford a sufficient maintenance ; as one minister more in the parish of Dunrosliues on the main, and another in the isle of Yell, &c., which charges at present are very great, and cannot well be served by the ministers they have. The tithes are farmed to vicars, a kind of inferior tacksmen, who in some places do not only oppress the people, but are uneasy to the ministers, not paying them what they are obliged to pay till they please, which often they will not do for some years. The ministers, suffering by this piece of injustice, laid it before the commission, as one of their grievances, which they craved might be redressed, and for that end application might be made to the government.

CHAP. VIII.—*An Account of the ancient Monuments, Curiosities, strange Providences, &c. most observable in the Isles of Zetland.*

THE works of creation and providence are all very wonderful, fought out of them who have pleasure therein, amongst which some more ordinarily occur and are the subject of our meditation, and others not so commonly presenting themselves are the more surprising and amusing : both which are to be had a due regard unto, they being either mediately or immediately, by or without second causes, the work of the Lord, and the operation of his hands ; and seeing there are some things that deserve their own observation, which either I had occasion to see or to hear of in Zetland, I shall give a brief relation thereof, not denying but that there may be other things no less, if not more, observable there which we came not to the knowledge of.

The Picts houses, which are frequent through this country, the inhabitants take much notice of, as being the ancientest monuments they have, some of which are more, others less ruinous ; they are round, in the form of some dove-cotes, or something like unto an egg bulging out in the middle, but narrower at the bottom, and yet more narrower at the top : they have a little door for an entry, at which a man of an ordinary stature could not enter without bowing, within which door there is a stair going up between two stone walls, leading to the several apartments : instead of windows they have flits, or long narrow holes in the wall, such as are in many of our old castles for the conveyance of light unto them : they are strongly built, but the conveniency for dwelling hath been but little ; for their diameter is but about ten or twelve feet, and their height scarce twenty or twenty-four. I think these Picts houses are much like Arthur's oven upon the water of Carron, in Stirling-shire.

These have been the domiciles or dwellings of the Picts, the old if not the first inhabitants of this country, who were very numerous in the north of Scotland ; and in Orkney having their own kings, as hath been said in our description of Orkney. They are conveniently situated through the isles, each one being within the sight of another ; hence in a few hours advertisements could be given by fire, or other signs they might condescend upon, through the whole country, signifying unto them any danger, that being thereby alarmed they might meet together, or be upon their own defence. These houses are also called burghs, which in the old Teutonic or Saxon language signifieth a town having a wall or some kind of an enclosure about it ; as also a castle, for as one observeth in his Dictionary, or explanation of our most ancient English words : “ All places



places that in old time had among our ancestors the name of borough, bury, or burug, were places one way or other fenced and fortified.. Whence it appears that these houses have been castles, or places of defence, to the Picts, seeing it is generally acknowledged that both the Picts and the Saxons were originally descended of the same German nation, and so might call their castles by the same name. I have also heard it observed, that in Orkney several places, wherein of old they used to bury their dead, were called burghs; so likewise these houses in Zetland might serve for the same purpose, from the Saxon word *byring*, or *buriging*, or *borogeing*, which we now call *burying*.

I enquired if there was any place or hill here which they call Thule or Ule, if so be we could receive any information or light from them concerning the Thule of the ancients; but they answered they knew none of that name, only there was an isle wherein a high hill called Foula, on the west side of the Mainland; but to suppose that ever the ancient Romans understood Thule thereby, beside other things that might be alledged, it would be a manifest stretching of, and an offering violence to the word: but although what this place is hath been much controverted by ancient and modern authors, attempting the discovery thereof, yet it is generally agreed upon that it is toward the north, and many take it to be one of the British isles; and a late author, in an Essay concerning the Thule of the Ancients, endeavoureth to prove it to be the north-east part of Britain, lying over-against the isles of Orkney, citing some authors to this purpose, as Conradus Celtes: *Orcadibus quæ cincta suis Tyle et glacialis insula et Claudian, maduerunt sanguine fuso Orcades incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule; Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.* And others who call Thule *Britannicarum insularum septentrionalissimam*, the most northern of the British isles. Iceland also lays claim to it; and the above cited author supposeth Iceland to be the Thule, but I judge without any shadow of truth; for beside what is now said, I greatly doubt if ever the Romans had the knowledge of Iceland, their eagles never having come and been displayed to the north of Scotland or Orkney: *Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes*, saith the great Scaliger. Ptolomy will have it to be among the isles of Zetland: and Boeth, our historian, distinguisheth between a first and a second Thule, calling Ila the first, and Louisa the second, which are reckoned among the isles called Hebrides. So saith Boeth. "*Ptolomæus inter Scethlandicas insulas quæ ultra Orchades sunt, aut proxime Norvegiam sitam vult, haud quaquam propter immensam interapedinem intelligi potest. Nos autem illam primam Lewisam Hebridum præstantissimam secundam Thulen vocamus.*" But I incline to think, that although some might design a particular place by the Thule, yet generally by a synecdoche, usual with the Roman authors, they might denote all these places remote from them to the north, and especially Britain, and the northern parts thereof, whither their arms did come.

In the parish of North-Mevan is Mons Ronaldi, or Rons Hill, the highest in all this country, from which some do say they will see the body of the sun all the night over in the month of June; which cannot be for the reason alledged in our description of Orkney, why it could not be seen from the top of the hill of Hoy; though reason and experience shew they have a clearer light in Zetland in the night-time, during the summer season, than they can have in Orkney, Zetland being more than a degree to the north of Orkney, and consequently as the farther north the shorter night, till at length there be no night at all; so that if it were possible to sail holding a northern course till we were under the pole, having it for our zenith or vertical point, we would have a continual day without any night for several months, the sun all that time describing a circle almost parallel to our horizon; I say almost parallel, because beside the diurnal, there is also the annual motion of the sun in the ecliptic. O how exact and beautiful an



order and symmetry is to be seen in the works of God; they all speaking forth the goodness, wisdom, and power of their Maker.

What a wonderful creature is the sun, "coming forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoicing as a strong man to run his race," absolving every day his circuit round our terrestrial globe from east to west, and travelling every year between his tropics (the limits and boundaries prescribed him of God, beyond which he is not to pass), from south to north and from north to south, giving shorter days to those who inhabit the middle of the earth under the torrid zone, they not being able to bear his longer continuance above their horizon, because of his scorching heat, but longer to these who can better endure it under the temperate, and yet longest to these who live nearest to the frigid zones, or to the poles, whom his heat cannot prejudice, as it doth these who live under or near to the line or middle of the earth, on whom he darteth down his perpendicular rays; wherefore the wisdom of his Maker will have him stay a shorter time above their horizon. How wonderful then in counsel and excellent in working is this God, whereupon not only his saints do bless him for the benefits wherewith they are laden, but all his works do praise him after their manner!

There are several caves here or hollow places in and through the rocks; particularly there is one in the isle of Unst, entering from the sea at one side of the isle, and opposite thereunto; on the other side there is another going in, as it were meeting the former, unto the end of any of which none will undertake to go, though it hath been attempted; the rage of the sea in these caverns of the earth, the failing of the light of day, and the raggedness of the rocks by which they must pass, making it terrible unto them, as also the thickness of the air, something annoying them; but the entries thereunto being opposite one to another, giveth ground to judge that it is a continued cave from the one side of the isle to the other, though four miles broad; which cannot be thought to be artificial, but natural, washed through by the violence of the waves; and the less wonder it is for it so to be, if we consider that if *gutta cavat lapidem*, much more *rapidi et tumidi fluctus cavabunt*, that if in a short time the drop will wear the stone, much more in the tract of some thousands of years, the raging and tempestuous waves daily breaking on the rocks will produce this effect, and that more in some places than in others, where the rock will be more friable and brittle, and the force of the waves less broken by the bounding and swaddling sand.

There is something like unto this yet more surprising in the isle of Foula, on the west side of the Mainland, if it be true what is storied of it. In this isle, on the top of a hill, there is a hole, the mouth whereof may be (and some say now is) covered with a slate-stone going downwards to the bottom of the rock, which is said to be of a great depth; particularly a Dutch ship-master is reported to have made a trial thereof, for the gratifying his curiosity, by taking up a barrel of lines with him, which he let all down, and yet could not sound the bottom: some say he let down two barrels, which is very wonderful, considering a barrel of lines is reckoned to be several, some say nine, miles in length. What can be the reason of such a conveyance from the top of the rock to the bottom? and further, if we may give credit to what is said, I cannot possibly imagine for that such a thing should be done by art, we cannot well conceive the reason why, nor the manner how it could be done, and that nature should have such an operation will be as difficult to unfold.

That this country is generally mossy, soft, and spongy, hath been formerly told, as likewise that it is dangerous for people to travel through it, of which many instances may be given; I shall only name two, which I had from the ministers of the respective bounds: one travelling in the isle of Yell fell into such a mossy and loose piece of ground,



ground, his horse beneath him, furniture and all sank down, and was no more seen, and he himself with great difficulty struggled out and was saved. And another in the parish of Tingwal on the Main, not long since, walking on foot not far from his own house, fell into such another place, wherein there did not appear to be any hazard and over which several times formerly he thought he had passed with safety, and sank down to the arm-pits, but he by stretching out his arms, keeping his head over the surface of the ground, by the help of his servant then providentially with him, and a staff fixed in the ground, got wrestled out; so dangerous is it travelling here even to the inhabitants.

On the west side of the isle of Fetlor, there is a place whereon a gentleman's house called Uasta, into which place or house if a mariner's needle and compass be brought the needle resteth not in its poles, as it doth in other places, but hath a tremulous undulating motion, and sometimes turneth round, as some say, to all the points of the horizon; and a gentleman who was inquisitive to know the truth of this told me, that upon trial he found it to be so, and further to try the experiment he took the compass to the top of the house, where it had the same effect. And one of the ministers of the northern isles informed me, that if any ship or boat sailed by, or came nigh unto that place, the same did befall their compass. Also there is a little hill nigh to the sea on the west side of the isle of Whalsay, to which if the compass be brought the flower de luce, or that point which is ordinarily obverted to the north, turneth about to the south, but if the compass be removed the distance of two or three feet from the top of the hill, there is no such effect produced: this the late minister of the place assured me of, having tried the experiment.

The many wonderful properties and effects of the magnet or load-stone, and of other things endued with, or which do partake of this magnetic virtue discovered in these latter ages, hath deservedly raised the admiration of philosophers, and awakened them to make a diligent inquiry and search into the reasons of these strange phenomena. That the magnet hath two poles answering to the poles of the world, to which it turneth itself; that the loadstone draweth iron unto it; that iron brought unto and rubbed upon the loadstone receiveth from it that attractive, or as some will have it, that impulsive virtue and power, and other qualities inherent in it (hence the invention of the needle, so useful and necessary to mariners for directing of their courses;) that if there be two spherical loadstones, they will turn to one another, as each of them doth to the poles of the earth, and if they be detained in a contrary position, they will flee from one another: and so it is with the needle in the compass, when a loadstone or piece of iron is brought unto it, the needle either cometh to, or fleeth from it according to its situation, wherefore mariners are careful that no iron be in nor lying near unto their light-room where the compass standeth. That though you should take the needle from its beloved pole, yet when let alone and left to itself, it will incontinently move and take no rest until it return thereunto; these strange and uncouth properties hath the loadstone, as likewise many others no less astonishing, reckoned up by its admirers, many of which are known to the rudest and most illiterate mariner; but to explain the nature of the loadstone, and to resolve and answer the proposals of nature upon the head, by giving the reasons of these admirable effects, *hoc opus, hic labor est*, this is the difficulty, which hath vexed many, and taken up the studies of the sagest and most ingenious modern philosophers.

I shall not presume to give the reason of this strange phenomenon, the needle's leaving its rest at the pole and betaking itself to such a motion, whether tremulous and undulating, or circular round the points of the compass, or the flower de luce, turning



to the south. Only I would suggest two things, which if they tend not to clear what is proposed, they will further hold out how wonderful the loadstone and its properties are. First, upon the ordinary supposition, whereby these properties are explained, that the earth is as a great loadstone, on the surface and exterior parts whereof a great number of volatile screw-like particles, called the magnetic matter, do incessantly move, travelling from pole to pole alongst the surface of the earth, whereby the poles of the loadstone and the point of the needle affected with its virtue, are obverted to the poles of the world; which supposition being made, we would know that this magnetic matter may not always have the same motion; but in some places it may be upward and perpendicular to the surface of the earth; so that in these places where they thus move perpendicularly, the needle will not be determined to one point, more than to another of the horizon, this matter alike affecting all the parts of the needle by its perpendicular motion; which the ingenious Robault alledgeth as the reason why the compass serveth not the use of the Hollanders, when they have sailed far to the north in order to find out a new and shorter passage to the East Indies, their needle then not turning to the poles as it doth in other places, but alike to all the points of the horizon, the motion of the magnetic matter in these more northern places, being in lines perpendicular to the surface of the earth: and so likewise it may fall out in other places, where a greater quantity of this magnetic matter riseth from the earth.

A second thing that I would take notice of is that this magnetic matter in its passage from pole to pole meets with several iron mines, into which it goeth aside, so diverting its straight course between the poles, because it finds an easier passage through the pores of the iron than by passing through other places; hence the variation of the compass is judged to be, so much talked of by mariners, in some places greater, and in others less, accordingly as the magnetic matter is more or less determined by the several iron mines into which it turneth aside; now in some places it may so fall out, that there may be a greater quantity of iron through which the magnetic matter passing, and from which it arising, may cause such a motion whereby the needle not only inclines not to one point more than to another in the horizon, but also by the magnetic matters ascending from and returning to the iron mines, it may produce such an irregular motion in the needle; and that there is a great quantity of iron in Zetland may be known by the remarkable variation of the compass there, for, as mariners inform us, when they sail by the south end of Zetland they find the variation to be but one point, but when passing the north end they find it varies two points, and upon this variation in directing their course to this or the other place, they make their reckoning: which is very observable, that in less than a degree of latitude (for no more will the length of the isles of Zetland be) it varies a point of the compass, which must be according to the reason commonly assigned, because there is much iron in these isles, and more especially on the west side of the isle of Fetlor; for other places of the same isle have no such influence on the compass.

That yet much if not the greatest part of the difficulty remains I readily grant, and leaves it to the study of the learned and curious, and indeed in many things to acknowledge our ignorance hath been reputed no small part of wisdom, so hard it is to solve and unriddle nature's secrets, wherein the greatest lights have been benighted, the following often raising the foundations of the doctrines of the former: how wonderful are the works of God, that in wisdom he hath made them all; and how narrow and shallow are our capacities, that we cannot find out the works of God, even the most sensible and obvious; how thankful also should we be to God, who hath vouchsafed to



us the light of clearly revealed truths, which if taken heed unto shall make us perfect, and lead unto glory.

There are in these isles many little chapels, now generally ruinous: as in the isle of Unst there are twenty-four and upwards; in the isle of Yell there are twenty-one, and many in other isles; I saw one of them in the parish of Tingwall, wherein also there are several more; it would have contained scarce thirty people, as I judge, and though so little, yet very great stones were in the walls, which was strange to me, how that in this country, where their beasts are weak, and they have not the help of machines, they got them lifted and laid. These are said to have been built by superstitious zealots in the times of popery, or, as some rather think, by ship-wrecked seamen, who coming safe to shore, have built them according to their vows made by them when in danger, which they dedicated to so many several saints, whom they looked upon as the patrons of their respective chapels. About which also men and women of old had their night walkings, which occasioned much uncleanness, but now such walkings are but little used.

About the walls of these old chapels are found snails called shell-snails, which they dry and pulverize, mingling the dust with their drink for the jaundice, by which means these who labour under this sickness in three or four days' time will recover of the same; but if they let this dust lie for a year without making use of it, it turneth into small living creatures or vermine, which they dry and bray over again, if they make any further use of it.

In Uzia an isle lying nigh to Unst, there is a metal gotten having the colour of gold, which several of the Dutch merchants have taken with them to Hamburgh, and tried it there, but by the force of fire it did not become liquid, but crumbled into small pieces; it is to be had there in great plenty. This sheweth there may be minerals in these isles, though not known nor searched for.

In the church-yard of Papa-Stour, in the parish of Waes, lieth a stone five feet long, at the one end two, and at the other one foot broad, concave from the one end to the other, of which the common tradition goes, that this stone came ashore on that isle with a dead man tied to it, who lies buried there beside it. It appears to have been the grave-stone of some person of note in the country, which sheweth they have also had that custom of laying at least some of their dead in such large stones made concave, and cut out for the purpose, which hath been frequent in many places with us in Scotland.

At a little distance from Papa-Stour, lies a rock encompassed with the sea, called Frau-a-Stack, which is a Danish word, and signifieth our Lady's Rock, upon which are to be seen the ruins of a house, wherein they say a gentleman did put his daughter, that so she might be shut up and secluded from the company of men, but though a maiden when put in, yet she was found with child when brought out, notwithstanding of her being so closely kept, but whether this came to pass by a golden shower (the most powerful courtship) or not, the country hath lost the tradition: however it seemeth strange, how a house should be built on such a bare and small rock, when so many large and pleasant isles were near unto it.

The three iron cannons formerly mentioned now lying in the citadel of Lerwick, being rusted by the sea, wherein they had lain for eighty years; the inhabitants of Lerwick to take off the rust, and so fit them for their use, about nine years ago did set a heap of peats about them, which they putting fire unto, the guns so soon as they were warmed and hot, did all discharge themselves to the great surprize of the spectators, and the balls, as some observed, went half over Brassa-found. Which deserveth some  
remark,



remark, that the powder all that time should retain its elastic force, the water, if at all, yet not so insinuating itself with the powder as to wash it away, or much diminish its virtue. These who were eye-witnesses gave me this relation.

It is observable that the former year 1699, the fishes had little or no liver, but something black in lieu thereof, which was a great loss to the fishers, they making their oil of those livers; as also the oxen, sheep, swine, &c. had little or no fat on their livers, which useth not to be, there being a kind of consumption upon the livers of creatures both by sea and land; which mindeth me of Rom. viii. 22. "Man's sins making the creation to groan, and earnestly long as with an uplifted head, for a deliverance:" so that if the creatures could speak with Baalam's ass, they would reprove the madness and sin of man.

There is a little island on the west side of Waes, called Vaila, wherein there is no cat, neither will any stay though brought in, as hath been done for trial, but will quickly be gone, they either dying, or betaking themselves to sea, they endeavour to swim to the next isle: yet about fifty years ago there was one seen upon this isle, about that time when a gentleman the proprietor thereof was tormented and put to death by the witches, but never any were seen since, save what were brought in for trial, as now said. The reason of this I could not learn from the ministers, who gave the information; it is like because of the air, or the smell of something upon the isle, though not perceivable by the inhabitants, which agreeth not with the temper and constitution of these animals.

About a mile from Tingwall to the north, there is a hill called the Knop of Kebister, or Luggie's Know, nigh to which hill there is a house called Kebister, where a varlet or wizard lived, commonly designed Luggie, concerning whom it was reported that when the sea was so tempestuous that the boats durst not go off to the fishing, he used to go to that hill or know, where in a hole into which he let down his lines and took up any fish he pleased, as a cod or ling, &c. which no other could do but himself: also when fishing at sea, he would at his pleasure take up any roasted fish with his line, with the entrails or guts out of it, and so ready for his use: this was certainly done by the agency of evil spirits, with whom he was in compact and covenant, but the œconomy of the kingdom of darkness is very wonderful and little known to us. He being convicted of witchcraft, was burnt nigh to Scalloway.

As for witches I did hear much of them, as if they abounded more in this than other countries, though I make no question, but that there are many such here thus deluded by the devil: there is not then such ground for what is so commonly talked by many with us anent their devilry, which might have affrighted us if given heed unto, as if it were dangerous going or living there; though it is said here there are many of this hellish stamp in Island, Lapland, and other places to the north of Zetland, which may occasion the mistake.

We said before that there were but few rats, and that only in some of the isles, and thought to come out of ships, but that they had mice in abundance; yet in the isles of Burra and Haskashy no mice are to be found; yea if they take some dust or earth out of these isles to other places where they are, they will forsake such places where the dust is laid. It may be for the like reason, why no cats can or will live in Vaila.

Sometimes when the ships are lying nigh land, the rats will come ashore, which when any of the Hollanders or others see, they look upon it as fatal to the ship out of which they come, portending that her end some way or other will shortly approach; and likewise it is observed, that these rats will not live above three or four years in that land to which they come. Some of our seamen tell us the like as to their ships; it is talked also



that these creatures will leave houses before any dismal accident befall them. What ground there is either for the one or the other I know not, but, if true, it will be hard I suppose to give the reason thereof.

Not above forty or fifty years ago almost every family had a Brownny, or evil spirit so called, which served them, to whom they gave a sacrifice for his service; as when they churned their milk, they took a part thereof and sprinkled every corner of the house with it for Brownny's use; likewise when they brewed, they had a stone which they called Brownny's Stone, wherein there was a little hole, into which they poured some wort for a sacrifice to Brownny. My informer, a minister in the country, told me, that he had conversed with an old man who, when young, used to brew, and sometimes read upon his Bible, to whom an old woman in the house said, that Brownny was displeased with that book he read upon, which if he continued to do, they would get no more service of Brownny; but he being better instructed from that book, which was Brownny's eye-fare and the object of his wrath, when he brewed he would not suffer any sacrifice to be given to Brownny, whereupon the first and second brewings were spilt and for no use, though the wort wrought well, yet in a little time it left off working and grew cold; but of the third browt or brewing he had ale very good, though he would not give any sacrifice to Brownny, with whom afterwards they were no more troubled. I had also from the same informer, that a lady in Unst now deceased told him, that when she first took up house, she refused to give a sacrifice to Brownny, upon which the first and second brewings misgave likewise, but the third was good; and Brownny, not being regarded nor rewarded as formerly he had been, abandoned his wonted service. Which cleareth that Scripture, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." They also had stacks of corn which they called Brownny's Stacks; which though they were not bound with straw ropes, or any way fenced as other stacks used to be, yet the greatest storm of wind was not able to blow any straw off them.

Now I do not hear of any such appearances the devil makes in these isles, so great and so many are the blessings which attend a Gospel dispensation: the Brownies, fairies, and other evil spirits that haunted and were familiar in our houses were dismissed, and fled at the breaking up of our Reformation, (if we may except but a few places not yet well reformed from popish dregs,) as the heathen oracles were silenced at the coming of our Lord, and the going forth of his apostles; so that our first noble reformers might have returned and said to their Master as the seventy once did; "Lord, even the devils are subject to us through thy name." And though this restraint put upon the devil was far later in these northern places than with us, to whom the light of a preached Gospel did more early shine, yet now also do these northern isles enjoy the fruits of this restraint.

\* About two years and a half or three years ago, there was a boat passing with several gentlemen of the country in it, and by the way in the Voe of Quarf, through which they went, there appeared something unto them with its head above the water, which as they could discern, had the face of an old man, with a long beard hanging down; first it appeared at some distance from them, and then coming nearer to their boat, they had a clear sight of it; the sight was so very strange and affrighting, that all in the boat were very desirous to be on land, though the day was fair and the sea calm; a gentleman declaring, (as a minister in company with them, and saw this sight informed me,) that he never saw the like, though he had travelled through many seas.

I heard another remarkable story like unto this, that about five years since a boat at the fishing drew her lines, and one of them, as the fishers thought, having some great fish upon it, was with greater difficulty than the rest raised from the ground, but when raised,



raised, it came more easily to the surface of the water, upon which a creature like a woman presented itself at the side of the boat; it had the face, arms, breasts, shoulders, &c. of a woman, and long hair hanging down the back, but the nether part from below the breasts was beneath the water, so that they could not understand the shape thereof; the two fishers who were in the boat being surpris'd at this strange sight, one of them unadvisedly drew a knife, and thrust it into her breast, whereupon she cried, as they judged, "Alas!" and the hook giving way she fell backward and was no more seen: the hook being big went in at her chin and out at the upper lip. The man who thrust the knife into her is now dead, and, as was observed, never prospered after this, but was still haunted by an evil spirit, in the appearance of an old man, who, as he thought, used to say unto him, "Will ye do such a thing, who killed the woman?" the other man then in the boat is yet alive in the isle of Burra. This a gentleman and his lady told me, who said they had it from the baillie of that place to which the boat did belong: it being so strange I inquired at severals thereanent, which, though many were ignorant of, yet some said that they had heard thereof, and judged it to be very true.

That there are sea-creatures having the likeness of men and women seems to be generally acknowledged by all who have inquired thereunto, they having found it confirmed by the testimony of many in several countries, as their histories do bear. Hence are accounts given of those sea-monsters, the mermen and mermaids, which have not only been seen but apprehended and kept for some time. And hence probably the fiction of the poets concerning the syrens, hath had its rise; these enchanting songsters, translated mermaids by our lexicographers, whose snare Ulysses so happily escaped.

They tell us that several such creatures do appear to fishers at sea, particularly such as they call sea-trowes, great rolling creatures tumbling in the waters, which, if they come among their nets, they break them, and sometimes take them away with them; if the fishers see them before they come near, they endeavour to keep them off with their oars or long staves, and if they can get them beaten therewith, they will endeavour to do it: the fishers both in Orkney and Zetland are afraid when they see them, which panic fear of theirs makes them think and sometimes say, that it is the devil in the shape of such creatures; whether it be so or not as they apprehend, I cannot determine. However it seems to be more than probable, that evil spirits frequent both sea and land.

A gentleman in the parish of Dunrossness told one of the ministers in this country, that about five years since a plough in this parish did cast up fresh cockles; though the place where the plough was going was three quarters of a mile from the sea; which cockles the gentleman saw made ready and eaten. How these shell fishes came there, and should be fed at such a distance from their ordinary element I cannot know, if they have not been cast upon land by a violent storm, much of the ground of this parish, especially what they labour, lying very low, and the sea hath been observed in such storms both to cast out stones and fishes; or if these cockles have been found in some deep furrow, from which to the sea there hath been a conveyance by some small stream, upon which the sea hath flowed in stream tides, especially when there is also some storm blowing. If only shells were found, such as of oysters and the like, the marvel would not be great, seeing such are found upon the tops of high mountains, at a greater distance from the sea, which in all probability have been there since the universal deluge; but that any shell fish should be found at some distance from the sea and fit for use, is somewhat wonderful and astonishing.

Though no tortoises use to be found in all these northern seas, yet in Urie firth, in the parish of Northmevan, there was one found alive upon the sand in an ebb, the shell

of



of it was given me as a present by a gentleman of the country, it is about a foot in length, and a large half foot in breadth. The inhabitants thought it so strange, never any such thing having been found in these seas formerly, which ever they came to the knowledge of, that they could not imagine what to make of it, some saying that it hath fallen out of some East India ship sailing along by the coasts, which looks not so probable.

There is a place in this country called the Neip, in the parish of Neston, looking to the east sea, where the parson of Orphir in Orkney was killed; the story is this: Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, as hath been said, was a great oppressor, enacting several severe and cruel acts, whereof complaint was made to King James VI. And as it reported some Zetlanders went to the King with their skin-coats, laying the oppressed condition of their country before him, wherewith the King was moved, yet although not only the Earl's honour and reputation withal was much stained and under a cloud, by reason of his cruel and oppressive ways, but his person was hated and abhorred by the people whose superior he was; the parson of Orphir did zealously stand in the Earl's defence, notwithstanding whereof the indignation and kindled wrath of the exasperated people against the Earl increasing, the parson was forced to flee to Zetland for his safety, upon which the people of Orkney not quieted, some of them pursued him thither; they say the pursuers were four brethren of the name of Sinclair, who coming to the Neip where the parson had his ordinary residence, they apprehended and dewitted him, one of the brethren taking a sop of his heart's blood. As for the Earl, being first imprisoned at Dumbarton, he was thence brought to Edinburgh, where he was beheaded, anno 1614, for treason and oppression.

There are also in this country, as well as in Orkney, many eagles, which destroy their lambs, fowls, &c. for the preventing of which, some, when they see the eagles catching or fleeing away with their prey, use a charm, by taking a string whereon they cast some knots, and repeat a form of words, which being done, the eagle lets her prey fall, though at a great distance from the charmer; an instance of which I had from a minister, who told me, that about a month before we came to Zetland, there was an eagle that flew up with a cock at Scalloway, which one of these charmers seeing, presently took a string, (his garter as was supposed,) and casting some knots thereupon, with using the ordinary words, the eagle did let the cock fall into the sea, which was recovered by a boat that went out for that end.

They tell a pleasant story of an eagle and a turbot: about six years since an eagle fell down on a turbot, sleeping on the surface of the water, on the east side of Brassa; and having fastened his claws in her, he attempted to fly up, but the turbot awakening, and being too heavy for him to fly up with, endeavoured to draw him down beneath the water; thus they struggled for some time, the eagle labouring to go up, and the turbot to go down, till a boat that was near to them, and beheld the sport, took them both, felling the eagle to the Hollanders then in the country. For they say when the eagle hath fastened his claws in any creature, he cannot loose them at his pleasure, but useth to eat them out, so that the prey sometimes cometh to be a snare to this rapacious fowl.

On the west side of the Mainland, there is a holm belonging to a gentleman in the parish of Northmewan, so much frequented by fowl, that when sometimes they go into it in the summer season, fowls of several kinds will fly so thick above their heads, that they will cloud the very air, yet therein there are few or none during the winter, but in February they use to begin to come by pairs, and for two or three days after they first come they will sit so close, that almost they may be taken hold of, which is imputed to their being wearied after a long flight from some far country: the proprietor of this



holm may almost every day in summer take a basket full of eggs out of it, and they scarcely be missed, for it is so well furnished, that none almost can set down a foot for young fowls or eggs, which are very serviceable to this gentleman's house, and the country about.

To the east of Braffa is an isle called the Nofs of Braffa, wherein a ragged rock looking to the south-east, the highest in all this country, serviceable to mariners for directing their course when sailing to the west from eastern countries, some gentlemen told us that they verily think from the surface of the water to the top of the rock, it will be three hundred fathoms, upon which a great many fowls have their nests, whose eggs they take in the summer time, as also some of the fowls, by letting a man down from the top of the rock by a rope tied about his middle: before this isle lieth a rock ragged on all sides, about one hundred fathoms high, from the surface of the water, but by reason of its raggedness and declivity, and its being surrounded with sea on all hands, it is scarce possible to climb it. Yet the owners of the isle, being desirous to be at the fowls and eggs numerous upon it, about one hundred years since there was a man for the hire of a cow undertook to climb the lesser rock, and to fasten two poles or stakes thereupon, which he accordingly did, but in the coming down, he fell into the sea and perished.

The way how they get into this lesser rock is observable, which is thus; opposite to the two stakes on the lesser, there are also stakes fastened on the higher rock, it being *climbing* but sixteen fathoms over between the rocks; to which stakes ropes are fastened, reaching from rock to rock, the ropes they put through the holes of an engine called a cradle; all which being so prepared, a man getteth into the cradle, and warpeth himself over from the Nofs, or the greater rock to the lesser, and so having made a good purchase of eggs and fowls bought at the expence of the danger of his life, he returns the same way he went, these ropes hang not on all winter, but in the summer time; in the month of June ordinarily, when the day is calm, they cast the ropes from the greater to the lesser rock; which so they do, they have first some small rope or cordage, to which there is a stone fastened, and they keeping both the ends of this small rope in their hands, an able man throweth the stone into the lesser rock, and when cast over the stakes, they heave or lift up this small rope with a long pole, that so the bought of the rope may be gotten about the stakes; which being done they draw to them the small rope till a greater tied to it be brought about also, and so both ends of the greater rope they secure by the stakes on the top of the Nofs, on which strong and greater rope the cradle being put, it runneth from rock to rock: easily a man in the cradle goeth from the Nofs to the holm or rock, by reason of its descent, but with greater difficulty do they return, therefore there is a small rope tied to the cradle, whereby men on the Nofs help to draw them back. I do not hear that any where such another cradle is to be found; how many are the inventions which man hath found out!

This holm is much frequented by fowls more than any other place on the east side of Zetland, as the other holm of Northmevan is on the west side; the fowls have their nests on the holms in a very beautiful order, all set in rows in the form of a dove cote, and each kind or sort do nestle by themselves; as the scarfs by themselves, so the kittiwakes, tominories, mawes, &c. There is a fowl there called the scutiallan, of a black colour, and as big as a wild duck, which doth live upon the vomit and excrements of other fowls whom they pursue, and having apprehended them, they cause them vomit up what meat they have lately taken, not yet digested. The Lord's works both of nature and of grace are wonderful, all speaking forth his glorious goodness, wisdom and power.

Remarkable are the dangers, which many in these isles undergo in climbing the rocks for fowls and eggs, especially in Foula, where the inhabitants in the summer time do most live.



live by this kind of provision, and are judged to be the best climbers of rocks in all this country, for some of them will fasten a stake or knife, as some say, in the ground on the top of the rock, to which they tie a small rope or cord, and so they will come down the face of the rock with this in their hand sixty, seventy, or eighty fathoms, and do return bringing up eggs and fowls with them; but indeed very many of them lose their lives this way; yea it is observed that few old men are to be seen there, they being so cut off before they arrive at old age; many of them are weary of the dangers and hazards they daily incur, yet neither will they leave the place, nor give over these perilous attempts, all the sad instances of their friends and neighbours perishing, and death cannot have this influence to deter and affright them from undergoing the like hazards: at so small a rate do they value their lives, that for a few fowls and eggs they will endanger them, whereas they might have as good and a much safer living elsewhere: as this sheweth both their folly and their sin, so what fatigue and danger men will expose themselves to, for the avoiding poverty and straits, for the upholding this clayey tabernacle, which ere long will moulder into the dust, and often not so much for the satisfying the necessary cravings of nature, as the superfluous and insatiable desires of our lusts. Sometimes one man will stand on the top of the rock holding the end of the rope in his hand, and another will go down, which neither is without danger, as they tell us of one who thus holding his neighbour did let the rope slip, and down fell the climber into the sea, but providentially there being a boat near by, they got hold of him, and took him in, and so came home before his neighbour, who judged him to have perished: the other man at length came home with great sorrow and grief regretting the death of his neighbour, but he hearing that he was already come home, was not a little confounded and astonished at the report, until that at meeting, the man in danger narrated the manner of his deliverance, which afforded unto them both great matter of refreshment and joy.

In all this country there are only three towered churches, (i. e.) churches with towers on them, to wit. Tingwall, on the Mainland, the church of Burra on the isle of Burra, and the church of Ireland a promontory belonging to the main, from the top of one of which towers you can see another, built they say by three sisters; who from their several towers could give advertisement to one another.

The church of Tingwall standeth in a valley between two hills lying east and west, and is about the middle of the Mainland. It was in this parish, in a small holm, within a lake nigh to this church, where the principal feud or judge of the country used to sit and give judgment, hence the holm to this day is called the Law-Ting, (from which probably the parish of Tingwall had its name:) we go into this holm by stepping stones, where three or four great stones are to be seen, upon which the judge, clerk and other officers of the court did sit. All the country concerned to be there stood at some distance from the holm on the side of the loch, and when any of their causes was to be judged or determined, or the judge found it necessary that any person should compare before him, he was called upon by the officer, and went in by these stepping stones, who when heard, returned the same way he came: and though now this place be not the seat of judgment, there is yet something among them to this day, which keepeth up the memory of their old practice for at every end of the loch there is a house, upon whose grass the country men coming to the court did leave their horses, and by reason the masters of these houses did suffer a loss this way, they were declared to be scot-free; hence at this present time, two places in the parish of Sansting do pay scot for the one, and Coningsburg in Dunrossness for the other; scot is a kind of rent or due, which is yearly paid to the King or his taxmen, by the gentlemen and several others in the country. This court is thought to have been kept by the Danes, when they were in possession of



ccuntry. They also report that when any person received sentence of death upon the holm, if afterwards he could make his escape through the crowd of people standing on the side of the loch, without being apprehended, and touch the steeple of the church of Tingwall, the sentence of death was reprieved and the condemned obtained an indemnity : for this steeple in these days was held as an asylum for malefactors, debtors charged by their creditors, &c. to flee into.

In the way between Tingwall and Scalloway, there is an high stone standing in form of an obelisk as some ancient monument, concerning which the people have various traditions, some saying that in the Strath of Tingwall, where this stone is erected, there was a bloody fight between the Danes and the old inhabitants or natives of this country, and that the Norwegian or Danish general was killed in this place, where the stone is set up. Others report that one of the Earls of Orkney had a profligate and prodigal son, who for this cause being animadverted upon by his father, fled to Zetland, and there built a castle or a strong house for himself within a loch at Stroma, within two miles of Tingwall to the west, the ruins whereof are yet to be seen : his father not being satisfied with his escape, and the way he took for his defence, sent from Orkney four or five men to pursue him, to whom he gave orders that they should bring his son to him either dead or alive : the son thereupon not finding himself safe enough in his castle, made his escape from the castle, where the pursuers lay in ambush, but was overtaken by them in the Straith of Tingwall and killed there, whereupon this monument was erected. The pursuers took off his head, and carried it with them to his father, but in so doing they were so far from gratifying of him, that he caused them all to be put to death, notwithstanding of the orders given by him.

There is in the parish of Tingwall a little off the way as we go from Lerwick to Scalloway, a fountain or spring of very pure and pleasant water, which runneth through a great stone in the rock by the passage of a round hole, which if you stop, the water forceth its way through the pores of the stone in other places, the stone it seems being very porous and spungy.

One of the ministers told us of a monster born the last year in the parish of Neston, about nine or ten miles from Lerwick ; that one day when he was coming to the presbytry, and standing at the ferry-side over which he was to pass, two women came to him acquainting him with fear and grief, that their neighbour near by had been travailling in child-birth under hard labour for three days past, and had brought forth a monster, which had upon its forehead like a perriwig of flesh and hair, raised and towered up, and by the sides of the head there were like wires of flesh coming down : moreover it had two rows of teeth, with a mouth like a rabbit, destitute of arms and legs ; after the birth there was some life in it, and it moved a little, but lived not long ; the women assisting at the birth for a time were afraid to touch it, it being such a strange and formidable sight. This minister desired to see it, but it was buried before he came. The same woman also formerly had brought forth two monsters, the first whereof was a confused and undigested lump of flesh ; and the second had a mouth in its breast.

We enquired concerning the woman, and they told us that they knew nothing of scandal they could lay to her charge, but that she had lived soberly all her life ; only one of the ministers informed us that after she had brought forth the first monster, he heard that for a year's time thereafter, she used to go bare footed to the church of Wifdale every Lord's Day, and pray there according to the vow she had made after the birth, thinking thereby, that this might atone for what was past, and prevent the like for the future. If this be



true, God hath judicially punished her, by conceiving and bringing forth the two following monsters, each more wonderful and preternatural than the other.

Several adulteries came before the commission attended with heinous and aggravating circumstances. One instance we had very remarkable of one James Mowat in the parish of Northmevan, who had been lying in adultery with one Clara Tulloch, his wife being dead not many years since. Between which Mowat and Tulloch there had several children been procreated, who were all idiots and fools, so that they could not keep themselves either from fire or water, or put their meat in their mouths, though there be one of them of twenty years, and others of them though younger, yet come to some considerable age; which sheweth the manifest judgment of God against adulterers, he often ordering his providential dispensations so towards them, that they may read their sin in their punishment, as this wretched man was forced by the power of his so far convinced conscience to confess before the presbytery, that he was sensible the judgments of God were pursuing him, whereof he gave the said sad instance, as yet to be seen from the presbytery's records. Another adulterer also did compare before us, who did continue in the commission of this his sin for many years, and doth bear in his face the shameful reproof thereof, and the just marks of the Lord's indignation against him for the same. It is a very sad thing for any to be pining away both in judgments and sins.

A minister here told me a passage, not to be passed without a remark of God's righteous judgment and holiness; a certain woman in his parish about ten years since fell into adultery with an old married man; he to cover his villainy, advised her to give way to another young man's sinning with her, who then was in suit of her and frequented her company, that so if there were a child, she might father it upon this young and unmarried man; accordingly, as was advised, it fell out, the young man sinned with her, and she being found with child, is summoned to compare before the session, who having interrogated her concerning her uncleanness, and who was the father of the child, she answered that she never knew or had carnal dealing with any, save such a young man; but this covering could not serve the turn in palliating their filthiness, God in his wise providence so ordering it, that though there was the interval of five months between the old and the young man's sinning with her, yet when the time of her delivery came, she first brought forth a perfect child of nine months, and the day after another imperfect of four months, according to the several times of the old man, and the young man's sinning with her. She being convinced that this was of the Lord, and that she could not hide her sins from God, though she sought to do it from men, she ingenuously acknowledged her guilt with both, and for the scandal is now giving satisfaction in the parish of Unst.

We had also the lamentable account of the tragical end of one Mr. Gilbert Hendry adulterer, in repute, for his acuteness of wit, and the many excellent poems he composed: he being a married man had carnal converse with another woman, at which his friends and well-wishers being greatly concerned, one of them laid hold of an opportunity to accost and set upon him, earnestly intreating he might break off his unclean and debauched converse with that woman, holding out unto him his sin and misery, and using what arguments he thought might prevail for that end, but he gave a deaf ear unto all that was said, and by no means would be dissuaded from haunting her company, yea, in contempt of the admonition and reproof, made as if he were going to that woman's house the same night, and so parting from his friend, went in the evening to a water or loch side, where he walked for sometime alone, and then appeared a man in company with him all in black, and thus they continued walking together till night, as



the people observing did judge, and the next morning this miserable wretch was found dead with his brains dashed out, (though there were no stones near to the place where he lay), on a hill side at a little distance from the water, his head and shoulders lying downward to the descent of the hill, his brains were scattered, and the ground about him was all troden, as if there had been (saith my informer), twenty men and horses for twenty-four hours upon the spot. It is not many years since this fell out. So bad a recompence doth the devil give his vassals and slaves for their service, for whoremongers and adulterers God will judge, which judgments often he beginneth to inflict in this life, for the punishment of the guilty, and the terror of all, and to shew that he is of purer eyes than that he can behold such horrid iniquity; though the pouring out of the full vials of his wrath he reserveth for the future, where their worm shall not die, nor the fire for ever be quenched.

The signal defeat and overthrow of the Spanish Armada, that supposed and commonly (though arrogantly) called Invincible Navy, *anno* 1588, is famous in history, which was especially caused by stormy winds and tempests, some thereby sinking at sea, others splitting upon the coasts both of England and France, and especially upon the north of Scotland, Orkney and Zetland; and the Fair Isle had the honour of the Duke of Medina's being driven on shore upon it, under whose conduct this navy was; who after his shipwreck came over to Dunrossness in Zetland, as an old gentlewoman informed me; of whom she heard the country people say who saw him, frequently speak, when she was a child; so the Lord dispersed and broke this huge and formidable navy, that of a hundred and thirty ships which set out from Spain with provision, ammunition, and other furniture exceeding great, scarce thirty returned; the God of land and sea heard and answered the prayers of his people in Britain, the curse of God pursuing that hellish enterprise, notwithstanding of the infallible Popish benediction on that invincible armada; for as our historian Calderwood observeth, "The rumour of the great Spanish armada being blazed abroad, fervent were the prayers of the godly in Scotland, powerful and piercing were the sermons of preachers, especially in the time of fast, whereupon the Lord uttered his voice against his, and his church's enemies, by terrible things in righteousness; our coasts upon which many of that fleet were cast away, and some of the people in it begged from door to door, proclaiming aloud the glory of his justice and power."

There are no weasels in all the northern isles of Zetland, as I am informed, though numerous in the Mainland, which they report thus came to pass: the falconer having a power given him, to get a hen out of every house, once in the year; but one year they refusing, or not being so willing to give, the falconer out of revenge, brought the next year two weasels with him, which did generate and spread, so that now they are become very destructive to several goods of the inhabitants, whereof a gentleman our informer, told us he had killed several half an ell long.

#### CHAP. IX.—*The Fish-Trade is most considerable, in Zetland.*

OF all the things remarkable in Zetland, their fish-trade is the most considerable, wherefore I have chosen to speak of it by itself. Which I shall labour to do, by shewing what fishing they have in these seas, and what fishes they do most abound in, and have plenty of; and then hold out who are these who trade, and what advantages do accrue thereby unto the inhabitants, with some reflections upon the whole.

The fishing here is much decayed by what it was, for now neither is there such a great number of fishes taken, nor so easily can they be had, as formerly; for not above forty



or fifty years since, the fishers would have taken the great fishes, such as killen, ling, &c. in the voes or lochs, and that in great numbers, and so were not necessitated to underly such danger and toil in going out to the sea, but could have lien before their own doors and drawn the fishes, which certainly was more safe, easy, and convenient to them in many respects; whereas now they are obliged to put out some leagues unto the sea, and so far often that they almost sink the land, else they cannot have any fishing worth their expence and pains, which cannot but be very toilsome and dangerous, in case a storm should arise and blow off the land, and so put them to sea with their little boats or yawls, not able to keep long out against the violent and swelling waves; and so it hath fallen out to some, who being tossed to and fro, whither tide and wind did drive them, have never seen land any more: and as it is dangerous, so it is toilsome, and costs them much labour, seeing often they lie some nights and days at sea, and not come ashore.

The fishing formerly being greater than what now it is, occasioned, they say, some hundreds of more ships to resort yearly unto this country than what now use to do, when fishes cannot be had to serve them; and indeed neither now are the fishes so sought after as sometime they have been, when they could easily be had, many being willing rather to stay at home and catch what they can about the coasts, which ordinarily are but the smaller fishes, than to undergo such hazards and toil in following the greater, which an Hamburgh merchant waiting for a lading complained to me of.

Although when we institute the comparison between the former and the latter times, their present fishing will appear to be but small; yet if we take it under view as it is in itself without such a respect, we will find it to be very considerable; for though in some years it be greater than in others, yet every year many trading ships are thereby laded, and this same year 1700 the fishing is thought to be very good: an instance whereof a merchant gave us, that in one week in the month of June there were taken by some boats belonging to one place, of Northmevan, four thousand ling, all which were brought in for the loading of that ship wherein he was concerned: and another gentleman added, that some other boats at a little distance from these, drew about seven hundred more; but this was something extraordinary, and useth not often to fall out that in one week they take such a number.

The fishes that do most abound here are killin, ling, &c., which being salted and dried, foreigners export them to other countries; of these, as hath been said, there is great plenty, but are not ordinarily taken near the land: as for haddocks, whittings, and such lesser white fishes, they care not so much for the seeking after, except what is for their own use, for strangers use but seldom to buy them: and these greater fishes they get a greater quantity of in some places than in others; as off Dunrossness, Northmevan, Unst, Yell, &c.

Great shoals of herring do swim also in these seas, which are taken in the summer-season, especially in the month of July and the beginning of August, for sometimes then they will come within a penny-stone cast of the shore, and be swimming so thick, and taken so fast, that one boat will call upon another to come and help them, and take a part of their fishes. These herrings taken here are reckoned to be very good, if not among the best, that are taken upon the isles belonging to the King of Britain's dominions; and as now said of the white fish, so it is of the herrings, they frequent some places more than others; as off Brassa to the east, and between Brassa and Whalsay, or the Skerries, where the buffes do commonly lie, within sight of the land of Zetland. And whatever may be said of Grotius his *mare commune* or *liberum*, yet it holds here, for any have or take liberty to come and fish in these seas, without any way acknowledging that sovereignty whereunto these isles do belong.

There



There are likewise here a great many grey fishes taken, which they call filluks and feths, which are judged to be the same kind of fish, only the feths are a greater and older filluks, a thick and fat fish; for out of one liver of some feths they will get a pint of our measure of oil, with which oil the inhabitants pay part of their rents, and sell the rest unto merchants. The oil they get after this manner: they put the liver into a pot or pan half full of water, which when seething, the oil by the force of the fire or boiling water is drawn from the liver, which so being separated, and swimming above, they take or scum it off, and put in vessels for their use. These feths are to be had about all the coasts, but more especially about Dunrosness, Delton, and some other places. The filluks, as hath been observed, are very numerous in Orkney, but more rarely are the feths to be had there, though the same kind of fish; but in Zetland there is no scarcity of both.

Among the many other excellent fishes which are here for to be had, there are the tusk, a rare, wholesome, and delicious fish, no less pleasant to the taste than they are to the eye; some of them are as big as ling, of a brown and yellow colour, with a broad tail; when making ready for use they swell in the pan more than any other fish; when made ready, their fish is very white and clear; when new haled, they are much more pleasant to eat than when salted and dried, for then I think they lose much more of their favour and relish. They begin to fish for them about the end of May or beginning of June, and are taken to the east of the isle of Brassa, or between Brassa and Whalsey, opening to the coasts of Norway, and here only are they to be found, and more rarely in other places, except off Dunrosness, where also sometimes they are got. The fishers often go out about the beginning of the week, and not return home till the end of it, and the further they go off to the sea they will get them the bigger, and in greater numbers. They use to sell them to the Hamburgers for eight or ten pounds Scots the hundred, or six score; and some of them also are taken to other places, where they are much desired by such as know them.

Those who commonly frequent this country and trade with the inhabitants are Hamburgers, and sometimes Bremers and others, who come here ordinarily in the month of May or about the beginning of June, and in several places set up booths or shops, where they sell liquors, as beer, brandy, &c., and wheaten bread, as that which they call cringel-bread, and the like; they also sell several sorts of creime-ware, as linen, muslin, &c. And these merchants seek nothing better in exchange for their commodities than to truck with the country for their fishes, which when the fishers engage to, the merchants will give them either money or ware, which they please, and so the fishers going to sea, what they take they bring once in the week or oftener, as they have occasion, and lay them down at their booth door, or in any other place where the merchant appoints them to be laid, and they being there numbered, the merchants account for them accordingly: these fishes, which are ordinarily great white fishes, as killen, ling, and the like, the merchants or their servants having dried, they take them aboard of their ships. Several such Dutch booths are to be seen through the isles, as six ordinarily in the isle of Unst, two in Yell, &c.

The Hollanders also repair to these isles in June, as hath been said, for their herring fishing, but they cannot be said so properly to trade with the country, as to fish upon their coasts, and they use to bring all sorts of provisions necessary with them, save some fresh victuals, as sheep, lambs, hens, &c., which they buy on shore. Stockings also are brought by the country people from all quarters to Lerwick and sold to these fishers, for sometimes many thousands of them will be ashore at one time, and ordinary it is with them to buy stockings to themselves, and some likewise do to their wives and children,  
which



which is very beneficial to the inhabitants; for so money is brought into the country, there is a vent for the wool, and the poor are employed. Stockings also are brought from Orkney and sold there, whereby some gain accrues to the retailers, who wait the coming of the Dutch fleet for a market.

But especially much advantage doth redound to them from their trade with the Hamburgers; for besides that they are furnished by them with provisions, what necessary what convenient, these merchants bring a considerable sum of money with them, so that, as one of their ministers told me, seven ships are ordinarily reckoned to have three thousand six hundred dollars aboard, which they leave behind them not only for fishes, but also for several other things which are the product of the country, as butter, oil, &c.; and if any please not to take their commodities, they presently give them money upon receipt of their goods. The proprietors also, or masters of the ground upon which these booths are built, reap a considerable gain, for some of them will get twenty dollars *per annum* for the use of a house in the summer season to be a booth; and I think twice or thrice the sum will build them.

Upon the whole of this chapter we may entertain these following reflections: first, hence we may observe the power, wisdom, and goodness of God; his power in that his hands have made this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable; how many millions of great and small fishes are every year taken, yet the next we expect to be served with as great a number; God giving these creatures the sea for their proper habitation, and providing suitable provision for them in that element, where neither seed-time nor harvest, yet all these wait upon him, and he giveth their meat in due season. His wisdom, in that wise and beautiful order to be observed among these brutal creatures, the several kinds knowing their coming and their going time, and their loving to frequent one place of the water more than another, though both under the same climate: their going forth all of them by bands, though they have no king, overseer, or ruler, these *squamosæ cohortes*, though not governed by principles of reason, yet by their natural instinct being reasonably acted, each to their proper ends, for the maintenance and preservation of their several kinds, give occasion to reasonable man to acknowledge, admire, and adore the infinite wisdom of his and their maker. Here also the goodness of God is to be observed in this, that all these are given for the service of man, that not only our tables should be furnished with the creatures that breathe in the same element with us, but also with these that live in another; and seeing all these are, as it were, sacrificed for our use, should we not "present ourselves souls and bodies living sacrifices holy and acceptable unto God, which is our reasonable service." Seeing that God hath made man to have dominion over the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, should we not gratefully shew forth his praise, and say with all the wise observers of Providence, "O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth?"

2. It is the fishing only which makes this country any way desirable, else it would be very unpleasant living there, as Boethius of old did observe: *Quorum opes universæ in piscibus sole arefactis, quas quotannis ad eos accedentes Hollandi, Zelandi ac Germani aliarumque rerum vulgariū permutatione mercantur.* Yea, if we abstract from their fishing-trade, in many places there could not be any living at all, they not having fields either for corn land or grazing; but they trading in fishes with foreign merchants, who import many goods for the more comfortable living of the country, their coming in the summer is very refreshful to all the inhabitants, the thoughts and expectation of which in the winter doth not a little revive them, when they shall enjoy some better fare than what their country doth afford, when Hamburg liquors and commodities shall be brought

to



to their doors, which being expected and desired, may occasion sometimes their taking of a larger cup, they knowing that the booths will not always stand open.

3. It is to be observed, that still the further north we go the fishes are to be had in greater abundance; in Zetland more than in Orkney; and in Iceland, to the north of Zetland, more than in either, the inhabitants there mostly living upon fishes: and again we may notice, as there is not such a plenty of fishes in Orkney as in Zetland, yet there is a greater of corn; and so in Zetland there is more corn than in Iceland, for in Iceland they have little, if any, corn as the product of their country, as some in Zetland did inform me, who have conversed with these who have been there; therefore the commonalty generally make use of dried fishes beaten small instead of bread, as Boethius hinteth at: *Ultra Schetlandicas alie quædam insulæ, quæ pisces arefactos ac sole induratos pistillo contundunt, mox admista aquâ in pastillos componunt, atque ad focum torrent, qui illis panis est*: which sheweth us the great wisdom of God in his great works of providence, who bestoweth not all blessings upon every nation; but when he denieth or giveth less of one blessing to one nation or country, he alloweth them more of another; which is also often observed with respect to particular persons. This variety likewise sheweth the necessity and advantage of one nation or kingdom's trading with another.

4. The fishing-trade is very lucrative and enriching to those who closely follow it; it is commonly said that it is the fishing which first raised the Netherlands to that pitch of grandeur and wealth which now they have arrived at: hence some historians call the fishery the Gold-mine of Holland, and that by their fishing especially in the British seas; and if it were not so very gainful, what would make them every year equip such a numerous fleet of several hundreds of busses, under the guard and protection of their convoys, but that they know the Zetland seas makes their mills to go, therefore they do so warmly pursue this trade, and encourage the undertakers thereof: and so it is with the Hamburgers and other merchants, especially in the Hans Towns, who trading here during the summer season, return home in August or September, they not only with fishes serving their respective cities, but by sending them also up the country do make a good market, which engageth and encourageth them to return every year and follow the same trade.

5. The consideration of this great gain that doth redound to the trading merchants, hath of late animated some gentlemen and others in Zetland to enter into a society or company for trading in fishes; that whereas strangers make such a good hand with their fishes, they may as well consult their own profit and gain, by promoting of that trade, which tendeth so much to the enriching of others, especially seeing they can do it with far less trouble and expence when here at home, where the fishes are to be had, which when taken and prepared may be sent abroad for sale to foreign markets; whereas the Hamburgers and others which come here are obliged to tarry from home through the summer waiting for their lading.

6. It hath been thought very strange by many that our own fishing, for which we have so great and so inviting advantages beyond others, should yet be so much neglected by ourselves, and left to the improvement of strangers, who reap vast gain from it. And as this deserves the consideration of the government, so it might be expected that the late disappointment, in the holy and wise providence, of this nation's noble and generous attempt to have settled a foreign plantation, for raising us from the dunghill of contempt and poverty, and advancing our wealth and trade, will excite both these worthy undertakers and others to employ their stocks and endeavours in searching after and digging these mines of the ocean nearer home, and profiting by these blessings which Providence has brought to our very doors, especially since thereby not only would a  
number



number of able seamen be yearly trained for the use and service of the nation, and the nation thereby put in a better capacity for undertaking and supporting greater projects of trade in the more remote parts of the world, but likewise many poor people would be employed who are ready to starve. And it is more reasonable we should fish in our own seas, than for strangers so to do; and I do greatly question if the Hollanders, Hamburgers or others, would so permit us to fish in any seas so nigh to their land, depending on their sovereignty, as we do them.

And for this end shipping would be encouraged by the government, and trading merchants, as the Hollanders, do, an instance whereof we had when in Zetland: a Holland ship came into Brassa Sound from cruising about the Fair Isle, waiting for the East India fleet, having in her wine, brandy, victuals, &c. for their use, that they might be refreshed before they arrived at their port, and this the trading company neglect not ordinarily to do, which sheweth they are great encouragers of trade; and for the encouraging of trade, taxations imposed upon shipping should be easy, especially now when the trade is so low, that many merchants and ship-masters, after they have hazarded their lives and their all, do return losers home; for if otherwise, no wonder that all concerned in trade be dispirited and discouraged in attempting any thing that is noble, which might tend to the nation's public good.

CHAP. X.—*Concerning Pightland-Firth, the several Tides which meet there, the Danger of Passage, &c.*

THE noise that Pightland-Firth makes among many who only have heard thereof, as being noted and famous for its danger to passengers, and the causes which concur to render it so, awakened us more particularly to enquire concerning it, which we had opportunity to do in our return from Zetland by Orkney to Caithness: and therefore seeing we passed it in our voyage, I shall not altogether pass it in this narrative, but communicate to the inquisitive what I know either from my own or others' observation anent it.

This firth is commonly called Piëtland, Pightland, or Penthland-Firth, doubtless from the Piëts whose kingdom of old Orkney was, divided by this firth from the continent of Scotland. Blaw, in his Atlas or Geography, tells us of a certain tradition, shewing how it came first to be so denominated; that the Piëts on a time being defeated by the Scots, who pursued the victory unto Caithness and Dungisby-head, where the vanquished remnant, so hotly pursued, not judging themselves safe, were forced to take boats and go over the firth to Orkney; but the Orkney-men convening upon the alarm of their landing, did so warmly receive them with a sharp conflict, that the Piëts were obliged to retire and take themselves to their boats again, with which they going off, and not acquainted with the running of the tides, they all perished; upon which sad catastrophe, so fatal to the Piëtish nation, this firth ever since was called Piëtland, or Pightland-Firth. Buchanan calls it Penthland-Firth, as it is commonly pronounced, from one Penthus; but who this Penthus was, our historian hath not been pleased to impart unto us: *Nam Pentblandici montes et fretum Pentblandicum a Pentho non a Piëto composita videri possunt.* Some historians relate that the Piëts coming first out of Germany into Orkney, which they inhabited for a season, thence they passed over to Caithness and other parts of the north of Scotland; so that hence this firth is called Piëtland-Firth.

The firth is said to be twelve miles broad, and I think they are but short; but this may be abundantly compensated by the danger of the passage: it is bounded on the north by the isles of Orkney, and on the south by Dungisby-head in Caithness; to the west is the Deucaledonian Ocean, whence the flood comes; and to the east is the German



Ocean, whence the ebb runneth. The landing-places are Burwick, the southernmost point of South Ronaldsha in Orkney, and Dungilby-head the northernmost in Caithness, called also John Grott's House, the northernmost house in Scotland; the man who now liveth in it and keepeth an inn there is called John Grot, who saith this house hath been in the possession of his predecessors of that name for some hundreds of years; which name of Grot is frequent in Caithness. Upon the sand by John Grot's house are found many small pleasant buckies and shells, beautified with diverse colours, which some use to put upon a string as beads, and account much of for their rarity. It is also observed of these shells, that not one can be found altogether like another; and upon the review of the parcel I had, I discerned some difference among them, which variety renders them the more beautiful.

In the firth are the isles of Swinna, Stroma, and Pightland-Skerries. From Burwick to the west-north-west lies Swinna, one of the isles of Orkney; a little isle wherein are some inhabitants, who have a good fishing about the isle, but often with great danger, not only because it is in Pightland-firth, where many tides do go, but because of some dangerous wells or whirlpools which are nigh unto it. From Burwick about five or six miles to the south-east lies Pightland-Skerries, dangerous to seamen; these Skerries being in the mouth of the firth to the east, upon which both in ebb and flood there goes a great sea; therein is some good pasture, but not inhabited, save sometimes in the summer season. In the firth also is the isle of Stroma, a little pleasant isle, abounding with corns, about a mile and an half long, and half a mile broad, and though it be in the firth, yet it is not reckoned as one of the isles of Orkney, because of its vicinity to Caithness, from which it is but about two miles distant, and this is the only isle which belongs unto Caithness, and is still under the jurisdiction of the lords of that country.

Besides the isles there are some skerries, as before Burwick; not half a mile from land, there is one seen at an ebb, upon which three years ago was cast away a ship belonging to Aberdeen, and all the men in her, as they say, were lost.

Although the sea in this firth floweth and ebbeth twice in the twenty-four hours, as it doth in other places, yet there is a meeting of many tides here, which running contrary one to another, cause that great rage, and as it were a conflict of waters, which is terrible to behold, and dangerous to engage with: what is the number of these tides cannot well be condescended upon, some say thirteen, others eighteen, and others twenty-four. Blaw, in his Geography, hinteth at this, and the reason thereof, shewing that the sea running among the Orkney Isles, is thereby restrained, and made to go through the isles as so many water-spouts, which meeting in this firth render it so formidable and dangerous. But because of the pertinency and elegancy of the historian upon this head, I shall give his own words: *Fretum hoc navigantibus formidabile, neque nisi statis temporibus, quanquam positis ventis, trajectui opportunum. Causa est cum æstus maris quotidie a septentrionibus incitetur in his locis Orchadas circumfusis iisque interfusus, hic primum objectu terrarum coercetur, unde vis illa immensa aquarum multis canalibus infusas illas permeans, dein reliquo mari in hoc freto effusa, luctantibus etiam maris Vergivii et Orientalis undis formidabiles aquarum vortices cum summo navium periculo creat.* And indeed when we see the many impetuous tides coming out into this firth, from among the isles of Orkney, each bearing that course to which they are determined, by the land and isles they wash and beat upon, we will not judge it strange, that there should be such a meeting of tides in this firth; for, as some express it, "Every craig-lug makes a new tide:" and many craigs and lugs are there here.

Hence it is clear that the tide will run with a greater rapidity and force in some places than in others; as when we pass that part of the firth, where we meet with the



tide in the ebb running off the sides of Pightland Skerries from south-east, down into the Swelchie of Stroma, then the men must ply their oars and work hard, lest they be borne down into the Swelchie, a dangerous place. When also we are three or four miles from Caithness, there is another such rapid current coming from the south of Dungisby-head out of Murray-firth running upon Stroma, both into the Swelchie on the north, and into the Merry-men of May on the south end of the isle. In our passage through this current, for half an hour, we made not, as we could observe, one foot of way, though there were four men tugging at the oars, and no wind blowing; and in all probability we had been carried down upon Stroma, if an able man, a passenger, had not taken an oar, so that then there were three oars upon our starboard side. Hence in some places there is a swift, and in others a soft running tide, which the boatmen being well acquainted with, they will sometimes rest from their hard labour and refresh themselves a little.

In our passage we see the currents before we engage with them, running like the torrents of some great rivers, and in some places we will see the waters smooth, and rough round about; the reason wherefore of I know not, if it be not because of some tides meeting there, and, as it were, for some time quiescent in their centre, something like unto which I have observed in the meeting of several rivers in one place.

In the firth are several places remarkable for their danger, as the wells of Swinna, whereof some are on the east side and others on the west side of the isle, they are like unto whirlpools, turning about with such violence, that if any boat come nigh unto them, they will suck or draw it in, and then turneth it about until it be swallowed up: but these wells are only dangerous in a calm, and seamen or fishers to prevent their danger thereby use, when they come near them to cast in an oar, barrel, or such like thing, on which the wells closing, they safely pass over. The minister of the place told me, that about twenty years ago there were two fisher-boats there, who coming nigh the wells, the men in the one boat seeing their danger, one of these men thus afraid took hold of the other boat by them, and both boats were swallowed up. One of the ministers of Zetland told me, there were three of these boats, it so falling out, that he passed the firth the very day after they perished: yet notwithstanding of these dangers the fishers will not desist from fishing about these wells; for they observe the nearer they come to them, the have the fishes both greater, better, and more numerous, so the fishes draw the men, and the wells draw both.

Near to these Skerries before Burwick formerly mentioned, are also two or three wells, called the Wells of Tiftala, only dangerous in a flood, as the wells of Swinna are in an ebb; these wells, as some do judge, are caused by an hiatus or gap in the earth below: further I would offer this consideration, that whereas all these wells are nigh unto ragged rocks, constantly beat upon by the tides, there may be some secret conveyances of the water into caverns at the bottom of the rock, from which they may pass into some other places, where they rise again, and that even in the same firth, though such places be unknown, as it is storied of many rivers, which fall into and run many miles below the earth, and come out again in other places. But that which I judge to be more simple, is that several tides running upon the rocks, and thence returning and meeting with other tides, cause such a whirl as we see behind mill-wheels, some of the water coming from, and another part as it were appearing to return upon the wheel, which cause such a whirl, and no more doth the whirls in the firth require a hiatus in the earth or a subterraneous passage, than the whirls in the mill's water-courses: as for their swallowing up of boats which are no more seen, this doth not prove it; for these boats may be broken beneath the water upon rocks or the like, and the

broken,



broken timber go to the sea, of which there is enough found cast ashore upon these isles. But many things of this nature are hidden to us, and we can only give our conjectures anent them.

There is also in this firth the Swelchie of Stroma, a very dangerous place at the north end of the isle of Stroma, where there is a meeting of several tides which causeth the water to rage and make a dreadful noise, heard at some distance; as likewise the sea-billows are raised high, and appear white and frothy, very terrible to behold, especially if any storm be lying on, falling unto which all passengers carefully labour to avoid; as a gentleman related to me, that once he was in great danger, the seamen giving themselves over for lost, though three miles from the Swelchie, and that in a dead calm, when within two or three pair of butts to Stroma, and though so near land, they had been carried down into and perished by this Swelchie, as they all laid their account, if the Lord had not speedily caused a northern wind to blow, whereby they got hold of Stroma.

There is another dangerous place at the south end of this isle of Stroma, where is also a great conflict of water, called the Merry-men of Mey, so called from the house of Mey, a gentleman's dwelling in Caithness, opposite to this isle, and called Merry-men because of the leaping and dancing, as it were, of the waters there, though mirth and dancing be far from the minds of the seamen and passengers, who shall be so unhappy as to fall in among them, especially when any sea is going.

Seeing from what hath been said this firth is so very dangerous to pass, no wonder that the mariners and others be very careful to lay hold on the fittest occasion for a safe passage, which they find to be a little before the turning of the tide, when it is beginning to ebb on the shore, but the flood is yet running in the sea, then they use to go off, that so when they are in or nigh unto the middle of the firth, the tide may be upon the turn, which causeth for some time a still and quiet sea, (as to the running of the tides,) and the seamen are not so put to it, in wrestling either against flood or ebb. Buchanan, speaking of these seas and the rapid tides, elegantly expresseth himself: *Dux sunt tempestates quibus hæ angustia sunt superabiles, aut cum æstuum relapsu cessante undarum conflictu, mare tranquillatur, aut ubi pleno alveo æquor ad summum incrementi pervenit, languescente utrinque vi illa, quæ undas concitabat, veluti receptui, canente oceano procellis et vorticeis pelagi commoti molibus se velut in sua castra recipientibus.*

Any wind, they observe, will take them over from Burwick to Caithness, if tided right, and the wind not in south-west, or nigh to that point, and so from Caithness to Burwick if not in the north-east, or nigh to it. But the north-west wind they call the king of the firth, not only, I judge, because it will both take them from Caithness to Orkney, and from Orkney to Caithness, but also because if it blow any thing, it keepeth them up in an ebb from falling into the wells of Swinna, the Swelchie of Stroma, and the Merry-men of Mey. By tiding right also they can come over by the help of oars, though there be no wind: and at any time, though they observe not the tide, they can pass from Orkney to Caithness if it blow a good gale from north-east, and so from Caithness to Orkney if the like blow from south-west. The boatmen who use to pass the firth, from their experience know it best, and can avoid the swell of a sea, when persons of greater skill cannot do it.

At no time is there any anchoring in this firth, for if any through ignorance or otherwise attempt it, within a little time they must either cut their cables, as some have done, and be gone; or else if their anchors or cables break not, they will be ridden under: the experience whereof one of our ships lately had, who casting anchor even in



the mouth of the firth where the tides are not so strong, their anchor within a little time broke, and they behoved to go sea.

In a storm, especially if it blow from south-east, (which, they say, in the firth causeth the greatest sea,) and the tide be running in the wind's eye, the roaring and swelling waves are very terrible, and mount so high, that they could wash, not only the deck, but the sails and topmasts of the biggest ships.

The house of Mey formerly mentioned, is a myth, sign, or mark, much observed by sailors in their passing through this firth between Caithness and Stroma; for they carefully fix their eyes upon the lums, or chimney-heads of this house, which if they lose sight of, then they are too near Caithness, and so ready to run upon sand-banks, but if they get also sight of the house, then they are too near Stroma, and so may split upon the rocks, which lie off the south end of Stroma.

Hence we see, "They who go down to the sea in ships, and do business in the great waters, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the depths; that he is a God glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders; he causeth the wind to blow, and the sea to flow at his pleasure; bounding the impetuous tides with the rocks and sand, saying, Hitherto shall ye come, and no further, and here shall your proud waves be stayed; which though they roar yet shall they not prevail." His goodness and power, putting a restraint upon them; his wisdom and counsel directing their turning and returning for his own glorious ends. Glory to his name!

#### CHAP. XI.—Concerning Caithness, and what we found to be most remarkable there.

MY discourse upon Orkney and Zetland being extended beyond what either was intended or expected, I shall therefore study to be the briefer upon Caithness, as likewise seeing it is supposable, that it may be better known than any of the former, it being upon the same continent with us. What then is to be said thereupon, I shall dispatch and sum up in this one chapter.

Caithness is the northernmost province or shire in Scotland, having Pightland-firth, whereby it is divided from Orkney on the north, the entrance to Murray-firth on the east, Sutherland and Strathnaver on the south, and the Deucaledonian Ocean on the west. It is from that high hill called the Ord of Caithness, toward the south, whereby it is divided from Sutherland, to Dungsby-head, about thirty miles long, and from Thurso on the west side to Wick on the east side of the country twelve miles broad.

As we were much in the dark about the etymology of Orkney and Zetland, so no less are we here in that of Caithness; upon which Blaw, in his Geography, giveth us this *notandum*: "That many names of places are something strange, whose original seem to be neither Scottish, Irish, Danish, or Norwegian; but unknown, uncertain, and most ancient: such as Orbister, Loyibster, Robaster, Trumbuster, and innumerable others, *Cæterum not. multa locorum nomina peregrinum quid sapere, quorum origo neque Scotticum, Hibernicum, Danicum, aut Norvegicum quid referant, sed ignotæ, incertæ, et vetustissimæ originis videntur, qualia sunt Orbister, Loyibster, Robaster, Trumbuster, et innumera alia.*" And seeing such examples of names which are of an unknown original, as are given by the historian, do all end in ster, I would add that most of the names of places in this country do end in ster or star, and go, as between twenty and thirty in ster or star, and about twenty in go, as my informer, who had been for some time in the country, did reckon them. Of old, Sutherland, saith the same geographer, was called Cattey, and its inhabitants Catteigh, and so likewise was Caithness and Strathnaver; and in the Irish, Sutherland,



Sutherland, to this day is called Catey, and its inhabitants Catigh; so that Catteynes is no other than the promontory or cape of the Cattes or Sutherland, which promontory is stretched out from the east, (or rather the north) side, saith the geographer of the mountain of the Ord, *Adeo ut Cattey-ness nihil aliud sit quam promontorium Cattæ seu Sutherlandiæ, quod promontorium a latere Orientali montis ordi prætenditur.* These Cattæi are thought to be a people who arrived thither from Germany. Who would have more of this may consult the above-mentioned author. Buchanan will have it to be called Caithness because of it being mountainous, but I know not if this reason will hold, for the countries adjacent to Sutherland and Stranaver are more mountainous, and there are few high hills or mountains in it, except at the south end thereof, where it borders with Sutherland, but if it should be so called because it is the ness or promontory of the mountains, the land by north these mountains falling lower and running out in a promontory into the sea, I judge it would hold better, and be said with greater reason. Boethius also saith that this country of old was called Cornana, but the reason thereof he giveth not.

The Earls of Caithness were among the ancientest in Scotland, and in former times have been very potent in this corner, as appears by the several old castles and places of strength, which then they were in possession of, but now their memory is almost extinct. The late Earl George dying without issue, the Laird of Glenorchy, now Earl of Breadalbane married the dowager, who having purchased the Earl's estate, the apparent heir judging himself thereby injured, did gather together some of the country people to recover his right, but was defeated by Glenorchy; from the field they went to the bar, and debated the matter there, whereupon the Lords gave forth this sentence, that Glenorchy should enjoy the estate, but the heir should have the honours, and an aliment allowed him by Glenorchy during his life. The heir having died about a year ago, the heiress his sister succeeds to the honours, and is in a very mean condition; living in a place where the former Earls used to keep their hawks. So to this ancient and honourable family of the Earls of Caithness, there is almost put in holy providence a period and close: they who had four great houses in this country like palaces for pleasure and convenience, and castles for strength, now in their heirs enjoy none of them, three are ruinous, and one is possessed by a stranger: as likewise there are several other ruinous houses to be seen here, who have spued out their possessors, so confirming that common observation, "That sin committed by the inhabitants, is as gun-powder laid to the foundations of their houses, which quickly overturneth them, when it pleaseth a righteous God to fire the train."

The late Earls of Caithness were of the name of Sinclair, of which name also are many gentlemen of the country, who have bought considerable parts of the Earl's estate, from the Earl of Breadalbane: before the Sinclairs, the Earls were of the name of Shine, and before them were the Haralds, and before the Haralds were the Olas-as the tradition goeth; concerning which, and the manner of their succession and the interruption made therein, the country talk several things which I shall not trouble my reader with: only I shall observe what is related by Camden a judicious antiquary, "That of old the Earls of Caithness were the same with the Earls of Orkney, but at length were divided, the eldest daughter of one Mulastus being given in marriage to William de S. Claro, vulgo Sinclair, the King's pantler, his posterity had this honour conferred on them, of being Earls of Caithness."

The country is pleasant and very fertile, abounding with grass and corn, hence yearly there is a great quantity of victual exported, as *anno* 1695, there were 16,000 bolls embarked and taken out, for which end it is much frequented by barks from the firth, Clyde,



Clyde, and other places ; for ordinarily when there is no scarcity or dearth, the meal is sold here at three or four or at most five merks per boll. The cattle and fish also are to be had very cheap, as good kine often in the shambles, such as the country doth afford, for three or four shillings sterling, and sometimes they say for two ; so that as I have heard, some of the more intelligent inhabitants observe that here is the cheapest market in the world : and the gentlemen can live better upon 1000 merks, than they can do in the south upon 4000 *per annum*, who may improve their stocks to as great if not a greater advantage, than in any other place in Scotland, for they may save their rents, having within themselves what provision is necessary for their table, and may sell out much store every year, what to the inhabitants in the country for their own use, or for salting and sending abroad, and what to drovers who take them south : and it is observable that if any buy a piece of land, only what is arable is accounted for, as for what serveth for pasture, they use not to take notice of, though upon that consideration they may value their acres at a greater rate. In the way between Thurso and Dunnot, we saw much low ground overblown with sand, for two miles back from the sea, which formerly not many years since was a pleasant meadow.

There are ten parishes in this country, five of which can be served with ministers not having the Irish language, few of the people there speaking it, but the other five cannot be supplied otherwise than by ministers understanding Irish ; in some of these parishes there being very few who have any knowledge of our language, and some of the ministers are obliged to preach both in English and Irish for the edification of all : some of the parishes are very wide and populous, which tends to the increase of ignorance among many, the ministers not being able to overtake their work ; some churches also are ruinous, for when heritors are not friends to the work of God, or cannot agree among themselves, as to the concerting of suitable measures, for putting or keeping things which concern the parish, in order ; it useth to go ill with ministers as to their external accommodation and with churches as to their repair.

The two principal towns in the country are Wick and Thurso. Wick is a royal burgh, on the east side of the country washed by the German Ocean at the mouth of Murray Firth, by the side of which runneth a small river, at the mouth of the river there is a harbour for boats or barks to lye in, which they come into at full sea, but this harbour is not so much frequented, as another about a mile to the north-east of Wick, where they judge the boats do lie safer. Opposite to Wick lies Thurso at twelve miles distance, on the west side of the country, which though it enjoy not the privilege of a royal burgh, yet it is more populous than Wick, and hath better buildings in it ; by the east side of the town runneth a small river called the Water of Thurso : they have the best church in the country, well furnished and kept in good order.

In the water of Thurso there is good salmon fishing, which they take two ways, one is by crues or creels with crossed or barred doors going from the one side of the water to the other, so framed that they suffer the fishes to go in, but not to go out, out of which sometimes they will take several horses burdens of fish. The other way they take them is by a net, wherewith they fish a pool, which lieth a little below the crues, and is about a pair of butts in length : they having spread the net upon the bank, which is long enough to reach the breadth of the water, they go in with it, and one man on each side drawing it down the pool, it is followed with eighteen or twenty men, going in a breast behind it, with long staves or poles in their hands ; wherewith they keep the net to the ground, and loose it when any way entangled ; the pool in some places will rise to the height of the breast of the waders, but there is no danger. So they bring down the net softly and warily to the mouth of an enclosure, which they call a Stem, into which  
the



the fishes are driven, where the fishers standing with this larger net, others take a lesser net and going therewith into the Stem, catch the fishes so enclosed, that scarce one can escape, for up the water they cannot run, because of the larger net, and neither down can they go, because of the Stem, or stones laid together in form of a wall. We saw as we could conjecture at one draught upwards of three hundred good salmon taken, and these who have this fishing told us that three years ago, they took five hundred at a draught, and going through the pool at the same time with the net again, they caught other two hundred, which salmon for the most part they salt in barrels and send abroad. It is also to be observed that the salmon keep this water of Thurso all the year over, and in the winter season in frost and snow if you break the ice, they are to be had. The pool is but about half a mile up the water from Thurso.

There are several waters or rivers in the country as Thurso, Wick, Dumbeth, Rice, Force, and Beradel, but they are all small, and indeed there is no great river all the way from Caithness, till we come to Ness running by Inverness in Murray, over which is a strong bridge lately built consisting of seven arches; which river is remarkable for this that it never freezeth, though the frost be most vehement, yea if then you bring a horse unto the river, the icicles will melt at his feet in the space of time that he is drinking: the river cometh from a loch called Lochness, which also hath the same property, four or five miles to the west of Inverness. This river I make mention of though not in Caithness, it being the first considerable one, having any thing of a strong and regular bridge, which we passed in our return.

There are some trees here, but they are not so big as these which are further south, even in Sutherland, particularly upon the water of Beradel, there is a pleasant strath full of small wood. And there is a garden three or four miles to the south-west of Thurso very pleasant and well furnished with fruit trees, much commended by the inhabitants.

The rocks by the coasts are much frequented by fowls of various kinds, as eagles, hawks, &c. such as in Orkney and Zetland, of which rocks there are long tracts; for whereas in Sutherland, Ross, and Murray, the sea for the most part is bounded with the sand, here it is bounded with the rocks, which it washeth and beateth on, and that almost round Caithness from the Ord to Dungisby-head on the east, and so by Dunnot Head, and Hoburn Head to Stranaver on the west, except a few creeks or bays, several of which are very convenient for anchoring; especially in Scribister Bay, a little to the north-west of Thurso, there is a good anchoring ground, where ships may safely ride without the fear of hazard by wind or tide, the capes of land there making a still sea, and defending the ships, which, as it were, flee into their arms from raging and angry Pightland Firth: there are here also some rocks lying a little off the land, from which they are broken and disjoined, which they call Clets, the same with the holms in Orkney and Zetland; these clets are almost covered with sea-fowls. One way they take these fowls is pleasant, though with great danger; they take a line, upon the end of which they fasten some fish hooks, above the hooks there is also a pock fastened, and so from the top of the rock, they let down the line thus furnished with pock and hooks, striking the heads of the young fowls in their nests with the pock, upon which the fowls do all gape and cry; as if it were their dame coming with meat to them, and so lifting the line they let the hooks fall into their mouths, which taking hold of the fowls, they become their prey.

There are likewise several caves going from the sea within the rocks, in which the waves make a dreadful noise, such caves we had occasion to take notice of in our discourse upon Orkney and Zetland.

Especially



Especially there is a kind of fowls called Snowfleets, which resort to this country in great numbers in February; they are about the bigness of a sparrow, but exceeding fat and delicious; they fly in flocks, thousands of them together, many of which the inhabitants do kill and make use of. They use to go away in April, and are thought to come from the West Highlands. They have also a great plenty of moorfowls, plovers, as much if not more than in any place of Scotland.

The industry of the gentlemen here is to be much commended, for although from Wick to Dumbeth which is twelve miles long, there be no harbour or bay, but a continued tract of ragged, hard and iron-like rocks washed by the sea, yet there are several harbours forced there by art, though denied by nature, and passages in many places like steps of stairs made from the top of the rock to the bottom, where their fish-boats do lie, and by passages do bring their fishes up to the top of the rocks, where they salt and dry them in houses made for the purpose, whereby great gain doth redound to the owners, some making as much by their fishes, as they do by their land-rent.

As in Orkney and Zetland there were several old chapels, which superstitious zealots did frequent, so it is likewise in Caithness; the ministers told me there is one in Dunnot parish, beside which there are about sixty heaps of stones, which the people coming to, take with them a stone and throw it into the heap, bowing themselves also thereunto. Nigh to it likewise there is a loch called St. John's Loch, concerning which there goes a fabulous tradition, that on St. Stephen's Day there was a pleasant meadow in that place, where now the loch is, and on St. John's Day thereafter, it was turned into this loch. There is also another in the parish of Rhæ, to which some take their children if they be in distress, and make two graves at the side of one another laying the child between them, and so they try if the child will recover; but the way how they know, I forbear to mention. But they say there is a chapel in the parish of Konnefbie, the northernmost parish of all this country, opposite to Orkney, which is yet more frequented than any of the former, which some wildly superstitious frequent on some day about Candlemas, going about it on their bare knees, and thence going to a water, they cast some of it in handfuls over their heads, and from the water to an alehouse, where they use to fill themselves drunk; and when going to these, or at them, they can scarce, even though threatened, be prevailed with to speak. To which hellish rites some are so addicted that the ministers judge it next to impossible, to get them weaned and brought therefrom: but the vigilancy and pains of ministers especially of late, hath through the blessing of God not been altogether without success. Which old chapels both here and in Orkney and Zetland, I think the government should cause to be rased, which might prove as the taking away of the nest egg.

The Earls of Caithness, as hinted at before, had several strong and convenient dwellings. One about a short half mile from Thurso, called Thurso by East, now ruinous; it hath been built in the form of a court, and the gates have been decorated with cut stone work, and the gardens, avenues and office houses have been conform to the splendour of the house. An honest country man observing the many great sins that had been committed about that house, is said to have predicted to one of the late Earls its ruin and desolation, saying, "That the cup of sin was filling, and this house would shortly become a den of dragons, (using the scripture phrase) and seeing there are no such creature among us, it shall be of foxes:" and accordingly it was observed that a fox haunted it when ruinous a few years after, which stayed there till about nine or ten years ago, when a part of the house was repaired. This I had from one of the ministers of the country, and another minister told me that before he bore this character, he frequently shot rabbits there, within the walls of the house.

There



There are also other four castles upon one bay, on the east side of the country nigh to Wick, which belonged to these Earls. The bay is called Rice-Bay, and is two or three miles broad; the entry whereof is to the east, but dangerous for ships to come into, because of the many blind rocks that lie therein; upon the south side of the bay next to Wick have been two strong castles, joined to one another by a draw bridge, called Castle Sinclair and Girnego, the former hath been the strongest house, but the latter they ordinarily had their dwelling in; their situation is upon a rock disjoined from the land, environed for the most part with the sea, to which castles from the land they passed also by a bridge which was drawn up every night, whence there was no access to them. I found the year of God upon the lintle of a window in Castle Sinclair to be 1607; which hath been the year wherein this castle was built, or at least repaired. Some account these two castles to be but one, because of their vicinity. They say, there was much sin committed here, as drunkenness, uncleanness, &c. For which a righteous God hath turned them into a ruinous heap. Opposite to Castle Sinclair, and Girnego, on the other side of the bay is Kice another castle, but also ruinous. On the west side of the bay is the castle of Hakergil, a strong house, at present possessed by a gentleman, who hath a great interest in the country, but is not descended of the family of Caithness. There are also the ruins of the old castle of Beradel to be seen, situated on a rock near to the sea, at the mouth of a river of that name, to which also they have passed from the land by a draw-bridge: such naturally strong situations for their houses they sought out of old, that they might be the more secure, and safe from all violence, nature as well as art contributing to their fortification.

About a short half mile to the west of Thurso are the ruins of an old castle, where the bishop in the first times of Popery is said to have had his residence, particularly there was one Adam said to be last bishop who lived in that house, who having greatly oppressed the people by his rigorous exacting of the tithes; the people complained thereof to the Earl, who is said in passion to have answered them, "Go and see the him, and sup him too if you please," whereupon they went to the bishop's lodging and apprehended him, and setting his house on fire, they actually boiled him and supped off the broth: which being known, enquiry was made for the barbarous actors of this tragedy; and being apprehended were put to death, so suffering condign punishment for this horrid villainy. And this Earl is not the only the great person who hath given forth an inconsiderate sentence, upon which barbarous and inhuman actions have ensued. Buchanan writeth this to have been about the year 1222 in the days of Alexander II. King of Scots; and saith only, "That they having killed the monk who attended him and his servant, they wounded himself, and drawing him to the kitchen, they set the house on fire about him." A little to the west of this, is the house of Screbister the residence of the late bishops, where I think their lordships had but a mean accommodation; the revenues of the bishoprick here are among the smallest in Scotland, which they report thus came to pass, one of the bishops at the reformation sold the church's revenues far below their value [some say at thirteen shilling Scots per boll,] to the Earl, knowing that but for a short time he could enjoy the same.

There is a hill in the parish of Wick called Stony-Hill, the reason of which denomination is said to be this; in the days of William King of Scots 1199, as Buchanan hath it, there was one Harald Earl of Orkney and Caithness, who being offended at the bishop, as having insinuated something to the King against him, apprehended the bishop, cutting out his tongue and putting out his eyes, which being represented to the King, he sent his forces into Caithness, and having defeated the Earl in several engagements, the Earl flying was pursued, and being apprehended, his eyes were first put out, and then he



was hanged, and all his male children were emasculated upon this hill, which ever since hath been called Stony-hill.

They told us, there are several high great stones set up through the country and that ordinarily on hills, about which are the rubbish of other stones, which have served for some end there, and probably have been places of Pagan worship, as we observed upon Orkney in the parish of Bower, as we passed, we saw an artificial mount ditched about of a small circumference, it is like for the same purpose. They have likewise the tradition of some Picts houses, which have been here of old, the rubbish whereof is yet to be seen in the parish of Latheran, as a gentleman well acquainted with the country did inform me.

In the parish of Latheran we saw the foundation of a house said to be laid by a bastard son of the Earl of Caithness, but never perfected: it is founded upon a rising ground nigh to the sea, where there is a fair prospect of Murray, where it is reported the gentleman had his mistress, who intended to build it there, that so she might have a view of the house from Murray, and he at the house might see Murray.

Dunnot Head stretching out into Pightland-Firth, is about a mile in breadth, and seven miles in circumference, in it are several lochs, and some good pasture for cattle, but no inhabitants; in it are to be had good mill-stones, and it is thought there is a lead-mine there. In several places in the parish of Dunnot there will no rats live, and if earth be brought out thence to other places molested by them, they will be quickly gone.

The Ord which divideth Caithness from Sutherland, is a high mountain, as the name Ord, which in Irish signifieth an height, doth imply; down which our way from Caithness to Sutherland doth lie, the road is but narrow, and the descent steep, and if any stumble thereupon, they are in hazard of falling down a precipice into the sea at the bottom of the rock, which is very terrible to behold, but who pass it, for the more security use to lead their horses to the foot of the hill, which is about a short mile in length; and no other way there is from Sutherland to Caithness, or from Caithness to Sutherland but this, except we go twelve miles about, but it might be made broader and safer with small expence.

It is observed in Caithness as an infallible sign almost when they see a mist or cloud lying down upon the foot of the hills, that then a drought will follow; but if such a mist or cloud be on top thereof, they thence certainly conclude there will be rain that day.

In the parish of Halkirk there is a loch [as there are several lochs in the country], within which loch are the ruins of an old house built, they say, by robbers, that they might be the more safe and secure from the fears of being apprehended. That which is most observable concerning this house, is, that there is not one foot of more ground, than what is within the circumference of the foundation, and upon which it standeth, hence either the water of the loch hath washed away the prominent rock, if there hath been any through wasting time, or if there was no part of the rock without the circumference of the foundation, it is wonderful to consider, how so nigh to the water the foundation hath been got laid, the water about the house being of a considerable depth, and the extreme parts of the rock upon which the foundation standeth, not to give way and fail under the weight of the building, which those who have seen this house, are surprized at. Upon the loch they have boats which come close to the walls of the house, for the taking of fowls of divers kinds, as maws, herons, &c. several thousands of which do frequent it, having their nests in the ruinous walls.



## A TOUR IN IRELAND;

WITH

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THAT KINGDOM:

MADE IN

THE YEARS 1776, 1777, and 1778,

AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE END OF 1779.

BY ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq. F.R.S.

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JUNE 19, 1776, arrived at Holyhead, after an instructive journey through a part of England and Wales I had not seen before. Found the packet, the *Claremont*, Captain Taylor, would sail very soon. After a tedious passage of twenty-two hours, landed on the twentieth, in the morning, at Dunlary, four miles from Dublin, a city which much exceeded my expectation; the public buildings are magnificent, very many of the streets regularly laid out, and exceedingly well built. The front of the parliament-house is grand, though not so light as a more open finishing of the roof would have made it. The apartments are spacious, elegant, and convenient, much beyond that heap of confusion at Westminster, so inferior to the magnificence to be looked for in the seat of empire. I was so fortunate as to arrive just in time to see Lord Harcourt, with the usual ceremonies, prorogue the parliament. Trinity college is a beautiful building, and a numerous society; the library is a very fine room, and well filled. The new exchange will be another edifice to do honour to Ireland; it is elegant, cost forty thousand pounds, but deserves a better situation. From every thing I saw, I was struck with all those appearances of wealth which the capital of a thriving community may be supposed to exhibit. Happy if I find through the country in diffused prosperity the right source of this splendor! The common computation of inhabitants 200,000, but I should suppose exaggerated: others guessed the number 140 or 150,000.

June 21, introduced by Colonel Burton to the Lord Lieutenant, who was pleased to enter into conversation with me on my intended journey, made many remarks on the agriculture of several Irish counties, and shewed himself to be an excellent farmer, particularly in draining. Viewed the Duke of Leinster's house, which is a very large stone edifice, the front simple but elegant, the pediment light, there are several good rooms; but a circumstance unrivalled is the court, which is spacious and magnificent, the opening behind the house is also beautiful. In the evening to the Rotunda, a circular room, ninety feet diameter, an imitation of Ranelagh, provided with a band of music.

The barracks are a vast building, raised in a plain stile, of many divisions, the principal front is of an immense length: they contain every convenience for ten regiments.

June 23. Lord Charlemont's house in Dublin is equally elegant and convenient, the apartments large, handsome, and well disposed, containing some good pictures, parti-

\* The agricultural details are omitted.



cularly one by Rembrandt, of Judas throwing the money on the floor, with a strong expression of guilt and remorse; the whole group fine. In the same room is a portrait of Cæsar Borgia, by Titian. The library is a most elegant apartment of about forty by thirty, and of such a height as to form a pleasing proportion, the light is well managed, coming in from the cove of the ceiling, and has an exceeding good effect; at one end is a pretty anti-room, with a fine copy of the Venus de Medicis, and at the other two small rooms, one a cabinet of pictures and antiquities, the other medals. In the collection also of Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., in Merion-square, are several pieces which very well deserve a traveller's attention; it was the best I saw in Dublin. Before I quit that city I observe, on the houses in general, that what they call their two-roomed ones are good and convenient. Mr. Latouche's, in Stephen's Green, I was shewn as a model of this sort, and I found it well contrived, and finished elegantly. Drove to Lord Charlemont's villa at Marino, near the city, where his lordship has formed a pleasing lawn, margined in the higher part by a well-planted thriving shrubbery, and on a rising ground a banqueting-room, which ranks very high among the most beautiful edifices I have any where seen; it has much elegance, lightness, and effect, and commands a fine prospect; the rising ground on which it stands slopes off to an agreeable accompaniment of wood, beyond which on one side is Dublin harbour, which here has the appearance of a noble river crowded with ships moving to and from the capital. On the other side is a shore spotted with white buildings, and beyond it the hills of Wicklow, presenting an outline extremely various. The other part of the view (it would be more perfect if the city was planted out) is varied, in some places nothing but wood, in others breaks of prospect. The lawn, which is extensive, is new grass, and appears to be excellently laid down, the herbage a fine crop of white clover (*trifolium repens*), trefoil, rib-grass (*plantago lanceolata*), and other good plants. Returned to Dublin, and made inquiries into other points, the prices of provisions, &c. (for which see the tables at the end of the book). The expences of a family in proportion to those of London are, as five to eight.

Having the year following lived more than two months in Dublin, I am able to speak to a few points, which as a mere traveller I could not have done. The information I before received of the prices of living is correct. Fish and poultry are plentiful and very cheap. Good lodgings almost as dear as they are in London; though we were well accommodated (dirt excepted) for two guineas and an half a week. All the lower ranks in this city have no idea of English cleanliness, either in apartments, persons, or cookery. There is a very good society in Dublin in a parliament winter: a great round of dinners and parties; and balls and suppers every night in the week, some of which are very elegant; but you almost every where meet a company much too numerous for the size of the apartments. They have two assemblies on the plan of those of London, in Fishamble-street, and at the Rotunda; and two gentlemen's clubs, Anthry's and Daly's, very well regulated: I heard some anecdotes of deep play at the latter, though never to the excess common at London. An ill-judged and unsuccessful attempt was made to establish the Italian opera, which existed but with scarcely any life for this one winter; of course they could rise no higher than a comic one. La Buona Figliuola, la Frascatana, and il Gelofo in Cimento, were repeatedly performed, or rather murdered, except the parts of Sestini. The house was generally empty, and miserably cold. So much knowledge of the state of a country is gained by hearing the debates of a parliament, that I often frequented the gallery of the House of Commons. Since Mr. Flood has been silenced with the vice-treasureship of Ireland, Mr. Daly, Mr. Grattan, Sir William Osborn, and the prime serjeant Burgh, are reckoned high among the Irish orators.



orators. I heard many very eloquent speeches, but I cannot say they struck me like the exertion of the abilities of Irishmen in the English House of Commons, owing perhaps to the reflection both on the speaker and auditor, that the attorney-general of England, with a dash of his pen, can reverse, alter, or entirely do away the matured result of all the eloquence, and all the abilities of this whole assembly. Before I conclude with Dublin I shall only remark, that walking in the streets there, from the narrowness and populousness of the principal thoroughfares, as well as from the dirt and wretchedness of the canaille, is a most uneasy and disgusting exercise.

June 24, left Dublin and passed through the Phoenix-park, a very pleasing ground, at the bottom of which, to the left, the Liffey forms a variety of landscapes: this is the most beautiful environ of Dublin. Take the road to Luttrell's-town through a various scenery on the banks of the river. That domain is a considerable one in extent, being above four hundred acres within the wall. Irish measure; in the front of the house is a fine lawn bounded by rich woods, through which are many ridings, four miles in extent. From the road towards the house they lead through a very fine glen, by the side of a stream falling over a rocky bed, through the dark woods, with great variety on the sides of steep slopes, at the bottom of which the Liffey is either heard or seen indistinctly; these woods are of great extent, and so near the capital, form a retirement exceedingly beautiful. Lord Ingham and Colonel Luttrell have brought in the assistance of agriculture to add to the beauties of the place, they have kept a part of the lands in cultivation in order to lay them down the better to grass; one hundred and fifty acres have been done, and above two hundred acres most effectually drained in the covered manner filled with stones. These works are well executed. The drains are also made under the roads in all wet places, with lateral short ones to take off the water instead of leaving it, as is common, to soak against the causeway, which is an excellent method. Great use has been made of lime-stone gravel in the improvements, the effect of which is so considerable, that in several spots where it was laid on ten years ago, the superiority of the grass is now similar to what one would expect from a fresh dunging.

Leaving Luttrell's town I went to St. Wolstan's, which Lord Harcourt had been so obliging as to desire I would make my quarters, from whence to view to the right or left.

June 25, to Mr. Clement's, at Killadoon, who has lately built an excellent house, and planted much about it, with the satisfaction of finding that all his trees thrive well; I remarked the beech and larch seemed to get beyond the rest. He is also a good farmer.

June 26, breakfasted with Colonel Marlay, at Cellbridge, found he had practised husbandry with much success, and given great attention to it from the peace of 1763, which put a period to a gallant scene of service in Germany; walked through his grounds, which I found in general very well cultivated; his fences excellent; his ditches five by six, and seven by six; the banks well made, and planted with quicks; the borders dug away, covered with lime till perfectly slacked, then mixed with dung and carried into the fields; a practice which Mr. Marlay has found of very great benefit.

Viewed Lucan, the seat of Aginondisham Vesey, Esq. on the banks of the Liffey; the house is rebuilding, but the wood on the river, with walks through it, is exceedingly beautiful. The character of the place is that of a sequestered shade. Distant views are every where shut out, and the objects all correspond perfectly with the impression they were designed to raise: it is a walk on the banks of the river, chiefly under a variety of fine wood, which rises on varied slopes, in some parts gentle, in others steep; spreading here and there into cool meadows, on the opposite shore, rich banks of wood or shrubby ground.



ground. The walk is perfectly sequestered, and has that melancholy gloom which should ever dwell in such a place. The river is of a character perfectly suited to the rest of the scenery, in some places breaking over rocks, in other silent, under the thick shade of spreading wood. Leaving Lucan, the next place is Leixlip, a fine one, on the river, with a fall, which in a wet season is considerable. Then St. Wolstan's, belonging to the Dean of Derry, a beautiful villa, which is also on the river; the grounds gay and open, though not without the advantage of much wood, disposed with judgment. A winding shrubbery quits the river, and is made to lead through some dressed ground that is pretty and cheerful.

*Priest house* Mr. Conolly's, at Castle-town, to which all travellers resort, is the finest house in Ireland, and not exceeded by many in England; it is a large handsome edifice, situated in the middle of an extensive lawn, which is quite surrounded with fine plantations disposed to the best advantage: to the north these unite into very large woods, through which many winding walks lead, with the convenience of several ornamented seats, rooms, &c. On the other side of the house, upon the river, is a cottage, with a shrubbery, prettily laid out; the house commands an extensive view, bounded by the Wicklow mountains. It consists of several noble apartments. On the first floor is a beautiful gallery, eighty feet long, elegantly fitted up.

June 27, left Lord Harcourt's, and having received an invitation from the Duke of Leinster, passed through Mr. Conolly's grounds to his Grace's seat at Cartown; the park ranks among the finest in Ireland. It is a vast lawn, which waves over gentle hills, surrounded by plantations of great extent, and which break and divide in places so as to give much variety. A large but gentle vale winds through the whole, in the bottom of which a small stream has been enlarged into a fine river, which throws a cheerfulness through most of the scenes: over it a handsome stone-bridge. There is a great variety on the banks of this vale; part of it consists of mild and gentle slopes, part steep banks of thick wood; in another place they are formed into a large shrubbery, very elegantly laid out, and dressed in the highest order, with a cottage, the scenery about which is uncommonly pleasing: and farther on this vale takes a stronger character, having a rocky bank on one side, and steep slopes scattered irregularly, with wood on the other. On one of the most rising grounds in the park is a tower, from the top of which the whole scenery is beheld; the park spreads on every side in fine sheets of lawn, kept in the highest order by eleven hundred sheep, scattered over with rich plantations, and bounded by a large margin of wood, through which is a riding.

*Cabins* From hence took the road to Summerhill, the seat of the Right Hon. H. L. Rowley: the country is cheerful and rich; and if the Irish cabins continue like what I have hitherto seen, I shall not hesitate to pronounce their inhabitants as well off as most English cottagers. They are built of mud walls eighteen inches or two feet thick, and well thatched, which are far warmer than the thin clay walls in England. Here are few cottars without a cow, and some of them two. A belly full invariably of potatoes, and generally turf for fuel from a bog. It is true they have not always chimneys to their cabins, the door serving for that and window too: if their eyes are not affected with the smoke, it may be an advantage in warmth. Every cottage swarms with poultry, and most of them have pigs.

Went in the evening to Lord Mornington's at Dangan, who is making many improvements, which he shewed me: his plantations are extensive, and he has formed a large water, having five or six islands much varied, and promontories of high land shoot so far into it as to form almost distant lakes; the effect pleasing. There are above a hundred acres under water, and his Lordship has planned a considerable addition to it. Returned to Summerhill.



June 29th, left it, taking the road to Slaine, the country very pleasant all the way; much of it on the banks of the Boyne, variegated with some woods, planted hedge-rows, and gentle hills: the cabbins continue much the same, the same plenty of poultry, pigs, and cows. The cattle in the road have their fore legs all tied together with straw to keep them from breaking into the fields; even sheep, and pigs, and goats are all in the same bondage.

Lord Conyngham's seat, Slaine Castle, on the Boyne, is one of the most beautiful places I have seen; the grounds are very bold and various, rising around the castle in noble hills or beautiful inequalities of surface, with an outline of flourishing plantations. Under the castle flows the Boyne, in a reach broken by islands, with a very fine shore of rock on one side, and wood on the other. Through the lower plantations are ridings, which look upon several beautiful scenes formed by the river, and take in the distant country, exhibiting the noblest views of waving Cultinahills, with the castle finely situated in the midst of the planted domain, through which the Boyne winds its beautiful course.

Under Mr. Lambert's house, on the same river, is a most romantic and beautiful spot; rocks on the side, rising in peculiar forms very boldly; the other steep wood, the river bending short between them like a land-locked basin.

Lord Conyngham's keeping up Slaine Castle, and spending great sums, though he *absentees* rarely resides there, is an instance of magnificence not often met with; while it is so common for absentees to drain the kingdom of every shilling they can, so contrary a conduct ought to be held in the estimation which it justly deserves.

June 30th, rode out to view the country and some improvements in the neighbourhood: the principal of which are those of Lord Chief Baron Foster, which I saw from Glaston hill, in the road from Slaine to Dundalk.

In conversation with Lord Longford I made many inquiries concerning the state of the lower classes, and found that in some respects they were in good circumstances, in others indifferent; they have, generally speaking, such plenty of potatoes as always to command a bellyful; they have flax enough for all their linen, most of them have a cow, and some two, and spin wool enough for their cloaths; all a pig, and numbers of poultry, and in general the complete family of cows, calves, hogs, poultry, and children pig together in the cabin; fuel they have in the utmost plenty; great numbers of families are also supported by the neighbouring lakes, which abound prodigiously with fish: a child with a packthread and a crooked pin will catch perch enough in an hour for the family to live on the whole day, and his Lordship has seen five hundred children fishing at the same time, there being no tenaciousness in the proprietors of the lands about a right to the fish; besides perch, there is pike upwards of five feet long, bream, tench, trout of ten pounds, and as red as salmon, and fine eels; all these are favourable circumstances, and are very conspicuous in the numerous and healthy families among them.

Reverse the medal: they are ill clothed, and make a wretched appearance, and what is worse, are much oppressed by many who make them pay too dear for keeping a cow, horse, &c. They have a practice also of keeping accounts with the labourers, contriving by that means to let the poor wretches have very little cash for their year's work. This is a great oppression, farmers and gentlemen keeping accounts with the poor is a cruel abuse: so many days work for a cabin; so many for a potatoe garden; so many for keeping a horse, and so many for a cow, are clear accounts which a poor man can understand well, but farther it ought never to go; and when he has worked out what he has of this sort, the rest of his work ought punctually to be paid him every Saturday



*Review* day night. Another circumstance mentioned was the excessive practice they have in general of pilfering. They steal every thing they can lay their hands on, and I should remark, that this is an account which has been very generally given me: all sorts of iron hinges, chains, locks, keys, &c.; gates will be cut in pieces, and conveyed away in many places as fast as built; trees as big as a man's body, and that would require ten men to move, gone in a night. Lord Longford has had the new wheels of a car stolen as soon as made. Good stones out of a wall will be taken for a fire-hearth, &c. though a breach is made to get at them. In short, every thing, and even such as are apparently of no use to them; nor is it easy to catch them, for they never carry their stolen goods home, but to some bog-hole. Turnips are stolen by car loads, and two acres of wheat pluckt off in a night. In short, their pilfering and stealing is a perfect nuisance! How far it is owing to the oppression of laws aimed solely at the religion of these people, how far to the conduct of the gentlemen and farmers, and how far to the mischievous disposition of the people themselves, it is impossible for a passing traveller to ascertain. I am apt to believe that a better system of law and management would have good effects. They are much worse treated than the poor in England, are talked to in more opprobrious terms, and otherwise very much oppressed.

Left Packenham-hall.

Two or three miles from Lord Longford's in the way to Mullingar the road leads up a mountain, and commands an exceeding fine view of Loch Derrevaragh, a noble water eight miles long, and from two miles to half a mile over; a vast reach of it, like a magnificent river, opens as you rise the hill. Afterwards I passed under the principal mountain, which rises abruptly from the lake into the boldest outline imaginable; the water there is very beautiful, filling up the steep vale formed by this and the opposite hills.

Reached Mullingar.

It was one of the fair days. I saw many cows and beasts, and more horses, with some wool: the cattle were of the same breed that I had generally seen in coming through the country.

July 5, left Mullingar, which is a dirty ugly town, and taking the road to Tullamore, stopped at Lord Belvidere's, with which place I was as much struck as with any I had ever seen. The house is perched on the crown of a very beautiful little hill, half surrounded with others, variegated and melting into one another. It is one of the most singular places that is any where to be seen; and spreading to the eye a beautiful lawn of undulating ground margined with wood. Single trees are scattered in some places, and clumps in others; the general effect so pleasing, that were there nothing further, the place would be beautiful, but the canvas is admirably filled. Lake Ennel, many miles in length, and two or three broad, flows beneath the windows. It is spotted with islets, a promontory of rock fringed with trees shoots into it, and the whole is bounded by distant hills. Greater and more magnificent scenes are often met with, but no where a more beautiful or a more singular one.

From Mullingar to Tullamore I found rents in general at twenty shillings an acre, with much relet at thirty shillings, yet all the crops except bere were very bad, and full of weeds. About the latter named place the farms are generally from one hundred to three hundred acres; and their course, 1. Fallow. 2. Bere. 3. Oats. 4. Oats. 5. Oats. Great quantities of potatoes all the way, crops from forty to eighty barrels.

The road before it comes to Tullamore leads through a part of the bog of Allen, which seems here extensive, and would make a noble tract of meadow. The way the road was made over it was simply to cut a drain on each side, and then lay on the gravel, which,



which, as fast as it was laid and spread, bore the cars : along the edges is fine white clover.

In conversation upon the subject of a union with Great Britain, I was informed that nothing was so unpopular in Ireland as such an idea ; and that the great objection to it was increasing the number of absentees. When it was in agitation, twenty peers and sixty commoners were talked of to sit in the British parliament, which would be the resident of eighty of the best estates in Ireland. Going every year to England would, by degrees, make them residents ; they would educate their children there, and in time become mere absentees : becoming so they would be unpopular, others would be elected, who, treading in the same steps, would yield the place still to others ; and thus, by degrees, a vast portion of the kingdom now resident would be made absentees ; which would, they think, be so great a drain to Ireland, that a free trade would not repay it.

I think the idea is erroneous, were it only for one circumstance, the kingdom would lose, according to this reasoning, an idle race of country gentlemen, and in exchange their ports would fill with ships and commerce, and all the consequences of commerce ; an exchange that never yet proved disadvantageous to any country.

Viewed Mount Juliet, Lord Carrick's seat, which is beautifully situated on a fine declivity on the banks of the Nore, commanding some extensive plantations that spread over the hills, which rise in a various manner on the other side of the river : a knole of lawn rises among them with artificial ruins upon it, but the situation is not in unison with the idea of a ruin, very rarely placed to effect, unless in retired and melancholy spots.

The river is a very fine one, and has a good accompaniment of well grown wood. From the cottage a more varied scene is viewed, chearing and pleasing ; and from the tent in the farther plantation a yet gayer one, which looks down on several bends of the river.

July 11, left Kilsfaine : Mr. Bushe accompanied me to Woodstock, the seat of Sir W. Fownes. From Thomastown hither is the finest ride I have yet had in Ireland. The road leaving Thomastown leads on the east side of the river, through some beautiful copse woods, which before they were cut must have had a most noble effect, with the river Nore winding at the bottom ; the country then opens somewhat, and you pass most of the way for six or seven miles to Innisfeague, on a declivity shelving down to the river, which takes a varied winding course, sometimes lively, breaking over a rocky bottom, at others still and deep under the gloom of some fine woods, which hang down the sides of steep hills. Narrow slips of meadow of a beautiful verdure in some places form the shore, and unite with cultivated fields that spread over the adjoining hills, reaching almost the mountain tops : these are large and bold, and give in general to the scenes features of great magnificence. Passed Sir John Haller's on the opposite side of the river, finely situated, and Mr. Nicholson's farm on this side, who has very extensive copses which line the river. Coming in sight of Sir W. Fownes's, the scenery is striking, the road mounts the side of the hill, and commands the river at the bottom of the declivity, with groups of trees prettily scattered about, and the little borough of Innisfeague in a most picturesque situation, the whole bounded by mountains. Cross the bridge, and going through the town, take a path that leads to a small building in the woods, called Mount Sandford ; it is at the top of a rocky declivity almost perpendicular, but with brush-wood growing from the rocks. At the bottom is the river, which comes from the right from behind a very bold hanging wood, that seems to unite with the hill on the opposite shore : at this pass the river fills the vale, but it widens by degrees, and presents various reaches, intermixed with little tufts of trees,



the bridge we passed over is half hid. Innisteague is mixed with them, and its buildings backed by a larger wood, give variety to the scene. Opposite to the point of view there are some pretty inclosures, fringed with wood, and a line of cultivated mountain sides, with their bare tops limit the whole.

Taking my leave of Mr. Bushe, I followed the road to Ross. Passed Woodstock, of which there is a very fine view from the top of one of the hills, the house in the centre of a sloping wood of five hundred English acres, and hanging in one noble shade to the river, which flows at the bottom of a winding glen. From the same hill in front it is seen in a winding course for many miles through a great extent of inclosures, bounded by mountains. As I advanced the views of the river Nore were very fine, till I came to Ross, where from the hill before you go down to the ferry is a noble scene of the Barrow, a vast river flowing through bold shores, in some places trees on the bank half obscure it, in others it opens in large reaches, the effect equally grand and beautiful. Ships sailing up to the town, which is built on the side of a hill to the water's edge, enliven the scene not a little. The water is very deep and the navigation secure, so that ships of seven hundred tons may come up to the town; but these noble harbours on the coast of Ireland are only melancholy capabilities of commerce: it is languid and trifling. There are only four or five brigs and sloops that belong to the place.

Having now passed through a considerable extent of country, in which the white boys were common, and committed many outrages, I shall here review the intelligence I received concerning them throughout the county of Kilkenny. I made many inquiries into the origin of those disturbances, and found that no such thing as a leveller or white boy was heard of till 1760, which was long after the landing of Thurot, or the intended expedition of M. Conflans. That no foreign coin was ever seen among them, though reports to the contrary were circulated; and in all the evidence that was taken during ten or twelve years, in which time there appeared a variety of informers, none was ever taken, whose testimony could be relied on, that ever proved any foreign interposition. Those very few who attempted to favour it, were of the most infamous and perjured characters. All the rest whose interest it was to make the discovery, if they had known it, and who concealed nothing else, pretended to no such knowledge. No foreign money appeared, no arms of foreign construction, no presumptive proof whatever of such a connection. They began in Tipperary, and were owing to some inclosures of commons, which they threw down, levelling the ditches, and were first known by the name of levellers. After that, they begun with the tythe-proctors, (who are men that hire tythes of the rectors,) and these proctors either screwed the cottars up to the utmost shilling, or re-let the tythes to such as did it. It was a common practice with them to go in parties about the country, swearing many to be true to them, and forcing them to join by menaces, which they very often carried into execution. At last, they set up to be general redressers of grievances, punished all obnoxious persons who advanced the value of lands, or hired farms over their heads; and, having taken the administration of justice into their hands, were not very exact in the distribution of it. Forced masters to release their apprentices, carried off the daughters of rich farmers, ravished them into marriages, of which four instances happened in a fortnight. They levied sums of money on the middling and lower farmers in order to support their cause, by paying attornies, &c. in defending prosecutions against them; and many of them subsisted for some years without work, supported by these contributions. Sometimes they committed several considerable robberies, breaking into houses and taking the money, under pretence of redressing grievances. In the course of these outrages they



they burnt several houses, and destroyed the whole substance of men obnoxious to them. The barbarities they committed were shocking. One of their usual punishments (and by no means the most severe) was taking people out of their beds, carrying them naked in winter on horse-back for some distance, and burying them up to their chin in a hole filled with briars, not forgetting to cut off their ears. In this manner the evil existed for eight or ten years, during which time the gentlemen of the country took some measures to quell them. Many of the magistrates were active in apprehending them; but the want of evidence prevented punishments for many of those who even suffered by them had no spirit to prosecute. The gentlemen of the country had frequent expeditions to discover them in arms; but their intelligence was so uncommonly good by their influence over the common people, that not one party that ever went out in quest of them was successful. Government offered large rewards for informations, which brought a few every year to the gallows, without any radical cure for the evil. The reason why it was not more effective was the necessity of any person that gave evidence against them quitting their houses and country, or remaining exposed to their resentment. At last their violence arose to a height which brought on their suppression. The popish inhabitants of Ballyragget, six miles from Kilkenny, were the first of the lower people who dared openly to associate against them; they threatened destruction to the town, gave notice that they would attack it, were as good as their word, came two hundred strong, drew up before a house in which were fifteen armed men, and fired in at the windows; the fifteen men handled their arms so well, that in a few rounds they killed forty or fifty. They fled immediately, and ever after left Ballyragget in peace: indeed they have never been resisted at all without shewing a great want of both spirit and discipline. It should however be observed, that they had but very few arms, those in bad order, and no cartridges. Soon after this they attacked the house of Mr. Power in Tipperary, the history of which is well known. His murder spirited up the gentlemen to exert themselves in suppressing the evil, especially in raising subscriptions to give private rewards to whoever would give evidence or information concerning them. The private distribution had much more effect than larger sums which required a public declaration; and government giving rewards to those who resisted them, without having previously promised it, had likewise some effect. Laws were passed for punishing all who assembled, and (what may have a great effect) for recompensing, at the expence of the county or barony, all persons who suffered by their outrages. In consequence of this general exertion, above twenty were capitally convicted, and most of them executed; and the goals of this and the three neighbouring counties, Carlow, Tipperary, and Queen's-county, have many in them whose trials are put off till next assizes, and against whom sufficient evidence for conviction, it is supposed, will appear. Since this all has been quiet, and no outrages have been committed: but before I quit the subject, it is proper to remark that what coincided very much to abate the evil, was the fall in the price of lands, which has taken place lately. This is considerable, and has much lessened the evil of hiring farms over the heads of one another; perhaps also the tythe-proctors have not been quite so severe in their extortions: but this observation is by no means general; for in many places tythes yet continue to be levied, with all those circumstances which originally raised the evil.

July 15th, leaving Courtown, took the Arklow road; passed a finely wooded park of Mr. Rams, and a various country with some good corn in it. Flat lands by the coast let very high, and mountain at six shillings or seven shillings an acre, and some at eight shillings, or ten shillings. Passed to Wicklow, prettily situated on the sea, and



from Newrybridge walked to see Mr. Tye's, which is a neat farm well wooded, with a river running through the fields.

Reached in the evening Mount Kennedy, the seat of General Cunningham, who fortunately proved to me an instructor as assiduous as he is able. He is in the midst of a country almost his own, for he has 10,000 Irish acres here. His domain, and the grounds about it, are very beautiful, not a level can be seen; every spot is tossed about in a variety of hill and dale. In the middle of the lawn is one of the greatest natural curiosities in the kingdom; an immense arbutus tree unfortunately blown down, but yet vegetating, one branch, which parts from the body near the ground, and afterwards into many large branches, is six feet two inches in circumference. The general buried part of the stem as it laid, and it is from several branches throwing out fine young shoots: it is a most venerable remnant. Killarney, the region of the arbutus, boasts of no such tree as this.

July 16th, rode in the morning to Drum; a large extent of mountains and wood, on the General's estate. It is a very noble scenery; a vast rocky glen; one side bare rocks to an immense height, hanging in a thousand whimsical, yet frightful forms, with vast fragments tumbled from them, and lying in romantic confusion; the other a fine mountain side covered with shrubby wood. This wild pass leads to the bottom of an amphitheatre of mountain, which exhibits a very noble scenery. To the right is an immense sweep of mountain completely wooded; taken as a single object it is a most magnificent one, but its forms are picturesque in the highest degree; great projections of hill, with glens behind all wooded, have a noble effect. Every feature of the whole view is great, and unites to form a scene of natural magnificence. From hence a riding is cut through the hanging wood, which rises to a central spot, where the general has cleared away the rubbish from under the wood, and made a beautiful waving lawn with many oaks and hollies scattered about it; here he has built a cottage, a pretty whimsical oval room, from the windows of which are three views, one of distant rich lands opening to the sea, one upon a great mountain, and a third upon a part of the lawn. It is well placed, and forms upon the whole a most agreeable retreat.

July 17th. Took my leave of General Cunningham, and went through the glen of the downs in my way to Powerscourt. The glen is a pass between two vast ridges of mountains covered with wood, which have a very noble effect, the vale is no wider than to admit the road, a small gurgling river almost by its side, and narrow slips of rocky and shrubby ground which parts them: in the front all escape seems denied by an immense conical mountain which rises out of the glen, and seems to fill it up. The scenery is of a most magnificent character. On the top of the ridge to the right Mr. La Touche has a banqueting room. Passing from this sublime scene, the road leads through cheerful grounds all under corn, rising and falling to the eye, and then to a vale of charming verdure broken into inclosures, and bounded by two rocky mountains, distant darker mountains filling up the scene in front: this whole ride is interesting, for within a mile and a half of Tinnyhinch, (the inn to which I was directed,) you come to a delicious view on the right, a small vale opening to the sea, bounded by mountains, whose dark shade forms a perfect contrast to the extreme beauty and lively verdure of the lower scene, consisting of gently swelling lawns rising from each other, with groups of trees between, and the whole so prettily scattered with white farms, as to add every idea of cheerfulness. Kept on towards Powerscourt, which presently came in view from the edge of a declivity. You look full upon the house, which appears to be in the most beautiful situation in the world, on the side of a mountain, half way between its bare top, and an irriguous vale at its foot. In front, and spreading among woods on either side, is a  
lawn



lawn whose surface is beautifully varied in gentle declivities, hanging to a winding river.

Lowering the hill the scenery is yet more agreeable, the near inclosures are margined with trees, through whose open branches are seen whole fields of the most lively verdure. The trees gather into groups, and the lawn swells into gentle inequalities, while the river winding beneath renders the whole truly pleasing.

Breakfasted at the inn at Tinnyhinch, and then drove to the park to see the water-fall. The park itself is fine; you enter it between two vast masses of mountain, covered with wood, forming a vale scattered with trees, through which flows a river on a broken rocky channel: you follow this vale till it is lost in a most uncommon manner, the ridges of mountain closing, form one great amphitheatre of wood, from the top of which, at the height of many hundred feet, bursts the water from a rock, and tumbling down the side of a very large one, forms a scene singularly beautiful. At the bottom is a spot of velvet turf, from which rises a clump of oaks, and through their stems, branches and leaves, the falling water is seen as a back ground, with an effect more picturesque than can be well imagined; these few trees, and this little lawn, give the finishing to the scene. The water falls behind some large fragments of rock, and turns to the left, down a stony channel, under the shade of a wood.

Returning to Tinnyhinch, I went to Inniskerry, and gained by this detour in my return to go to the Dargle, a beautiful view which I should otherwise have lost; the road runs on the edge of a declivity, from whence there is a most pleasing prospect of the river's course through the vale, and the wood of Powerscourt, which here appear in large masses of dark shade, the whole bounded by mountains. Turn to the left into the private road that leads to the Dargle, and presently gives a specimen of what is to be expected by a romantic glen of wood, where the high lands almost lock into each other, and leave scarce a passage for the river at bottom, which rages, as if with difficulty forcing its way. It is topped by a high mountain, and in front you catch a beautiful plat of inclosures bounded by the sea. Enter the Dargle, which is the name of a glen near a mile long. Come presently to one of the finest ranges of wood I have any where seen: it is a narrow glen or vale formed by the sides of two opposite mountains; the whole thickly spread with oak wood, at the bottom (and the depth is immense), it is narrowed to the mere channel of the river, which rather tumbles from rock to rock than runs. The extent of wood that hangs to the eye in every direction is great, the depth of the precipice on which you stand immense, which with the roar of the water at bottom forms a scene truly interesting. In less than a quarter of a mile, the road passing through the wood leads to another point of view to the right. It is the crown of a vast projecting rock, from which you look down a precipice absolutely perpendicular, and many hundred feet deep upon the torrent at the bottom, which finds its noisy way over large fragments of rock. The point of view is a great projection of the mountain on this side, answered by a concave of the opposite, so that you command the glen both to the right and left: it exhibits on both, immense sheets of forest, which have a most magnificent appearance. Beyond the wood, to the right, are some inclosures hanging on the side of a hill, crowned by a mountain. I knew not how to leave so interesting a spot, the impressions raised by it are strong. The solemnity of such an extent of wood unbroken by any intervening objects, and the whole hanging over declivities is alone great; but to this the addition of a constant roar of falling water, either quite hid, or so far below as to be seen but obscurely united to make those impressions stronger. No contradictory emotions are raised; no ill judged temples appear to enliven a scene that is gloomy rather than gay. Falling or moving water is a lively object; but this being  
obscure



obscure the noise operates differently. Following the road a little further, there is another bold rocky projection from which also there is a double view to the right and left. In front so immense a sweep of hanging wood, that a nobler scene can hardly be imagined: the river as before, at the bottom of the precipice, which is so steep and the depth so great, as to be quite fearful to look down. This horrid precipice, the pointed bleak mountains in view, with the roar of the water, all conspire to raise one great emotion of the sublime. You advance scarcely twenty yards before a pretty scene opens to the left, a distant landscape of inclosures, with a river winding between the hills to the sea. Passing to the right, fresh scenes of wood appear; half way to the bottom, one different from the preceding is seen; you are almost inclosed in wood, and look to the right through some low oaks on the opposite bank of wood, with an edging of trees through which the sky is seen, which added to an uncommon elegance in the out-line of the hill, has a most pleasing effect. Winding down to a thatched bench on a rocky point, you look upon an uncommon scene. Immediately beneath is a vast chasm in the rock, which seems torn asunder, to let the torrent through that comes tumbling over a rocky bed far sunk into a channel embosomed in wood. Above is a range of gloomy obscure woods, which half over-shadow it, and rising to a vast height, exclude every object. To the left the water rolls away over broken rocks: a scene truly romantic. Followed the path: it led me to the water's edge, at the bottom of the glen, where is a new scene, in which not a single circumstance hurts the principal character. In a hollow formed of rock and wood (every object excluded but those and water) the torrent breaks forth from fragments of rock, and tumbles through the chasm, rocks bulging over it, as if ready to fall into the channel, and stop the impetuous water. The shade is so thick as to exclude the heavens, all is retired and gloomy, a brown horror breathing over the whole. It is a spot for melancholy to muse in.

*Dargle* Return to the carriage, and quit the Dargle, which upon the whole is a very singular place, different from all I have seen in England, and I think preferable to most. Cross a murmuring stream clear as chrystal, and rising a hill, look back on a pleasing landscape of inclosures, which waving over hills, end in mountains of a very noble character. Reach Dublin.

July 20. To Drogheda, a well built town, active in trade, the Boyne bringing ships to it. It was market day, and I found the quantity of corn, &c. and the number of people assembled very great; few country markets in England more thronged. The Rev. Mr. Nesbit, to whom recommended, absent, which was a great loss to me, as I had several enquiries which remained unsatisfied.

To the field of battle on the Boyne. The view of the scene from a rising ground which looks down upon it is exceedingly beautiful, being one of the completest landscapes I have seen. It is a vale, losing itself in front between bold declivities, above which are some thick woods, and distant country. Through the vale the river winds and forms an island, the point of which is tufted with trees in the prettiest manner imaginable; on the other side a rich scenery of wood, among which is Doctor Norris's house. To the right on a rising ground on the banks of the river is the obelisk, backed by a very bold declivity; pursued the road till near it, quitted my chaise, and walked to the foot of it. It is founded on a rock which rises boldly from the river. It is a noble pillar and admirably placed. I seated myself on the opposite rock, and indulged the emotions which with a melancholy not unpleasing filled my bosom, while I reflected on the consequences that had sprung from the victory here obtained. Liberty was then triumphant. May the virtues of our posterity secure that prize which the bravery of  
their



their ancestors won ! Peace to the memory of the Prince to whom, whatever might be his failings we owed that day memorable in the annals of Europe !

Returned part of the way, and took the road to Cullen, where the Lord Chief Baron Forster received me in the most obliging manner, and gave me a variety of information uncommonly valuable. He has made the greatest improvements I have any where met with. The whole country twenty-two years ago was a waste sheep walk, covered chiefly with heath, with some dwarf furze and fern. The cabins and people as miserable as can be conceived ; not a protestant in the country, nor a road passable for a carriage. In a word, perfectly resembling other mountainous tracts, and the whole yielding a rent of not more than from three shillings to four shillings an acre. Mr. Forster could not bear so barren a property, and determined to attempt the improvement of an estate of five thousand acres till then deemed irreclaimable. He encouraged the tenants by every species of persuasion and expence, but they had so ill an opinion of the land that he was forced to begin with two or three thousand acres in his own hands ; he did not, however, turn out the people, but kept them in to see the effects of his operations.

To Dundalk, the view down on this town also very beautiful, swelling hills of a fine verdure, with many rich inclosures backed by a bold outline of mountain that is remarkable. Laid at the Clanbrassil Arms, and found it a very good inn. The place, like most of the Irish towns I have been in, full of new buildings, with every mark of increasing wealth and prosperity. A cambrick manufacture was established here by parliament, but failed ; it was, however, the origin of that more to the north.

July 22. Left Dundalk, took the road through Ravensdale to Mr. Fortescue, to whom I had a letter, but unfortunately he was in the South of Ireland. Here I saw many good stone and slate houses, and some bleach greens ; and I was much pleased to see the inclosures creeping high up the sides of the mountains stoney as they are. Mr. Fortescue's situation is very romantic on the side of a mountain, with fine wood hanging on every side, with the lawn beautifully scattered with trees spreading into them, and a pretty river winding through the vale, beautiful in itself, but trebly so on information, that before he fixed there, it was all a wild waste. Rents in Ravensdale ten shillings, mountain land two shillings and six-pence to five shillings. Also large tracts rented by villages, the cottars dividing it among themselves, and making the mountain common for their cattle.

Breakfasted at Newry, the globe, another good inn. This town appears exceedingly flourishing, and is very well built ; yet forty years ago, I was told that there were nothing but mud cabins in it : this great rise has been much owing to the canal to Loch-Neagh. I crossed it twice, it is indeed a noble work. I was amazed to see ships of one hundred and fifty tons and more lying in it, like barges in an English canal. Here is a considerable trade.

Reached Ardmagh in the evening, and waited on the primate.

July 23. His Grace rode out with me to Ardmagh, and shewed me some of the noble and spirited works by which he has perfectly changed the face of the neighbourhood. The buildings he has erected in seven years, one would suppose without previous information, to be the work of an active life. A list of them will justify this observation.

He has erected a very elegant palace, ninety feet by sixty, and forty high, in which an unadorned simplicity reigns. It is light and pleasing, without the addition of wings or lesser parts, which too frequently wanting a sufficient uniformity with the body of the edifice, are unconnected with it in effect, and divide the attention. Large and ample offices are conveniently placed behind a plantation at a small distance : around the  
palace



palace is a large lawn, which spreads on every side over the hills, and skirted by young plantations, in one of which is a terrace, which commands a most beautiful view of cultivated hill and dale. The view from the palace is much improved by the barracks, the school, and a new church at a distance, all which are so placed as to be exceedingly ornamental to the whole country.

The barracks were erected under his Grace's directions, and form a large and handsome edifice. The school is a building of considerable extent, and admirably adapted for the purpose: a more convenient or a better contrived one, is no where to be seen. There are apartments for a master, a school-room fifty-six feet by twenty eight, a large dining room, and spacious airy dormitories, with every other necessary, and a spacious play-ground walled in; the whole forming a handsome front: and attention being paid to the residence of the master (the salary is four hundred pounds a year), the school flourishes, and must prove one of the greatest advantages to the country of any thing that could have been established. This edifice entirely at the primate's expence. The church is erected of white stone, and having a tall spire makes a very agreeable object, in a country where churches and spires do not abound, at least such as are worth looking at. Three other churches the primate has also built, and done considerable reparations to the cathedral.

He has been the means also of erecting a public infirmary, which was built by subscription, contributing amply to it himself.

A public library he has erected at his own expence, given a large collection of books, and endowed it. The room is excellently adapted, forty-five feet by twenty-five, and twenty high with a gallery, and apartments for a librarian.

He has further ornamented the city with a market-house and shambles, and been the direct means, by giving leases upon that condition, of almost new building the whole place. He found it a nest of mud cabins, and he will leave it a well built city of stone and slate. I heard it asserted in common conversation, that his Grace, in these noble undertakings, had not expended less than thirty thousand pounds besides what he had been the means of doing, though not directly at his own expence.

In the evening reached Mr. Brownlow's at Lurgan, to whom I am indebted for some valuable information. This gentleman has made very great improvements in his domain: he has a lake at the bottom of a slight vale, and around are three walks, at a distance from each other; the center one is the principal, and extends two miles. It is well conducted for leading to the most agreeable parts of the grounds, and for commanding views of Loch Neagh, and the distant country; there are several buildings, a temple, green-house, &c. The most beautiful scene is from a bench on a gently swelling hill, which rises almost on every side from the water. The wood, the water, and the green slopes; here unite to form a very pleasing landscape. Let me observe one thing much to his honour; he advances his tenants money for all the lime they chuse, and takes payment in eight years with rent.

Upon enquiring concerning the emigrations, I found that in 1772 and 1773, they were at the height; that some went from this neighbourhood with property, but not many. They were in general poor and unemployed. They find here, that when provisions are very cheap, the poor spend much of their time in whisky-houses. All the drapers wish that oatmeal was never under one penny a pound. Though farms are exceedingly divided, yet few of the people raise oatmeal enough to feed themselves; all go to market for some. The weavers earn by coarse linens one shilling a day, by fine one shilling and four-pence, and it is the same with the spinners, the finer the yarn the more they earn; but in common a woman earns about three-pence. For coarse linens they



they do not reckon the flax hurt by standing for seed. Their own flax is much better than the imported.

This country is in general beautiful, but particularly so about the streights that lead into Strangford Loch. From Mr. Savage's door the view has great variety. To the left are tracts of hilly grounds, between which the sea appears, and the vast chain of mountains in the Isle of Man distinctly seen. In front the hills rise in a beautiful outline, and a round hill projects like a promontory into the streight, and under it the town amidst groups of trees; the scene is chearful of itself, but rendered doubly so by the ships and herring-boats sailing in and out. To the right the view is crowned by the mountains of Mourne, which, wherever seen, are of a character peculiarly bold, and even terrific. The shores of the loch behind Mr. Savage's are bold ground, abounding with numerous pleasing landscapes; the opposite coast, consisting of the woods and improvements of Castle-Ward, is a fine scenery.

Called at Lord Bangor's at Castle Ward, to deliver a letter of recommendation, but unfortunately he was on a sailing party to England; walked through the woods, &c. The house was built by the present Lord. It is a very handsome edifice with two principal fronts, but not of the same architecture, for the one is Gothic, and the other Grecian. From the temple is a fine wooded scene; you look down on a glen of wood, with a winding hill quite covered with it, and which breaks the view of a large bay: over it appears the peninsula of Strangford, which consists of inclosures and wood. To the right, the bay is bounded by a fine grove, which projects into it. A ship at anchor added much. The house well situated above several rising woods, the whole scene a fine one. I remarked in Lord Bangor's domains, a fine field of turnips, but unhoed. There were some cabbages also.

Belfast is a very well built town of brick, they having no stone quarry in the neighbourhood. The streets are broad and strait, and the inhabitants, amounting to about fifteen thousand, make it appear lively and busy. The public buildings are not numerous or very striking, but over the exchange Lord Donnegal is building an assembly room, sixty feet long, by thirty broad, and twenty-four high; a very elegant room. A card room adjoining, thirty by twenty-two, and twenty-two high; a tea room of the same size. His lordship is also building a new church, which is one of the lightest and most pleasing I have any where seen: it is seventy-four by fifty-four, and thirty high to the cornice; the isles separated by a double row of columns; nothing can be lighter or more pleasing. The town belongs entirely to his lordship. Rent of it 2000l. a year. His estate extends from Drumbridge, near Lisburne to Larne, twenty miles in a right line, and is ten broad. His royalties are great, containing the whole of Loch Neagh, which is I suppose the greatest of any subject in Europe. His eel fishery at Tome, and Port-New, on the river Ban, lets for 500l. a year; and all the fisheries are his to the leap at Colrairie. The estate is supposed to be 31,000l. a year, the greatest at present in Ireland. Innishoen in Donnegal is his, and is 11,000l. of it. In Antrim, Lord Antrim's is the most extensive property, being four baronies, and one hundred and seventy-three thousand acres. The rent 8000l. a year, but re-let for 64,000l. a year, by tenants that have perpetuities, perhaps the cruelest instance in the world of carelessness for the interests of posterity. The present Lord's father granted those leases.

I was informed that Mr. Isaac, near Belfast, had four acres, Irish measure, of strong clay land not broken up for many years, which being amply manured with lime rubbish and sea shells, and fallowed, was sown with wheat, and yield 87l. 9s. at 9s. to 12s. per cwt. Also that Mr. Whitley, of Ballinderry, near Lisburne, a tenant of Lord Hertford's has rarely any wheat that does not yield him eighteen pounds an acre. The tillage of the neighbourhood for ten miles round is doubled in a few years. Shall export



one thousand tons of corn this year from Belfast, most of it to the West Indies, particularly oats.

August 1, to Arthur Buntin's, Esq. near Belfast; the soil a stiff clay; lets at old rents 10s., new one 18s., the town parks of that place 30s. to 70s., ten miles round it 10s. to 20s., average 13s. A great deal of flax sown, every countryman having a little, always on potatoe land, and one ploughing: they usually sow each family a bushel of feed. Those who have no land pay the farmers 20s. rent for the land a bushel of feed, fows, and always on potatoe land. They plant many more potatoes than they eat, to supply the market at Belfast; manure for them with all their dung, and some of them mix dung, earth, and lime, and this is found to do better. There is much alabaster near the town, which is used for stucco plaister; sells from 1l. 1s. to 25s. a ton.

In my way to Antrim, viewed the bleach-green of Mr. Thomas Sinclair; it is the completest I had seen here. I understood that the bleaching season lasted nine months, and that watering on the grafs was quite left off. Mr. Sinclair himself was not at home, or I should probably have gained some intelligence that might have been useful.

Crossed the mountains by the new road to Antrim, and found them to the summits to consist of exceeding good loam, and such as would improve into good meadow. It is all thrown to the little adjoining farms, with very little or any rent paid for it. They make no other use of it than turning their cows on. Pity they do not improve; a work more profitable than any they could undertake. All the way to Antrim lands let at an average at 8s. The linen manufacture spreads over the whole country, consequently the farms are very small, being nothing but patches for the convenience of weavers.

From Antrim to Shanes Castle the road runs at the end of Loch Neagh, commanding a noble view of it; of such an extent that the eye can see no land over it. It appears like a perfect sea, and the shore is broken sand-banks, which look so much like it, that one can hardly believe the water to be fresh. Upon my arrival at the castle, I was most agreeably saluted with four men hoeing a field of turnips round it, as a preparation for grafs. These were the first turnip-hoers I have seen in Ireland, and I was more pleased than if I had seen four emperors.

The castle is beautifully situated on the lake, the windows commanding a very noble view of it; and this has the finer effect, as the woods are considerable, and form a fine accompaniment to this noble inland sea.

Rode from Mr. Lesly's to view the Giant's Causeway. It is certainly a very great curiosity, as an object for speculation upon the manner of its formation; whether it owes its origin to fire, and is a species of lava, or to crystalization, or to whatever cause, is a point that has employed the attention of men much more able to decide upon it than I am; and has been so often treated, that nothing I could say could be new. When two bits of these basaltic stones are rubbed together quick, they emit a considerable scent like burnt leather. The scenery of the Causeway, nor of the adjacent mountains, is very magnificent, though the cliffs are bold; but for a considerable distance there is a strong disposition in the rocks to run into pentagonal cylinders, and even at bridge, by Mr. Lesly's, is a rock in which the same disposition is plainly visible. I believe the Causeway would have struck me more if I had not seen the prints of Staffa.

Returned to Lesly-hill; and August 5th departed for Coleraine. There the Right Hon. Mr. Jackson assisted me with the greatest politeness in procuring the intelligence I wished about the salmon-fishery, which is the greatest in the kingdom, and viewed both fisheries above and below the town, very pleasantly situated on the river Ban. The salmon spawn in all the rivers that run into the Ban about the beginning of August, and as soon as they have done swim to the sea, where they stay till January, when they begin



to return to the fresh water, and continue doing it till August, in which voyage they are taken; the nets are set in the middle of January, but by act of parliament no nets nor weirs can be kept down after the 12th of August. All the fisheries on the river Ban let at 6000l. a year. From the sea to the rock above Coleraine, where the weirs are built, belongs to the London companies; the greatest part of the rest to Lord Donnegal. The eel fisheries let at 1000l. a year, and the salmon fisheries at Coleraine 1000l. *Sal* The eels make periodical voyages, as the salmon, but instead of spawning in the fresh water, they go to the sea to spawn, and the young fry return against the stream; to enable them to do which with greater ease at the leap, straw ropes are hung in the water for them; when they return to sea they are taken: many of them weigh nine or ten pounds. The young salmon are called *grawls*, and grow at a rate which I should suppose scarce any fish commonly known equals; for within the year some of them will come to sixteen and eighteen pounds, but in general ten or twelve pounds: such as escape the first year's fishery are salmon; and at two years old will generally weigh twenty to twenty-five pounds. This year's fishery has proved the greatest that ever was known, and they had the largest haul, taking 1452 salmon at one drag of one net. *Salmon* In the year 1758 they had 882, which was the next greatest haul. I had the pleasure of seeing 370 drawn in at once. They have this year taken four hundred tons of fish; two hundred sold fresh at a penny and three-halfpence a pound, and two hundred salted, at 18l. and 20l. per ton, which are sent to London, Spain, and Italy. The fishery employs eighty men, and the expences in general calculated to equal the rent.

The linen manufacture is very general about Coleraine, coarse ten hundred linen. It is carried to Dublin in cars, one hundred and ten miles, at 5s. per cwt. in summer, and 7s. 6d. in winter.

From Limmavaddy to Derry there is very little uncultivated land. Within four miles of the latter, rents are from 12s. to 20s.; mountains paid for but in the gross. Reached Derry at night, and waited two hours in the dark before the ferry-boat came over for me.

August 7, in the morning, went to the bishop's palace to leave my letters of recommendation; for I was informed of my misfortune in his being out of the kingdom. He was upon a voyage to Staffa, and had sent home some of the stones of which it consists; they appeared perfectly to resemble in shape, colour, and smell, those of the Giant's Causeway. *And*

August 8, left Derry, and took the road by Raphoe to the Rev. Mr. Golding's, at Clonleigh, who favoured me with much valuable information. The view of Derry, at the distance of a mile or two, is the most picturesque of any place I have seen; it seems to be built on an island of bold land rising from the river, which spreads into a fine basin at the foot of the town; the adjacent country hilly; the scene wants nothing but wood to make it a perfect landscape.

August 11, left Mount Charles, and passing through Donnegal, took the road to Ballyshannon; came presently to several beautiful landscapes, swelling hills, cultivated, with the bay flowing up among them: they want nothing but more wood, and are beautiful without it. Afterwards likewise to the left they rise in various outlines, and die away insensibly into one another. When the road leads to a full view of the bay of Donnegal, these smiling spots, above which the proud mountains rear their heads, are numerous, the hillocks of almost regular circular forms; they are very pleasing, from form, verdure, and the water breaking in their vales.

Before I got to Ballyshannon, remarked a bleach-green, which indicates weaving in the neighbourhood. Viewed the salmon-leap at Ballyshannon, which is let for 400l.



a year. The scenery of it is very beautiful; it is a fine fall, and the coast of the river very bold, consisting of perpendicular rocks, with grass of a beautiful verdure to the very edge: it projects in little promontories, which grow longer as they approach the sea, and open to give a fine view of the ocean. Before the fall in the middle of the river is a rocky island, on which is a curing house, instead of the turret of a ruined castle, for which it seems formed. The town prettily situated on the rising ground on each side of the river. — To Sir James Caldwell's; crossing the bridge, stopped for a view of the river, which is a very fine one, and was delighted to see the salmon jump, to me an unusual sight: the water was perfectly alive with them. Rising the hill, look back on the town; the situation beautiful; the river presents a noble view. Come to Belleek, a little village, with one of the finest water-falls I remember any where to have seen; viewed it from the bridge. The river in a very broad sheet comes from behind some wood, and breaks over a bed of rocks, not perpendicular, but shelving in various directions, and foams away under the arches; after which it grows more silent, and gives a beautiful bend under a rock, crowned by a fine bank of wood. Reached Castle Caldwell at night, where Sir James Caldwell received me with a politeness and cordiality that will make me long remember it with pleasure.

August 15, to Belleisle, the charming seat of the Earl of Ross. It is an island in Loch Erne, of two hundred Irish acres, every part of it hill, dale, and gentle declivities: it has a great deal of wood, much of which is old, and forms both deep shades and open cheerful groves. The trees hang on the slopes, and consequently shew themselves to the best advantage. All this is exceedingly pretty, but it is rendered trebly so by the situation: a reach of the lake passes before the house, which is situated near the banks among some fine woods, which give both beauty and shelter. This sheet of water, which is three miles over, is bounded in front by an island of thick wood, and by a bold circular hill, which is his lordship's deer park; this hill is backed by a considerable mountain. To the right are four or five fine clumps of dark wood; so many islands which rise boldly from the lake, the water breaks in straits between them, and forms a scene extremely picturesque. On the other side the lake stretches behind wood, in a streight which forms Belleisle. Lord Ross has made walks round the island, from which there is a considerable variety of prospect. A temple is built on a gentle hill, commanding the view of the wooded islands above-mentioned; but the most pleasing prospect of them is coming out from the grotto: they appear in an uncommon beauty; two seem to join, and the water which flows between takes the appearance of a fine bay, projecting deep into a dark wood: nothing can be more beautiful. The park hill rises above them, and the whole is backed with mountains. The home scene at your feet also is pretty; a lawn scattered with trees that forms the margin of the lake, closing gradually in a thick wood of tall trees, above the tops of which is a distant view of Cultiagh mountain, which is there seen in its proudest solemnity.

They plough all with horses three or four in a plough, and all abreast. Here let it be remarked, that they very commonly plough and harrow with their horses drawing by the tail: it is done every season. Nothing can put them beside this; and they insist that take a horse tired in traces, and put him to work by the tail, he will draw better: quite fresh again. Indignant reader! this is no jest of mine, but cruel, stubborn, barbarous truth. It is so all over Cavan.

At Clonells, near Castle-rea, lives O'Conner, the direct descendant of Roderick O'Connor, who was King of Connaught six or seven hundred years ago; there is a monument of him in Roscommon church, with his sceptre, &c. I was told as a certainty, that this family were here long before the coming of the Milesians. The pos-

sessions,



possessions, formerly so great, are reduced to three or four hundred pounds a year, the family having fared in the revolutions of so many ages, much worse than the O'Neil's and O'Brien's. The common people pay him the greatest respect, and send him presents of cattle, &c. upon various occasions. They consider him as the prince of a people involved in one common ruin.

Another great family in Connaught is Macdermot, who calls himself Prince of Coolavin; he lives at Coolavin, in Sligo, and though he has not above one hundred pounds a year, will not admit his children to sit down in his presence. This was certainly the case with his father, and some assured me even with the present chief. Lord Kingsborough, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. O'Hara, Mr. Sandford, &c. came to see him, and his address was curious: "O'Hara! you are welcome; Sandford, I am glad to see your mother's son (his mother was an O'Brien): as to the rest of ye, come in as ye can." Mr. O'Hara, of Nymphsfield, is in possession of a considerable estate in Sligo, which is the remains of great possessions they had in that country: he is one of the few descendants of the Milesian race.

To Lord Kingston's, to whom I had a letter, but unfortunately for me he was at Spaw. Walked down to Longford Hill, to view the lake; it is one of the most delicious scenes I ever beheld, a lake of five miles by four, which fills the bottom of a gentle valley almost of a circular form, bounded very boldly by the mountains. Those to the left rise in a noble slope; they lower rather in front, and let in a view of Strand mountain, near Sligo, above twenty miles off. To the right, you look over a small part of a bog to a large extent of cultivated hill, with the blue mountains beyond. Were this little piece of bog planted, the view would be more complete; the hill on which you stand has a foliage of well-grown trees, which form the southern shore. You look down on six islands, all wooded, and on a fine promontory to the left, which shoots far into the lake. Nothing can be more pleasing than their uncommon variety; the first is small, (Rock island) tufted with trees, under the shade of which is an ancient building, once the residence of Macdermot. The next a mixture of lawn and wood; the third, which appears to join this, is of a darker shade, yet not so thick but you can see the bright lawn under the trees. House island is one fine thick wood, which admits not a gleam of light, a contrast to the silver bosom of the lake. Church island is at a greater distance; this is also a clump, and rises boldly. Rook island is of wood; it opens in the centre, and shews a lawn with a building on it. It is impossible to imagine a more pleasing and cheerful scene. Passed the chapel to Smithfield Hill, which is a fine rising ground, quite surrounded with plantations; from hence the view is changed; here the promontory appears very bold, and over its neck you see another wooded island, in a most picturesque situation. Nothing can be more picturesque than Rock island, its ruin overhung with ivy. The other islands assume fresh and varied outlines, and form upon the whole one of the most luxuriant scenes I have met with.

The views of the lake and environs are very fine as you go to Boyle; the woods unite into a large mass, and contrast the bright sheet of water with their dark shades.

The lands about Kingston are very fine, a rich, dry, yellow, sandy loam, the finest soil that I have seen in Ireland, all grass, and covered with very fine bullocks, cows, and sheep. The farms rise to five hundred acres, and are generally in divisions, parted by stone walls, for oxen, cows, young cattle, and sheep separate. Some of the lands will carry an ox and a wether per acre; rents 15s. to 20s.

Dined at Boyle, and took the road to Ballymoat; crossed an immense mountainy bog, where I stopped and made enquiries; found that it was ten miles long, and three and a half over, containing thirty-five square miles; that lime-stone quarries were around.



and in it, and lime-stone gravel in many places to be found, and used in the lands that join it: in addition to this I may add, that there is a great road crossing it; thirty-five miles are twenty-two thousand four hundred acres. What an immense field of improvement! nothing would be easier than to drain it, vast tracts of land have such a fall, that not a drop of water could remain. These hilly bogs are extremely different from any I have seen in England. In the moors in the north, the hills and mountains are all covered with heath, like the Irish bogs, but they are of various soils, gravel, shingle, moor, &c., and boggy only in spots; but the Irish bog hills are all pure bog to a great depth, without the least variation of soil; and the bog being of a hilly form, is a proof that it is a growing vegetable mass, and not owing merely to stagnant water. Sir Laurence Dundas is the principal proprietor of this.

Reached Ballymoat in the evening, the residence of the Hon. Mr. Fitzmaurice, where I expected great pleasure in viewing a manufactory, of which I heard much since I came to Ireland. He was so kind as to give me the following account of it, in the most liberal manner:

“ Twenty years ago the late Lord Shelburne came to Ballymoat, a wild uncultivated region, without industry or civility, and the people all Roman Catholics, without an atom of a manufactory, not even spinning. In order to change this state of things, his Lordship contracted with people in the north to bring protestant weavers, and establish a manufactory, as the only means of making the change he wished; this was done, but falling into the hands of rascals, he lost 5000*l.* by the business, with only seventeen protestant families, and twenty-six or twenty-seven looms established for it. Upon his death, Lady Shelburne wished to carry his scheme into execution, and to do it, gave much encouragement to Mr. Wakefield, the great Irish factor in London, by granting advantageous leases, under the contract of building and colonizing, by weavers from the north, and carrying on the manufactory. He found about twenty looms, working upon their own account, and made a considerable progress in this for five years, raising several buildings, cottages for the weavers, and was going on as well as the variety of his business would admit, employing sixty looms. He then died, when a stand was made to all the works for a year, in which every thing went much to ruin. Lady Shelburne then employed a new manager to carry on the manufactory upon his own account, giving him very profitable grants of lands, to encourage him to do it with spirit. He continued for five years, employing sixty looms also; but his circumstances failing, a fresh stop was put to the work.

“ Then it was that Mr. Fitzmaurice, in the year 1774, determined to exert himself in pushing on a manufactory, which promised to be of such essential service to the whole country. To do this with effect, he saw that it was necessary to take it entirely into his own hands. He could lend money to the manager to enable him to go on, but that would be at best hazardous, and could never do it in the complete manner in which he wished to establish it. In this period of consideration, Mr. Fitzmaurice was advised by his friends never to engage in so complex a business as a manufactory, in which he must of necessity become a merchant; also engage in all the hazard, irksomeness, &c. of commerce, so totally different from his birth, education, ideas, and pursuits; but tired with the inactivity of common life, he determined not only to turn manufacturer, but to carry on the business in the most spirited and vigorous manner that was possible. In the first place, he took every means of making himself a complete master of the business; he went through various manufactures, enquired into the minutiae, and took every measure to know it to the bottom. This he did so repeatedly, and with such attention in the whole progress, from spinning to bleaching, and selling, that he became



as thorough a master of it as an experienced manager; he has wove linen, and done every part of the business with his own hands. As he determined to have the works complete, he took Mr. Stansfield the engineer, so well known for his improved saw-mills, into his pay; he sent him over to Ballymoat, in the winter of 1774, in order to erect the machinery of a bleach-mill, upon the very best construction; he went to all the great mills in the north of Ireland to inspect them, to remark their deficiencies, that they might be improved in the mills he intended to erect. This knowledge being gained, the work was begun, and as water was necessary, a great basin was formed by a dam across a valley, by which means thirty-four acres were floated, to serve as a reservoir for dry seasons to secure plenty at all times."

August 30, rode to Roshill, four miles off, a headland that projects into the bay of Newport, from which there is a most beautiful view of the bay on both sides; I counted thirty islands very distinctly, all of them cultivated under corn and potatoes, or pastured by cattle. At a distance Clara rises in a very bold and picturesque style; on the left Crow Patrick, and to the right other mountains. It is a view that wants nothing but wood.

September 5, to Drumoland, the seat of Sir Lucius O'Brien, in the county of Clare, a gentleman who had been repeatedly assiduous to procure me every sort of information. I should remark, as I have now left Galway, that that county, from entering it in the road to Tuam till leaving it to-day, has been, upon the whole, inferior to most of the parts I have travelled in Ireland in point of beauty: there are not mountains of a magnitude to make the view striking. It is perfectly free from woods, and even trees, except about gentlemen's houses, nor has it a variety in its face. I do not, however, speak without exception; I passed some tracts which are cheerful. Drumoland has a pleasing variety of grounds about the house; it stands on a hill gently rising from a lake of twenty-four acres, in the middle of a noble wood of oak, ash, poplar, &c. three beautiful hills rise above, over which the plantations spread in a varied manner; and these hills command very fine views of the great rivers Bergus and Shannon at their junction, being each of them a league wide.

There is a view of the Shannon from Limerick to Foynes Island, which is thirty miles, with all its bays, bends, islands, and fertile shores. It is from one to three miles broad, a most noble river, deserving regal navies for its ornament, or, what are better, fleets of merchantmen, the cheerful signs of far extended commerce, instead of a few miserable fishing-boats, the only canvasses that swelled upon the scene: but the want of commerce in her ports is the misfortune not the fault of Ireland: Thanks for the deficiency to that illiberal spirit of trading jealousy, which has at times actuated and disgraced so many nations. The prospect has a noble outline in the bold mountains of Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry. The whole view magnificent.

At the foot of this hill is the castle of Bunratty, a very large edifice, the seat of the O'Briens, princes of Thomond; it stands on the bank of a river, which falls into the Shannon near it. About this castle and that of Rosinagh, the land is the best in the county of Clare; it is worth 11. 13s. an acre, and fats a bullock per acre in summer, besides winter feed.

To Limerick, through a cheerful country, on the banks of the river, in a vale surrounded by distant mountains. That city is very finely situated, partly on an island formed by the Shannon. The new part, called Newtown Pery, from Mr. Pery the speaker, who owns a considerable part of the city, and represents it in parliament, is well built. The houses are new ones, of brick, large and in right lines. There is a communication with the rest of the town by a handsome bridge of three large arches,  
erected.



erected at Mr. Pery's expence. Here are docks, quays, and a custom-house, which is a good building, faces the river, and on the opposite banks is a large quadrangular one, the house of industry. This part of Limerick is very chearful and agreeable, and carries all the marks of a flourishing place.

The exports of this port are beef, pork, butter, hides, and rape-seed. The imports are rum, sugar, timber, tobacco, wines, coals, bark, salt, &c. The customs and excise, about sixteen years ago, amounted to 16,000*l.*, at present 32,000*l.* and rather more four or five years ago.

Whole revenue	-	1751	—	£ 16,000
		1775	—	51000

*Revenue of the Port of Limerick, Year ending*

March 25,	1759	-	-	£ 20,494
	1760	-	-	29,197
	1761	-	-	20,727
	1762	-	-	20,650
	1763	-	-	20,525
	1764	-	-	32,635
	1765	-	-	31,099

*Com. Jour. vol. xiv. p. 71.*

*Price of Provisions.*

Wheat, 1 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> a stone.	Teal, 1 <i>od.</i> a couple.
Barley and oats, 5½ <i>d.</i> to 6 <i>d.</i>	Plover, 6 <i>d.</i> a couple.
Scotch coals, 18 <i>s.</i> , Whitehaven, 20 <i>s.</i>	Widgeon, 1 <i>od.</i> ditto.
A boat load of turf, 20 tons, 45 <i>s.</i>	Hares, 1 <i>s.</i> each, commonly fold all the year round.
Salmon, three halfpence.	Woodcocks, 2 <i>od.</i> to 2 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> a brace.
Trout, 2 <i>d.</i> very fine, per lb.	Oysters, 4 <i>d.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> a 100.
Eels, 2 <i>d.</i> a pound.	Lobsters, 1 <i>s.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> , if good.
Rabbits, 8 <i>d.</i> a couple.	
Wild ducks, 2 <i>od.</i> to 2 <i>s.</i> a couple.	

Land sells at twenty years' purchase. Rents were at the highest in 1765, fell since, but in four years have fallen 8*s.* to 1*os.* an acre about Limerick. They are at a stand at present, owing to the high price of provisions from pasture. The number of people in Limerick are computed at thirty-two thousand; it is exceedingly populous for the size, the chief street quite crowded; many sedan chairs in town, and some hackney chaises. Assemblies the year round, in a new assembly-house built for the purpose, and plays and concerts common.

Upon the whole, Limerick must be a very gay place, but when the usual number of troops are in town much more so. To shew the general expences of living I was told, of a person's keeping a carriage, four horses, three men, three maids, a good table, a wife, three children, and a nurse, and all for 500*l.* a year:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
A footman	-	-	-	4	4	0	to 6 6 0
A professed woman-cook	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 6 0
A house maid	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 0 0
A kitchen-maid	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 0 0
A butler	-	-	-	10	0	0	to 12 0 0
							A barrel



A barrel of beef or pork, 200lb. weight. Vessels of 400 tons can come up with spring tides, which rise fourteen feet.

September 9, to Castle Oliver; various country, not so rich to appearance as the corcaffes, being fed bare: much hilly sheep-walk, and for a considerable way a full third of it potatoes and corn: no sign of depopulation. Just before I got to the hills a field of ragwort (*senecio jacobæa*) buried the cows. The first hill of Castle Oliver interesting. After rising a mountain so high that no one could think of any house, you come in view of a vale, quite filled with fine woods, fields margined with trees, and hedge plantations climbing up the mountains. Having engaged myself to Mr. Oliver, to return from Killarney by his house, as he was confined to Limerick by the affizes, I shall omit saying any thing of it at present.

September 16, to Cove by water, from Mr. Trent's quay. The view of Lota is charming; a fine rising lawn from the water, with noble spreading woods reaching on each side; the house a very pleasing front, with lawn shooting into the woods. The river forms a creek between two hills, one Lota, the other opening to another hill of inclosures well wooded. As the boat leaves the shore nothing can be finer than the view behind us; the back woods of Lota, the house and lawn, and the high bold inclosures towards Cork, form the finest shore imaginable, leading to Cork, the city appearing in full view, Dunkettle wooded inclosures, a fine sweep of hill, joining Mr. Hoare's at Factory-hill, whose woods have a beautiful effect. Dunkettle-house almost lost in a wood. As we advance, the woods of Lota and Dunkettle unite in one fine mass. The sheet of water, the rising lawns, the house in the most beautiful situation imaginable, with more woods above it than lawns below it, the west shore of Loch Mahon, a very fine rising hill cut into inclosures, but without wood, land-locked on every side with high lands, scattered with inclosures, woods, seats, &c. with every cheerful circumstance of lively commerce, has altogether a great effect. Advancing to Passage the shores are various, and the scenery enlivened by fourscore sail of large ships; the little port of Passage at the water's edge, with the hills rising boldly above it. The channel narrows between the great island and the hills of Passage. The shores bold, and the ships scattered about them, with the inclosures hanging behind the masts and yards, picturesque. Passing the streights a new basin of the harbour opens, surrounded with high lands. Monk's-town-castle on the hill to the right, and the grounds of Ballybricken, a beautiful intermixed scene of wood and lawn. The high shore of the harbour's mouth opens gradually. The whole scene is land-locked. The first view of Hawl-bowling-island and Spike-island, high rocky lands, with the channel opening to Cove, where are a fleet of ships at anchor, and Rostellan, Lord Inchiquin's house, backed with hills, a scenery that wants nothing but the accompaniment of wood. The view of Ballybricken changes; it now appears to be unfortunately cut into right lines. Arrived at the ship at Cove, in the evening returned, leaving Mr. Jefferys and family on board for a voyage to Havre, in their way to Paris.

Dunkettle is one of the most beautiful places I have seen in Ireland. It is a hill of some hundred acres broken into a great variety of ground by gentle declivities, with every where an undulating outline, and the whole varied by a considerable quantity of wood, which in some places is thick enough to take the appearance of close groves, in others spreads into scattered thickets and a variety of single groups. This hill, or rather cluster of hills, is surrounded on one side by a reach of Cork harbour, over which it looks in the most advantageous manner; and on the other by an irriguous vale, through which flows the river Glanmire; the opposite shore of that river has every variety that can unite to form pleasing landscapes for the views from Dunkettle grounds; in some



places narrow glens, the bottoms of which are quite filled with water, and the steep banks covered with thick woods that spread a deep shade; in others the vale opens to form the site of a pretty cheerful village, overhung by hill and wood: here the shore rises gradually into large inclosures, which spread over the hills, stretching beyond each other; and there the vale melts again into a milder variety of fields. A hill thus situated, and consisting in itself of so much variety of surface, must necessarily command many pleasing views; to enjoy these to the better advantage, Mr. Trent (than whom no one has a better taste, both to discover and describe the beauties of natural scenes,) is making a walk around the whole, which is to bend to the inequalities of the ground, so as to take the principal points in view. The whole is so beautiful, that if I was to make the regular detour, the description might be too minute; but there are some points which gave me so much pleasure that I know not how to avoid recommending to others that travel this way to taste the same satisfaction: from the upper part of the orchard you look down a part of the river, where it opens into a regular basin, one corner stretching up to Cork, lost behind the hill of Lota, the lawn of which breaks on the swelling hills among the woods; the house obscured, and therefore seeming a part of your home scene; the losing the river behind the beautiful projection of Lota, is more pleasing than can be expressed. The other reach, leading to the harbour's mouth, is half hidden by the trees, which margin the foot of the hill on which you stand; in front a noble range of cultivated hills, the inclosures broken by slight spots of wood, and prettily varied with houses, without being so crowded as to take off the rural effect. The scene is not only beautiful in those common circumstances which form a landscape, but is alive with the cheerfulness of ships and boats perpetually moving. Upon the whole, it is one of the most luxuriant prospects I have any where seen. Leaving the orchard, pass on the brow of a hill which forms the bank of the river of Glanmire, commanding the opposite woods of Lota in all their beauty. Rise to the top of the high hill which joins the deer-park, and exhibits a scene equally extensive and beautiful; you look down on a vale which winds almost around at your feet, finishing to the left in Cork river, which here takes the appearance of a lake, bounded by wood and hills, and sunk in the bottom of a vale, in a style which painting cannot imitate; the opposite hills of Lota, wood, and lawn, seem formed as objects for this point of view: at your feet a hill rises out of the vale, with higher ones around it, the margins scattered wood; to the right towards Riverstown, a vale; the whole backed by cultivated hills to Kallahan's field. Milder scenes follow: a bird's-eye view of a small vale sunk at your feet, through which the river flows; a bridge of several arches unites two parts of a beautiful village, the meadow grounds of which rise gently, a varied surface of wood and lawn, to the hills of Riverstown, the whole surrounded by delicious sweeps of cultivated hills. To the left, a wooded glen rising from the vale to the horizon, the scenery sequestered, but pleasing; the oak wood which hangs on the deer-park hill, an addition. Down to the brow of the hill, where it hangs over the river, a picturesque interesting spot. The inclosures of the opposite bank hang beautifully to the eye, and the wooded glen winds up the hill. Returning to the house I was conducted to the hill, where the grounds slope off to the river of Cork, which opens to view in noble reaches of a magnitude that fills the eye and the imagination: a whole country of a character truly magnificent, and behind the winding vale which leads between a series of hills to Glanmire.



*Pictures at Dunkettle.*

A St. Michael, &c. the subject confused, by Michael Angelo. A St. Francis on wood, a large original of Guido. A St. Cecilia, original of Romanelli. An assumption of the Virgin, by L. Carracci. A quaker's meeting, of above fifty figures, by Egbert Hemskerk. A sea view and rock piece, by Vernet. A small flagellation, by Sebastian del Piombo. A Madonna and Child, small, by Reubens. The crucifixion, many figures in miniature, excellent, though the master is unknown. An excellent copy of the famous Danae of Titian, at Monte Cavallo, near Naples, by Cioffi of Naples. Another of the Venus of Titian, at the Tribuna in Florence. Another of Venus blinding Cupid, by Titian, at the Palazzo Borghese in Rome. Another of great merit of the Madonna Della Sedia of Raphael, at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, by Stirn, a German, lately at Rome. Another of an holy-family, from Raphael, of which there are said to be three originals, one at the king's palace in Naples, one in the palais royal in Paris, and the third in the collection of Lord Exeter, lately purchased at Rome. A portrait of Sir Patrick Trent, by Sir P. Lely. An excellent portrait of a person unknown, by Dahl.

September 17, to Castlemartyr, the seat of the Earl of Shannon, one of the most distinguished improvers in Ireland; in whom I found the most earnest desire to give me every species of information, with a knowledge and ability which enabled him to do it most effectually. Passed through Middleton, a well-built place, which belongs to the noble Lord to whom it gives title. Castlemartyr is an old house, but much added to by the present Earl; he has built, besides other rooms, a dining one thirty-two feet long by twenty-two broad, and a drawing one, the best rooms I have seen in Ireland, a double cube of twenty-five feet, being fifty long, twenty-five broad, and twenty-five high. The grounds about the house are very well laid out; much wood well grown, considerable lawns, a river made to wind through them in a beautiful manner, an old castle so perfectly covered with ivy as to be a picturesque object. A winding walk leads for a considerable distance along the banks of this river, and presents several pleasing landscapes.

From Rostellan to Lota, the seat of Frederick Rogers, Esq. I had before seen it in the highest perfection from the water going from Dunkettle to Cove, and from the grounds of Dunkettle. Mrs. Rogers was so obliging as to shew me the back grounds, which are admirably wooded, and of a fine varied surface.

Got to Corke in the evening, and waited on the Dean, who received me with the most flattering attention. Corke is one of the most populous places I have ever been in; it was market-day, and I could scarce drive through the streets, they were so amazingly thronged: on the other days the number is very great. I should suppose it must resemble a Dutch town, for there are many canals in the streets, with quays before the houses. The best built part is Morrison's Island, which promises well; the old part of the town is very close and dirty. As to its commerce, the following particulars I owe to Robert Gordon, Esq. the surveyor-general:

*Average of nineteen Years' Export, ending March 24, 1773.*

Hides, at 1l. each	-	-	-	-	-	-	£ 64,000
Bay and woollen yarn	.	.	.	.	.	.	294,000
							<hr/>
						Carry forward	£ 358,000
							Butter,



	Brought over	£ 358,000
Butter, at 30s. per cwt. from 56s. to 72s.	-	180,000
Beef, at 20s. a barrel	-	291,970
Camblets, ferges, &c.	-	40,000
Candles	-	34,220
Soap	-	20,000
Tallow	-	20,000
Herrings, 18 to 35,000l. all their own	-	21,000
Glue, 20 to 25,000	-	22,000
Pork	-	64,000
Wool to England	-	14,000
Small exports, Gottenburgh herrings, horns, hoofs, &c. feather-beds, palliasses, feathers, &c.	-	35,000
		<hr/>
		£ 1,100,190

Average prices of the nineteen years on the custom books. All exports on those books are rated at the value of the reign of Charles II.; but the imports have always 10 per cent on the sworn price added to them. Seventy to eighty sail of ships belong to Corke. Average of ships that entered that port in those nineteen years, eight hundred and seventy two per annum. The number of people at Corke mustered by the clergy by hearth-money, and by the number of houses, payments to minister, average of the three, sixty-seven thousand souls, if taken before the 1st of September, after that twenty thousand increased. There are seven hundred coopers in the town. Barrels all of oak or beech, all from America: the latter for herrings, now from Gottenburgh and Norway. The excise of Corke now no more than in Charles the Second's reign. Ridiculous!

Cork old duties, in 1751, produced	£ 62,000
Now the same	140,000

Bullocks, 16,000 head, 32,000 barrels; 41,000, hogs; 20,000 barrels. Butter, 22,000 firkins of half a hundred weight each, both increase this year, the whole being

240,000 firkins of butter,  
120,000 barrels beef.

Export of woollen yarn from Corke, 300,000l. a year in the Irish market. No wool smuggled, or at least very little. The wool comes to Corke, &c. and is delivered out to combers, who make it into balls. These balls are bought up by the French agents at a vast price, and exported; but even this does not amount to 40,000l. a year.

#### Prices.

Beef, 21s. per cwt., never so high by 2s. 6d.; Pork, 30s., never higher than 18s. 6d. owing to the army demand. Slaughter dung, 8d. for a horse-load. Country labourer, 6d., about town, 10d. Milk, seven pints a penny. Coals, 3s. 8d. to 5s. a barrel, six of which make a ton. Eggs, four a penny.

Corke labourers. Cellar ones, twenty thousand; have 1s. 1d. a day, and as much bread, beef, and beer as they can eat and drink, and seven pounds of offals a week for



for their families. Rent for their house, 40s. Mason and carpenters' labourers 10d. a day. Sailors now 3l. a month and provisions: before the American war 28s. Porters and coal-heavers paid by the great. State of the poor people in general incomparably better off than they were twenty years ago. There are imported eighteen thousand barrels annually of Scotch herrings, at 18s. a barrel. The salt for the beef trade comes from Lisbon, St. Ube's, &c. The salt for the fish trade from Rochelle: for butter English and Irish.

Particulars of the woollen fabricks of the county of Cork received from a manufacturer. The woollen trade, ferges and camplets, ratteens, frizes, druggets, and narrow cloths, the last they make to 10s. and 12s. a yard; if they might export to 8s. they are very clear that they could get a great trade for the woollen manufactures of Corke; the wool comes from Galway and Roscommon, combed here by combers, who earn 8s. to 10s. a week, into balls of twenty-four ounces, which is spun into worsteds of twelve skains to the ball, and exported to Yarmouth for Norwich; the export price, 30l. a pack, to 33l. never before so high; average of them 26l. to 30l. Some they work up at home into ferges, stuffs, and camplets; the ferges at 12d. a yard, thirty-four inches wide; the stuffs sixteen inches, at 18d., the camplets at 9½d. to 13d.; the spinners at 9d. a ball, one in a week; or a ball and half 12d. a week, and attend the family besides; this is done most in Waterford and Kerry, particularly near Killarney; the weavers earn 1s. a day on an average. Full three-fourths of the wool is exported in yarn, and only one-fourth worth worked up. Half the wool of Ireland is combed in the county of Corke.

A very great manufacture of ratteens at Carric-on-sure, the bay worsted is for ferges, shalloons, &c. Woollen yarn for coarse cloths, which latter have been lost for some years, owing to the high price of wool. The bay export has declined since 1770, which declension is owing to the high price of wool.

No wool smuggled, not even from Kerry, not a sloop's cargo in twenty years, the price too high; the declension has been considerable. For every eighty-six packs that are exported, a licence from the Lord Lieutenant, for which 20l. is paid:

From the act of the last sessions of Great Britain for exporting woollen goods for the troops in the pay of Ireland, Mr. Abraham Lane, of Corke, established a new manufacture of army cloathing for that purpose, which is the first at Corke, and pays 40l. a week in labour only. Upon the whole there has been no increase of woollen manufacture within twenty years. Is clearly of opinion that many fabricks might be worked up here much cheaper than in France, of cloths that the French have beat the English out of; these are, particularly, broad-cloths of one yard and half-yard wide, from 3s. to 6s. 6d. a yard for the Levant trade. Frizes which are now supplied from Carcassone in Languedoc. Frizes, of twenty-four to twenty-seven inches, at 10d. to 13d. a yard. Flannels, twenty-seven to thirty-six, from 7d. to 14d. Serges of twenty-seven to thirty-six inches, at 7d. to 12d. a yard; these would work up the coarse wool. At Ballynasloe fair, in July, 200,000l. a year bought in wool. There is a manufactory of knit-socking by the common women about Cork, for eight or ten miles around; the yarn from 12d. to 18d. a pair, and the worsted, from 16d. to 20d. and earn from 12d. to 18d. a week. Besides their own consumption, great quantities are sent to the north of Ireland.

All the weavers in the country are confined to towns, have no land, but small gardens. Bandle or narrow linen, for home consumption, is made in the western part of the county. Generally speaking, the circumstances of all the manufacturing poor are better than they were twenty years ago. The manufactures have not declined, though the



the exportation has, owing to the increased home consumptions. Bandon was once the seat of the stuff, camblet, and shag manufacture, but has in seven years declined above three-fourths. Have changed it for the manufacture of coarse green linens, for the London market, from 6d. to 9d. a yard, twenty-seven inches wide; but the number of manufactures in general much lessened.

Rode to the mouth of Cork harbour; the grounds about it are all fine, bold, and varied, but so bare of trees, that there is not a single view but what pains one in the want of wood. Rents of the tract south of the river Caragoline, from 5s. to 30s. average, 10s. Not one man in five has a cow, but generally from one to four acres, upon which they have potatoes, and five or six sheep, which they milk, and spin their wool. Labour 5d. in winter, 6d. in summer; many of them for three months in the year live on potatoes and water, the rest of it they have a good deal of fish. But it is remarked, at Kinsale, that when sprats are most plentiful, diseases are most common. Rent for a mere cabin 10s. Much paring and burning; paring twenty-eight men a day, sow wheat on it and then potatoes; get great crops. The soil a sharp stoney land; no lime-stone south of the above river. Manure for potatoes, with sea weed for 26s., which gives good crops, but lasts only one year. Sea sand much used, no shells in it. Farms rise to two or three hundred acres, but are hired in partnership.

Before I quit the environs of Cork, I must remark, that the country on the harbour, I think preferable, in many respects for a residence, to any thing I have seen in Ireland. First, it is the most southerly part of the kingdom. Second, there are very great beauties of prospect. Third, by much the most animated, busy scene of shipping in all Ireland, and consequently, fourth, a ready price for every product. Fifth, great plenty of excellent fish and wild fowl. Sixth, the neighbourhood of a great city for objects of convenience.

September 25. Took the road to Nedeen, through the wildest region of mountains that I remember to have seen; it is a dreary, but an interesting road. The various horrid, grotesque, and unusual forms in which the mountains rise, and the rocks bulge; the immense height of some distant heads, which rear above all the nearer scenes, the torrents roaring in the vales, and breaking down the mountain sides, with here and there a wretched cabin, and a spot of culture yielding surprise to find human beings the inhabitants of such a scene of wildness, altogether keep the traveller's mind in an agitation and suspense. These rocks and mountains are many of them no otherwise improveable than by planting, for which, however, they are exceedingly well adapted.

Sir John Colthurst was so obliging as to send half a dozen labourers with me, to help my chaise up a mountain side, of which he gave a formidable account: in truth it deserved it. The road leads directly against a mountain ridge, and those who made it were so incredibly stupid, that they kept the strait line up the hill, instead of turning aside to the right, to wind around a projection of it. The path of the road is worn by torrents into a channel, which is blocked up in places by huge fragments, so that it would be a horrid road on a level; but on a hill so steep, that the best path would be difficult to ascend, it may be supposed terrible: the labourers, two passing strangers, and my servant, could with difficulty get the chaise up. It is much to be regretted that the direction of the road is not changed, as all the rest from Cork to Nedeen is good enough. For a few miles towards the latter place the country is flat on the river Kenmare, much of it good, and under grass or corn. Passed Mr. Orpine's at Ardtilly, and another of the same name at Killowen.

Nedeen is a little town, very well situated, on the noble river Kenmare, where ships of one hundred and fifty tons may come up: there are but three or four good houses.



Lord Shelburne, to whom the place belongs, has built one for his agent. There is a vale of good land, which is here from a mile and a half to a mile broad; and to the north and south, great ridges of mountains said to be full of mines.

At Nedeen, Lord Shelburne had taken care to have me well informed by his people in that country, - which belongs for the greatest part to himself, he has above one hundred and fifty thousand Irish acres in Kerry; the greatest part of the barony of Glanrought belongs to him, most of Dunkerron and Ivragh. The country is all a region of mountains, inclosed by a vale of flat land on the river; the mountains to the south come to the water's edge, with but few variations, the principal of which is Ardee, a farm of Lord Shelburne's: to the north of the river, the flat land is one-half to three quarters of a mile broad. The mountains to the south reach to Bear-haven, and those to the north to Dingle-bay; the soil is extremely various; to the south of the river all are sand stones, and the hills loam, stone, gravel, and bog. To the north there is a slip of lime-stone land, from Kilgarvon to Cabbina-cush, that is six miles east of Nedeen, and three to the west, but is not more than a quarter of a mile broad, the rest including the mountains all sand stone. As to its rents, it is very difficult to tell what they are; for land is let by the plough land and gineve, twelve gineves to the plough land; but the latter denomination is not of any particular quantity: for no two plough lands are the same. The size of farms is various, from forty acres to one thousand, less quantities go with cabins, and some farms are taken by labourers in partnership.

Soon entered the wildest and most romantic country I had any where seen; a region of steep rocks and mountains, which continued for nine or ten miles, till I came in view of Mucrafs. There is something magnificently wild in this stupendous scenery, formed to impress the mind with a certain species of terror. All this tract has a rude and savage air, but parts of it are strikingly interesting; the mountains are bare and rocky, and of a great magnitude; the vales are rocky glens, where a mountain-stream tumbles along the roughest bed imaginable, and receives many torrents, pouring from clefts, half overhung with shrubby wood; some of these streams are seen, and the roar of others heard, but hid by vast masses of rock. Immense fragments, torn from the precipices by storms and torrents, are tumbled in the wildest confusion, and seem to hang rather than rest upon projecting precipices. Upon some of these fragments of rock, perfectly detached from the soil, except by the side on which they lie, are beds of black turf, with luxuriant crops of heath, &c. which appeared very curious to me, having no where seen the like; and I observed very high in the mountains, much higher than any cultivation is at present, on the right hand, flat and cleared spaces of good grass among the ridges of rock, which had probably been cultivated, and proved that these mountains were not incapable from climate of being applied to useful purposes.

From one of these heights, I looked forward to the lake of Killarney at a considerable distance, and backward to the river Kenmare; came in view of a small part of the upper lake, spotted with several islands, and surrounded by the most tremendous mountains that can be imagined, of an aspect savage and dreadful. From this scene of wild magnificence, I broke at once upon all the glories of Killarney; from an elevated point of view I looked down on a considerable part of the lake, which gave me a specimen of what I might expect. The water you command (which, however, is only a part of the lake) appears a basin of two or three miles round; to the left it is inclosed by the mountains you have passed particularly by the Turk, whose outline is uncommonly noble, and joins a range of others, that form the most magnificent shore in the world: on the other side is a rising scenery of cultivated hills, and Lord Kenmare's park and woods; the end of the lake at your feet is formed by the root of Mangerton,



on whose side the road leads. From hence I looked down on a pretty range of inclosures on the lake, and the woods and lawns of Mucrufs, forming a large promontory of thick wood, shooting far into the lake. The most active fancy can sketch nothing in addition. Islands of wood beyond seem to join it, and reaches of the lake, breaking partly between, give the most lively intermixture of water: six or seven isles and islets form an accompaniment, some are rocky; but with a slight vegetation, others contain groups of trees, and the whole thrown into forms, which would furnish new ideas to a painter. Farther is a chain of wooded islands, which also appear to join the mainland, with an offspring of lesser ones scattered around.

Arrived at Mr. Herbert's at Mucrufs, to whose friendly attention I owed my succeeding pleasure. There have been so many descriptions of Killarney written by gentlemen who have resided some time there, and seen it at every season, that for a passing traveller to attempt the like, would be in vain; for this reason I shall give the mere journal of the remarks I made on the spot, in the order I viewed the lake.

September 27, walked into Mr. Herbert's beautiful grounds, to Oroch's hill, in the lawn that he has cleared from that profusion of stones which lie under the wall; the scene which this point commands is truly delicious; the house is on the edge of the lawn, by a wood which covers the whole peninsula, fringes the slope at your feet, and forms a beautiful shore to the lake. Tomis and Glengara are vast mountainous masses of incredible magnificence, the outline soft and easy in its swells, whereas those above the eagle's nest are of so broken and abrupt an outline, that nothing can be imagined more savage, an aspect horrid and sublime, that gives all the impressions to be wished to astonish rather than please the mind. The Turk exhibits noble features, and Manger-ton's huge body rises above the whole. The cultivated tracts towards Killarney, form a shore in contrast to the terrific scenes I have just mentioned; the distant boundary of the lake, a vast ridge of distant blue mountains towards Dingle. From hence entered the garden, and viewed Mucrufs abbey, one of the most interesting scenes I ever saw; it is the ruin of a considerable abbey, built in Henry the VIth's time, and so entire, that if it were more so, though the building would be more perfect, the ruin would be less pleasing; it is half obscured in the shade of some venerable ash trees; ivy has given the picturesque circumstance, which that plant alone can confer, while the broken walls and ruined turrets throw over it

The last mournful graces of decay;

heaps of skulls and bones scattered about, with nettles, briars, and weeds sprouting in tufts from the loose stones, all unite to raise those melancholy impressions, which are the merit of such scenes, and which can scarcely any where be felt more completely. The cloisters form a dismal area, in the center of which grows the most prodigious yew tree I ever beheld, in one great stem, two feet diameter, and fourteen feet high, from whence a vast head of branches spreads on every side, so as to perform a perfect canopy to the whole space; I looked for its fit inhabitant, it is a spot where

The moping owl doth to the moon complain.

This ruin is in the true stile in which all such buildings should appear; there is not an intruding circumstance, the hand of dress has not touched it, melancholy is the impression which such scenes should kindle, and it is here raised most powerfully.

From the abbey we passed to the terrace, a natural one of grass, on the very shore of the lake; it is irregular and winding; a wall of rocks broken into fantastic forms by the waves: on the other side a wood, consisting of all sorts of plants, which the climate

can



can protect, and through which a variety of walks are traced. The view from this terrace consists of many parts of various characters, but in their different styles complete; the lake opens a spreading sheet of water, spotted by rocks and islands, all but one or two wooded, the outlines of them are sharp and distinct; nothing can be more smiling than this scene, soft and mild, a perfect contrast of beauty to the sublimity of the mountains which form the shore: these rise in an outline, so varied, and at the same time so magnificent, that nothing greater can be imagined; Tomys and Glená exhibit an immensity in point of magnitude, but from a large hanging wood on the slope, and from the smoothness of the general surface, it has nothing savage, whereas the mountains above and near the eagle's nest are of the most broken outlines; the declivities are bulging rocks, of immense size, which seem to impend in horrid forms over the lake, and where an opening among them is caught, others of the same rude character rear their threatening heads. From different parts of the terrace these scenes are viewed in numberless varieties.

Returned to breakfast, and pursued Mr. Herbert's new road, which he has traced through the peninsula to Dynis island, three miles in length; and it is carried in so judicious a manner through a great variety of ground, rocky woods, lawns, &c. that nothing can be more pleasing; it passes through a remarkable scene of rocks, which are covered with woods; from thence to the marble quarry, which Mr. Herbert is working; and where he gains variety of marbles, green, red, white, and brown, prettily veined; the quarry is a shore of rocks, which surround a bay of the lake, and forms a scene, consisting of but few parts, but those strongly marked; the rocks are bold, and broken into flight caverns; they are fringed with scattered trees, and from many parts of them wood shoots in that romantic manner, so common at Killarney. Full in front, Turk mountain rises with the proudest outline, in that abrupt magnificence which fills up the whole space before one, and closes the scene.

The road leads by a place where copper-mines were worked; many shafts appear; as much ore was raised as sold for twenty-five thousand pounds, but the works were laid aside, more from ignorance in the workmen, than any defects in the mine.

Came to the opening on the great lake, which appears to advantage here, the town of Killarney on the north-east shore. Look full on the mountain Glená, which rises in very bold manner, the hanging woods spread half way, and are of great extent, and uncommonly beautiful. Two very pleasing scenes succeed, that to the left is a small bay, hemmed in by a neck of land in front; the immediate shore rocks, which are in a picturesque stile, and crowned entirely with arbutus, and other wood; a pretty retired scene, where a variety of objects give no fatigue to the eye. The other is an admirable mixture of the beautiful and sublime: a bare rock, of an almost regular figure, projects from a headland into the lake, which, with much wood and highland, forms one side of the scene, the other is wood from a rising ground only; the lake open between, in a sheet of no great extent, but in front is the hanging wood of Glená, which appears in full glory.

Mr. Herbert has built a handsome Gothic bridge, to unite the peninsula to the island of Brickeen, through the arch of which the waters of the north and south lake flow. It is a span of twenty-seven feet, and seventeen high, and over it the road leads to that island. From thence to Brickeen nearly finished, and it is to be thrown across a bottom into Dynis.

Returned by the northern path through a thick wood for some distance, and caught a very agreeable view of Ash Island; seen through an opening, inclosed on both sides with wood. Pursued the way from these grounds to Keelbeg, and viewed the bay of



the Devil's Island, which is a beautiful one, inclosed by a shore, to the right of very noble rocks in ledges and other forms, crowned in a striking manner with wood; a little rocky islet rises in front; to the left the water opens, and Turk mountain rises with that proud superiority which attends him in all these scenes.

The view of the promontory of Dindog, near this place, closes this part of the lake, and is indeed singularly beautiful. It is a large rock, which shoots far into the water, of a height sufficient to be interesting, in full relief, fringed with a scanty vegetation; the shore on which you stand bending to the right, as if to meet that rock, presents a circular shade of dark wood: Turk still the back ground, in a character of great sublimity, and Mangerton's loftier summit, but less interesting outline, a part of the scenery. These views, with others of less moment, are connected by a succession of lawns breaking among the wood, pleasing the eye with lively verdure, and relieving it from the fatigue of the stupendous mountain scenes.

September 28. Took boat on the lake, from the promontory of Dindog before-mentioned. I had been under a million of apprehensions that I should see no more of Killarney; for it blew a furious storm all night, and in the morning the bosom of the lake heaved with agitation, exhibiting few marks but those of anger. After breakfast it cleared up, the clouds dispersed by degrees, the waves subsided, the sun shone out in all its splendor; every scene was gay, and no ideas but pleasure possessed the breast. With these emotions sallied forth, nor did they disappoint us.

Rowed under the rocky shore of Dindog, which is romantic to a great degree. The base, by the beating of the waves, is worn into caverns, so that the heads of the rocks project considerably beyond the base, and hang over in a manner which makes every part of it interesting. Following the coast, open marble quarry bay, the shore great fragments of rock tumbled about in the wildest manner.

The island of rocks against the copper-mine shore, a remarkable group. The shore near Casemilan is of a different nature; it is wood in some places, in unbroken masses down to the water's edge, in others divided from it by smaller tracts of rock. Come to a beautiful land-locked bay, surrounded by a woody shore, which, opening in places, shews other woods more retired. Tomys is here viewed in a unity of form, which gives it an air of great magnificence. Turk was obscured by the sun shining immediately above him, and casting a stream of burning light on the water, displayed an effect, to describe which the pencil of a Claude alone would be equal. Turn out of the bay, and gain a full view of the Eagle's Nest, the mountains above it, and Glená, they form a perfect contrast, the first are rugged, but Glená mild. Here the shore is a continued wood.

Pass the bridge, and cross to Dynifs, an island Mr. Herbert has improved in the most agreeable manner, by cutting walks through it, that command a variety of views. One of these paths on the banks of the channel to the upper lake, is sketched with great taste; it is on one side walled with natural rocks, from the clefts of which shoot a thousand fine arbutus's, that hang in a rich foliage of flowers and scarlet berries; a turf bench in a delicious spot; the scene close and sequestered, just enough to give every pleasing idea annexed to retirement.

Passing the bridge, by a rapid stream, came presently to the Eagle's Nest: having viewed this rock from places where it appears only a part of an object much greater than itself, I had conceived an idea that it did not deserve the applause given it, but upon coming near, I was much surprized; the approach is wonderfully fine, the river leads directly to its foot, and does not give the turn till immediately under, by which means the view is much more grand than it could otherwise be; it is nearly perpendicular,



and rises in such full majesty, with so bold an outline, and such projecting masses in its centre, that the magnificence of the object is complete. The lower part is covered with wood, and scattered trees climb almost to the top, which (if trees can be amiss in Ireland) rather weaken the impression raised by this noble rock; this part is a hanging wood, or an object whose character is perfect beauty; but the upper scene, the broken outline, rugged sides, and bulging masses, all are sublime, and so powerful, that sublimity is the general impression of the whole, by overpowering the idea of beauty raised by the wood. This immense height of the mountains of Killarney may be estimated by this rock; from any distant place that commands it, it appears the lowest crag of a vast chain, and of no account; but on a close approach it is found to command a very different respect.

Pas between the mountains called the Great Range, towards the upper lake. Here Turk, which has so long appeared with a figure perfectly interesting, is become, from a different position, unmeaning lump. The rest of the mountains, as you pass, assume a varied appearance, and are of a prodigious magnitude. The scenery in this channel is great and wild in all its features; wood is very scarce; vast rocks seem tossed in confusion through the narrow vale, which is opened among the mountains for the river to pass. Its banks are rocks in an hundred forms; the mountain sides are every where scattered with them. There is not a circumstance but is in unison with the wild grandeur of the scene.

Coleman's Eye, a narrow pass, opens a different scenery. Came to a region in which the beautiful and the great are mixed without offence. The islands are most of them thickly wooded; Oak isle in particular rises on a pretty base, and is a most beautiful object: Mac Gilly Cuddy's reeks, with their broken points; Baum, with his perfect cone; the Purple mountain, with his broad and more regular head; and Turk, having assumed a new and more interesting aspect, unite with the opposite hills, part of which have some wood left on them, to form a scene uncommonly striking. Here you look back on a very peculiar spot; it is a parcel of rocks which cross the lake, and form a gap that opens to distant water, the whole backed by Turk, in a stile of the highest grandeur.

Come to Derry Currily, which is a great sweep of mountain, covered partly with wood, hanging in a very noble manner, but part cut down, much of it mangled, and the rest inhabited by coopers, boat-builders, carpenters, and turners, a sacrilegious tribe, who have turned the Dryades from their ancient habitations. The cascade here is a fine one; but passed quickly from hence to scenes unmixed with pain.

Row to the cluster of the Seven Islands, a little archipelago; they rise very boldly from the water upon rocky bases, and are crowned in the most beautiful manner with wood, among which are a number of arbutus's; the channels among them opening to new scenes, and the great amphitheatre of rock and mountain that surround them, unite to form a noble view.

Into the river, at the very end of the lake, which winds towards Mac Gilly Cuddy's Reeks in fanciful meanders.

Returned by a course somewhat different, through the Seven Islands, and back to the Eagle's Nest, viewing the scenes already mentioned in new positions. At that noble rock fired three cannon for the echo, which indeed is prodigious; the report does not consist of direct reverberations from one rock to another with a pause between, but has an exact resemblance to a peal of thunder rattling behind the rock, as if travelling the whole scenery we had viewed and lost in the immensity of Mac Gilly Cuddy's Reeks.



Returning through the bridge, turn to the left round Dynis island, under the woods of Glená; open on the cultivated country beyond the town of Killarney, and come gradually in sight of Innisfallen and Ross Island.

Pass near to the wood of Glená, which here takes the appearance of one immense sweep hanging in the most beautiful manner imaginable, on the side of a vast mountain to a point, shooting into the great lake. A more glorious scene is not to be imagined. It is one deep mass of wood, composed of the richest shades perfectly dipping in the water, without rock or strand appearing, not a break in the whole. The eye passing upon the sheet of liquid silver some distance, to meet so entire a sweep of every tint that can compose one vast mass of green, hanging to such an extent as to fill not only the eye but the imagination, unites in the whole to form the most noble scene that is any where to be beheld.

Turn under the north shore of Mucrus; the lake here is one great expanse of water, bounded by the woods described, the islands of Innisfallen, Ross, &c. and the peninsula. The shore of Mucrus has a great variety; it is in some places rocky, huge masses tumbled from their base lie beneath, as in a chaos of ruin. Great caverns worn under them in a variety of strange forms; or else covered with woods of a variety of shades. Meet the point of Ardnagluggen (in English where the water dashes on the rocks) and come under Ornescope, a rocky headland of a most bold projection hanging many yards over its base, with an old weather-beaten yew growing from a little bracket of rock, from which the spot is called Ornescope, or yew broom.

Mucrus gardens presently open among the woods, and relieve the eye, almost fatigued with the immense objects upon which it has so long gazed; these softer scenes of lawn gently swelling among the shrubs and trees, finished the second day.

September 29, rode after breakfast to Mangerton Cascade and Drumarourk Hill, from which the view of Mucrus is uncommonly pleasing.

Pass the other hill, the view of which I described the 27th, and went to Colonel Hussey's monument, from whence the scene is different from the rest; the fore ground is a gentle hill, intersected by hedges, forming several small lawns. There are some scattered trees and houses, with Mucrus abbey half obscured by wood, the whole cheerful and backed by Turk. The lake is of a triangular form, Ross island and Innisfallen its limits, the woods of Mucrus and the islands take a new position.

Returning, took a boat again towards Ross isle, and as Mucrus retires from us, nothing can be more beautiful than the spots of lawn in the terrace opening in the wood; above it the green hills with clumps, and the whole finishing in the noble group of wood about the abbey, which here appears a deep shade, and so fine a finishing one, that not a tree should be touched. Rowed to the east point of Ross, which is well wooded, turn to the south coast. Doubling the point, the most beautiful shore of that island appears; it is the well-wooded environs of a bay, except a small opening to the castle; the woods are in deep shades, and rise on the regular slopes of a high range of rocky coast. The part in front of Filekilly point rises in the middle, and sinks towards each end. The woods of Tomys here appear uncommonly fine. Open Innisfallen, which is composed at this distance of the most various shades, within a broken outline, entirely different from the other islands, groups of different masses rising in irregular tufts, and joined by lower trees. No pencil could mix a happier assemblage. Land near a miserable room, where travellers dine—Of the isle of Innisfallen, it is paying no great compliment to say, it is the most beautiful in the King's dominions, and perhaps in Europe. It contains twenty acres of land, and has every variety that the range of beauty, un-

mixed



mixed with the sublime, can give. The general feature is that of wood; the surface undulates into swelling hills, and sinks into little vales; the slopes are in every direction, the declivities die gently away, forming those slight inequalities which are the greatest beauty of dressed grounds. The little vallies let in views of the surrounding lake between the hills, while the swells break the regular outline of the water, and give to the whole an agreeable confusion. The wood has all the variety into which nature has thrown the surface; in some parts it is so thick as to appear impenetrable, and secludes all farther view; in others, it breaks into tufts of tall timber, under which cattle feed. Here they open, as if to offer to the spectator the view of the naked lawn; in others close, as if purposely to forbid a more prying examination. Trees of large size, and commanding figure, form in some places natural arches; the ivy mixing with the branches, and hanging across in festoons of foliage, while on one side the lake glitters among the trees, and on the other a thick gloom dwells in the recesses of the wood. The figure of the island renders one part a beautiful object to another; for the coast being broken and indented, forms bays surrounded either with rock or wood: slight promontories shoot into the lake, whose rocky edges are crowned with wood. These are the great features of Innisfallen; the slighter touches are full of beauties easily imagined by the reader. Every circumstance of the wood, the water, the rocks, and lawn, are characteristic, and have a beauty in the assemblage from mere disposition. I must however observe, that this delicious retreat is not kept as one could wish.

Scenes that are great and commanding, from magnitude or wildness, should never be dressed; the rugged, and even the horrible, may add to the effect upon the mind: but in such as Innisfallen, a degree of dress, that is, cleanliness, is even necessary to beauty. I have spoken of lawn, but I should observe, that expression indicates what it ought to be, rather than what it is. It is very rich grass, poached by oxen and cows, the only inhabitants of the island. No spectator of taste but will regret the open grounds not being drained with hollow cuts; the ruggedness of the surface levelled, and the grass kept close shaven by many sheep instead of beasts. The bushes and briars, where they have encroached on what ought to be lawn, cleared away; some parts of the isle more opened; in a word, no ornaments given, for the scene wants them not, but obstructions cleared, ruggedness smoothed, and the whole cleaned. This is what ought to be done; as to what might be made of the island, if its noble proprietor (Lord Kenmare) had an inclination, it admits of being converted into a terrestrial paradise, lawning with the intermixture of other shrubs and wood, and a little dress, would make it an example of what ornamented grounds might be, but which not one in a thousand is. Take the island, however, as it is, with its few imperfections, and where are we to find such another? What a delicious retreat! an emperor could not bestow such an one as Innisfallen; with a cottage, a few cows, and a swarm of poultry, is it possible that happiness should refuse to be a guest here?

Row to Ross Castle, in order to coast that island; there is nothing peculiarly striking in it; return the same way around Innisfallen: in this little voyage the shore of Ross is one of the most beautiful of the wooded ones in the lake; it seems to unite with Innisfallen, and projects into the water in thick woods one beyond another. In the middle of the channel a large rock, and from the other shore a little promontory of a few scattered trees; the whole scene pleasing.

The shore of Innisfallen has much variety, but in general it is woody, and of the beautiful character which predominates in that island; one bay, at taking leave of it, is exceedingly pretty, it is a semicircular one, and in the centre there is a projecting knole of wood within a bay; this is uncommon, and has an agreeable effect.



The near approach to Tomys exhibits a sweep of wood, so great in extent, and so rich in foliage, that no person can see without admiring it. The mountainous part above is soon excluded by the approach; wood alone is seen, and that in such a noble range, as to be greatly striking; it just hollows into a bay, and in the centre of it is a chasm in the wood; this is a bed of a considerable stream, which forms O'Sullivan's cascade, to which all strangers are conducted, as one of the principal beauties of Killarney. Landed to the right of it, and walked under the thick shade of the wood, over a rocky declivity, close to the torrent stream, which breaks impetuously from rock to rock, with a roar that kindles expectation. The picture in your fancy will not exceed the reality; a great stream bursts from the deep bosom of a wooded glen, hollowed into a retired recess of rocks and trees, itself a most pleasing and romantic spot, were there not a drop of water: the first fall is many feet perpendicularly over a rock, to the eye it immediately makes another, the basin into which it pours being concealed; from this basin it forces itself impetuously between two rocks: this second fall is also of a considerable height; but the lower one, the third, is the most considerable, it issues in the same manner from a basin hid from the point of view. These basins being large, there appears a space of several yards between each fall, which adds much to the picturesque scenery; the whole is within an arch of wood, that hangs over it; the quantity of water is so considerable as to make an almost deafening noise, and uniting with the torrent below, where the fragments of rock are large and numerous, throw an air of grandeur over the whole. It is about seventy feet high. Coast from hence the woody shores of Tomys and Glená, they are upon the whole much the most beautiful ones I have any where seen; Glená woods having more oak, and some arbutus's, are the finer and deeper shades; Tomys has a great quantity of birch, whose foliage is not so luxuriant. The reader may figure to himself what these woods are, when he is informed that they fill an unbroken extent of six miles in length, and from half a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, all hanging on the sides of two vast mountains, and coming down with a full robe of rich luxuriance to the very water's edge. The acclivity of these hills is such, that every tree appears full to the eye. The variety of the ground is great; in some places great swells in the mountain side, with corresponding hollows, present concave and convex masses; in others, considerable ridges of land and rock rise from the sweep, and offer to the astonished eye yet other varieties of shade. Smaller mountains rise regularly from the immense bosom of the larger, and hold forth their sylvan heads, backed by yet higher woods. To give all the varieties of this immense scenery of forest is impossible. Above the whole is a prodigious mass of mountain, of a gently swelling outline and soft appearance, varying as the sun or clouds change their position, but never becoming rugged or threatening to the eye.

The variations are best seen by rowing near the shore, when every stroke of the oar gives a new outline, and fresh tints to please the eye: but for one great impression, row about two miles from the shore of Glená; at that distance the inequalities in the surface are no longer seen, but the eye is filled with so immense a range of wood, crowned with a mountain in perfect unison with itself, that objects, whose character is that of beauty, are here, from their magnitude, truly magnificent, and attended with a most forcible expression.—Returned to Muckrus.

September 30. This morning I had dedicated to the ascent of Mangerton, but his head was so enshrouded in clouds, and the weather so bad, that I was forced to give up the scheme: Mr. Herbert has measured him with very accurate instruments, of which he has a great collection, and found his height eight hundred and thirty-five yards above the level of the sea. The Devil's Punch-bowl, from the description I had of it, must

be



be the crater of an exhausted volcano: there are many signs of them about Killarney, particularly vast rocks on the sides of mountains, in streams, as if they had rolled from the top in one direction. Brown stone rocks are also sometimes found on lime-quarries, tossed thither perhaps in some vast eruption.

In my way from Killarney to Castle Island rode into Lord Kenmare's park, from whence there is another beautiful view of the lake, different from many of the preceding; there is a broad margin of cultivated country at your feet, to lead the eye gradually in the lake, which exhibits her islands to this point more distinctly than to any other, and the back grounds of the mountains of Glená and Tomys give a bold relief.

Upon the whole, Killarney, among the lakes that I have seen, can scarcely be said to have a rival. The extent of water in Loch Earne is much greater, the islands more numerous, and some scenes near Castle Caldwell of perhaps as great magnificence. The rocks at Kefwick are more sublime, and other lakes may have circumstances in which they are superior; but when we consider the prodigious woods of Killarney; the immensity of the mountains; the uncommon beauty of the promontory of Mucrus, and the isle of Innisfallen; the character of the islands; the singular circumstance of the arbutus, and the uncommon echoes, it will appear, upon the whole, to be in reality superior to all comparison. Killarney

Before I quit it, I have one other observation to make, which is relative to the want of accommodations and extravagant expence of strangers residing at Killarney. I speak it not at all feelingly, thanks to Mr. Herbert's hospitality, but from the accounts given me: the inns are miserable, and the lodgings little better. I am surprised somebody with a good capital does not procure a large well-built inn; to be erected on the immediate shore of the lake, in an agreeable situation, at a distance from the town; there are very few places where such an one would answer better, there ought to be numerous and good apartments. A large rendezvous-room for billiards, cards, dancing, music, &c. to which the company might resort when they chose it; an ordinary for those that liked dining in public; boats of all sorts, nets for fishing, and as great a variety of amusements as could be collected, especially within doors; for the climate being very rainy, travellers wait with great impatience in a dirty common inn, which they would not do if they were in the midst of such accommodations as they meet with at an English Spa. But above all, the prices of every thing, from a room and a dinner to a barge and a band of music, to be reasonable, and hung up in every part of the house: the resort of strangers to Killarney would then be much increased, and their stay would be greatly prolonged; they would not view it post-haste, and fly away the first moment to avoid dirt and imposition. A man with a good capital and some ingenuity would, I think, make a fortune by fixing here upon such principles.

The state of the poor in the whole county of Kerry represented as exceedingly miserable, and owing to the conduct of men of property, who are apt to lay the blame on what they call land pirates, or men who offer the highest rent, and who, in order to pay this rent, must and do re-let all the cabin lands at an extravagant rise, which is assigning over all the cabins to be devoured by one farmer. The cottars on a farm cannot go from one to another, in order to find a good master, as in England; for all the country is in the same system, and no redress to be found: such being the case, the farmers are enabled to charge the price of labour as low as they please, and rate the land as high as they like. This is an evil which oppresses them cruelly, and certainly has its origin in its landlords when they set their farms, setting all the cabins with them, instead of keeping them tenants to themselves. The oppression is, the farmer valuing the labour of the poor at fourpence or fivepence a day, and paying that in land rated  
much



much above its value: owing to this the poor are depressed; they live upon potatoes and four milk, and the poorest of them only salt and water to them, with now and then a herring. Their milk is bought; for very few keep cows, scarce any pigs, but a few poultry. Their circumstances are incomparably worse than they were twenty years ago; for they had all cows, but then they wore no linen: all now have a little flax. To these evils have been owing emigrations, which have been considerable.

To the west of Tralee are the Mahagree islands, famous for their corn products; they are rock and sand, stocked with rabbits; near them a sandy tract, twelve miles long, and one mile broad, to the north, with the mountains to the south, famous for the best wheat in Kerry: all under the plough.

Arriving at Ardfert, Lord Crosby, whose politeness I have every reason to remember, was so obliging as to carry me by one of the finest strands I ever rode upon, to view the mouth of the Shannon at Ballengary, the site of an old fort: it is a vast rock, separated from the country by a chasm of prodigious depth, through which the waves drive. The rocks of the coast here are in the boldest stile, and hollowed by the furious Atlantic waves into caverns in which they roar. It was a dead calm, yet the swell was so heavy, that the great waves rolled in and broke upon the rocks with such violence as to raise an immense foam, and give one an idea of what a storm would be, but fancy rarely falls short in her pictures. The view of the Shannon is exceedingly noble; it is eight miles over, the mouth formed by two headlands of very high and bold cliffs, and the reach of the river in view very extensive: it is an immense scenery: perhaps the noblest mouth of a river in Europe.

Ardfert is very near the sea, so near it that single trees or rows are cut in pieces with the wind, yet about Lord Glendour's house there are extensive plantations exceedingly flourishing, many fine ash and beech; about a beautiful Cistercian abbey, and a silver fir of forty-eight years growth, of an immense height and size.

October 3, left Ardfert, accompanying Lord Crosby to Listowel. Called in the way to view Lixnaw, the ancient seat of the Earls of Kerry, but deserted for ten years past, and now presents so melancholy a scene of desolation, that it shocked me to see it. Every thing around lies in ruin, and the house itself is going fast off by thieving depredations of the neighbourhood. I was told a curious anecdote of this estate, which shews wonderfully the improvement of Ireland: the present Earl of Kerry's grandfather, Thomas, agreed to lease the whole estate for 1500l. a year to a Mr. Collis for ever, but the bargain went off upon a dispute whether the money should be paid at Cork or Dublin. Those very lands are now let at 20,000l. a year. There is yet a good deal of wood, particularly a fine ash grove, planted by the present Earl of Shelburne's father.

Proceeded to Woodford, Robert Fitzgerald's, Esq., passing Listowel bridge, the vale leading to it is very fine, the river is broad, the lands high, and one side a very extensive hanging wood, opening on those of Woodford in a pleasing stile.

Woodford is an agreeable scene; close to the house is a fine winding river under a bank of thick wood, with the view of an old castle hanging over it.

In 1765, Mr. Fitzgerald was travelling from Constantinople to Warsaw, and a wagon with his baggage heavily laden overlet; the country people harnessed two buffaloes by the horns, in order to draw it over, which they did with ease. In some very instructive conversation I had with this gentleman on the subject of his travels, this circumstance particularly struck me.

October 4, from Woodford to Tarbat, the seat of Edward Leslie, Esq., through a country rather dreary, till it came upon Tarbat, which is so much the contrary that it appeared.



appeared to the highest advantage; the house is on the edge of a beautiful lawn, with a thick margin of full-grown wood, hanging on a steep bank to the Shannon, so that the river is seen from the house over the tops of this wood, which being of a broken irregular outline has an effect very striking and uncommon; the river is two or three miles broad here, and the opposite coast forms a promontory which has from Tarbat exactly the appearance of a large island. To the east, the river swells into a triangular lake, with a reach opening at the distant corner of it to Limerick: the union of wood, water, and lawn forms upon the whole a very fine scene; the river is very magnificent. From the hill on the coast above the island, the lawn and wood appear also to great advantage. But the finest point of view is from the higher hill on the other side of the house, which looking down on all these scenes, they appear as a beautiful ornament to the Shannon, which spreads forth its proud course from two to nine miles wide, surrounded by highlands; a scenery truly magnificent.

The state of the poor is something better than it was twenty years ago, particularly their cloathing, cattle, and cabins. They live upon potatoes and milk; all have cows, and when they dry them, buy others. They also have butter, and most of them keep pigs, killing them for their own use. They have also herrings. They are in general in the cottar system, of paying for labour by assigning some land to each cabin. The country is greatly more populous than twenty years ago, and is now increasing; and if ever so many cabins were built by a gradual increase, tenants would be found for them. A cabin and five acres of land will let for 4*l.* a year. The industrious cottar, with two, three, or four acres, would be exceedingly glad to have his time to himself, and have such an annual addition of land as he was able to manage, paying a fair rent for it; none would decline it but the idle and worthless.

Tythes are all annually valued by the proctors, and charged very high. There are on the Shannon about one hundred boats employed in bringing turf to Limerick from the coast of Kerry and Clare, and in fishing; the former carry from twenty to twenty-five tons, the latter from five to ten, and are navigated each by two men and a boy.

October 5, passed through a very unentertaining country (except for a few miles on the bank of the Shannon) to Altavilla, but Mr. Bateman being from home, I was disappointed in getting an account of the palatines settled in his neighbourhood. Kept the road to Adair, where Mrs. Quin, with a politeness equalled only by her understanding, procured me every intelligence I wished for.

Palatines were settled here by the late Lord Southwell about seventy years ago.

They preserve some of their German customs: sleep between two beds. They appoint a byrgomaster, to whom they appeal in case of all disputes; and they yet preserve their language, but that is declining. They are very industrious, and in consequence are much happier and better fed, cloathed, and lodged than the Irish peasants. We must not, however, conclude from hence that all is owing to this, their being independent farmers, and having leases, are circumstances which will create industry. Their crops are much better than those of their neighbours. There are three villages of them, about seventy families in all. For some time after they settled they fed upon four crout, but by degrees left it off, and took to potatoes; but now subsist upon them and butter and milk, but with a great deal of oat bread, and some of wheat, some meat and fowls, of which they raise many. They have all offices to their houses, that is, stables and cow-houses, and a lodge for their ploughs, &c. They keep their cows in the house in winter, feeding them upon hay and oat straw. They are remarkable for the goodness and cleanliness of their houses. The women are very industrious, reap the corn, plough the ground sometimes, and do whatever work may be going on;



they also spin, and make their children do the same. Their wheat is much better than any in the country, insomuch that they get a better price than any body else. Their industry goes so far, that jocular reports of its excess are spread: in a very pinching season, one of them yoked his wife against a horse, and went in that manner to work, and finished a journey at plough. The industry of the women is a perfect contrast to the Irish ladies in the cabins, who cannot be persuaded, on any consideration, even to make hay; it not being the custom of the country; yet they bind corn, and do other works more laborious. Mrs. Quin, who is ever attentive to introduce whatever can contribute to their welfare and happiness, offered many premiums to induce them to make hay, of hats, cloaks, stockings, &c. &c. but all would not do.

Few places have so much wood about them as Adair: Mr. Quin has above one thousand acres in his hands, in which a large proportion is under wood. The deer park of four hundred acres is almost full of old oak and very fine thorns, of a great size; and about the house, the plantations are very extensive, of elm and other wood, but that thrives better than any other sort. I have no where seen finer than vast numbers here. There is a fine river runs under the house, and within view are no less than three ruins of Franciscan friaries, two of them remarkably beautiful, and one has most of the parts perfect, except the roof.

In Mr. Quin's house, there are some very good pictures, particularly an annunciation, by Dominicino, which is a beautiful piece. It was brought lately from Italy by Mr. Quin, junior. The colours are rich and mellow, and the hairs of the heads inimitably pleasing; the group of angels at the top, to the left of the piece, are very natural. It is a piece of great merit. The companion is a Magdalen; the expression of melancholy, or rather misery, remarkably strong. There is a gloom in the whole in full unison with the subject. There are, besides these, some others inferior, yet of merit, and two very good portraits of Lord Dartry, (Mrs. Quin's brother,) and of Mr. Quin, junior, by Pompeo Battoni. A piece in an uncommon style, done on oak, of Either and Ahafuerus: the colours tawdry, but the grouping attitudes and effect pleasing.

Castle Oliver is a place almost entirely of Mr. Oliver's creation; from a house, surrounded with cabins and rubbish, he has fixed it in a fine lawn, surrounded by good wood. The park he has very much improved on an excellent plan; by means of seven feet hurdles he fences off part of it that wants to be cleaned or improved, these he cultivates, and leaves for grass, and then takes another spot, which is by much the best way of doing it. In the park is a glen, an English mile long, winding in a pleasing manner, with much wood hanging on the banks. Mr. Oliver has conducted a stream through this vale, and formed many little water-falls in an exceedingly good taste, chiefly overhung with wood, but in some places open with several little rills, trickling over stones down the slopes. A path winds through a large wood and along the brow of the glen; this path leads to an hermitage, a cave of rock, in a good taste, and to some benches, from which the views of the water and wood are in the sequestered style they ought to be. One of these little views, which catches several falls under the arch of the bridge, is one of the prettiest touches of the kind I have seen. The vale beneath the house, when viewed from the higher grounds, is pleasing; it is very well wooded, there being many inclosures, surrounded by pine trees, and a thick fine mass of wood rises from them up the mountain side, makes a very good figure, and would be better, had not Mr. Oliver's father cut it into vistas for shooting. Upon the whole, the place is highly improved, and when the mountains are planted, in which Mr. Oliver is making a considerable progress, it will be magnificent.



In the house are several fine pictures, particularly five pieces by Seb. Ricci, Venus and Æneas; Apollo and Pan; Venus and Achilles; and Pyrrhus and Andromache, by Lazzarini; and the rape of the Lapithi by the centaurs; the last is by much the finest, and is a very capital piece; the expression is strong, the figures are in bold relief, and the colouring good. Venus and Achilles is a pleasing picture; the continence of Scipio is well grouped, but Scipio, as in every picture I ever saw of him, has no expression. Indeed chastity is in the countenance so *passive* a virtue as not to be at all suited to the genius of painting; the idea is rather that of insipidity; and accordingly Scipio's expression is generally insipid enough. Two fine pieces, by Lucca Jordano, Hercules and Anteus; Sampson killing the lion: both dark and horrid, but they are highly finished, and striking. Six heads of old men, by Nagori, excellent; and four young women, in the character of the seasons.

October 9, left Castle Oliver. Had I followed my inclination, my stay would have been much longer, for I found it equally the residence of entertainment and instruction. Passed through Kilsennan and Duntreague, in my way to Tipperary. The road leads every where on the sides of the hills, so as to give a very distinct view of the lower grounds; the soil all the way is the same sort of sandy reddish loam I have already described, incomparable land for tillage: as I advanced it grew something lighter, and in many places free from gravel. Bullocks the stock all the way. Towards Tipperary I saw vast numbers of sheep, and many bullocks. All this line of country is part of the famous golden vale. To Thomas-town, where I was so unfortunate as not to find Mr. Matthew at home; the domain is one thousand five hundred English acres, so well planted, that I could hardly believe myself in Ireland. There is a hill in the park from which the view of it, the country and the Galties, are striking.

October 12th, to Lord de Montalt's, at Dundrum, a place which his Lordship has ornamented in the modern style of improvement: the house was situated in the midst of all the regular exertions of the last age. Parterres, parapets of earth, straight walks, knots and clipped hedges, all which he has thrown down, with an infinite number of hedges and ditches, filled up ponds, &c. and opened one very noble lawn around him, scattered negligently over with trees, and cleared the course of a choaked up river, so that it flows at present in a winding course through the grounds.

October 13, leaving Dundrum, passed through Cashel, where is a rock and ruin on it, called the rock of Cashel, supposed to be of the remotest antiquity. Towards Clonmell, the whole way through the same rich vein of red sandy loam I have so often mentioned: I examined it in several fields, and found it to be of an extraordinary fertility, and as fine turnip land as ever I saw. It is much under sheep; but towards Clonmell there is a great deal of tillage.

The first view of that town, backed by a high ridge of mountains, with a beautiful space near it of inclosures, fringed with a scattering of trees, was very pleasing. It is the best situated place in the county of Tipperary, on the Sure, which brings up boats of ten tons burthen. It appears to be a busy populous place, yet I was told that the manufacture of woollens is not considerable. It is noted for being the birth-place of the inimitable Sterne.

To Sir William Osborne's, three miles the other side Clonmell. From a character so remarkable for intelligence and precision, I could not fail of meeting information of the most valuable kind. This gentleman has made a mountain improvement which demands particular attention, being upon a principle very different from common ones.

Twelve years ago he met with a hearty looking fellow of forty, followed by a wife and six children in rags, who begged. Sir William questioned him upon the scandal of a man in



full health and vigour, supporting himself in such a manner: the man said he could get no work: "Come along with me, I will shew you a spot of land upon which I will build a cabin for you, and if you like it you shall fix there." The fellow followed Sir William, who was as good as his word: he built him a cabin, gave him five acres of a heathy mountain, lent him four pounds to stock with, and gave him, when he had prepared his ground, as much lime as he would come for. The fellow flourished; he went on gradually; repaid the four pounds, and presently became a happy little cottar: he has at present twelve acres under cultivation, and a stock in trade worth at least 80*l.*, his name is John Conory.

The success which attended this man in two or three years, brought others who applied for land, and Sir William gave them as they applied. The mountain was under lease to a tenant, who valued it so little, that upon being reproached with not cultivating, or doing something with it, he assured Sir William, that it was utterly impracticable to do any thing with it, and offered it to him without any deduction of rent. Upon this mountain he fixed them; gave them terms as they came determinable with the lease of the farm, so that every one that came in succession had shorter and shorter tenures; yet are they so desirous of settling, that they come at present, though only two years remain for a term.

In this manner Sir William has fixed twenty-two families, who are all upon the improving hand, the meanest growing richer; and find themselves so well off, that no consideration will induce them to work for others, not even in harvest: their industry has no bounds; nor is the day long enough for the revolution of their incessant labour. Some of them bring turf to Clonmell, and Sir William has seen Conory returning loaded with soap ashes.

He found it difficult to persuade them to make a road to their village, but when they had once done it, he found none in getting cross roads to it, they found such benefit in the first. Sir William has continued to give whatever lime they come for; and they have desired one thousand barrels among them for the year 1766, which their landlord has accordingly contracted for with his lime-burner, at 11*d.* a barrel. Their houses have all been built at his expence, and done by contract at 6*l.* each, after which they raise what little offices they want for themselves.

October 15, left New Town, and keeping on the banks of the Sure, passed through Carrick to Curraghmore, the seat of the Earl of Tyrone. This line of country, in point of soil, inferior to what I have of late gone through: so that I consider the rich country to end at Clonmell.

Emigrations from this part of Ireland principally to Newfoundland; for a season they have 18*l.* or 20*l.* for their pay, and are maintained, but they do not bring home more than 7*l.* to 11*l.* Some of them stay and settle; three years ago there was an emigration of indented servants to North Carolina of three hundred, but they were stopped by contrary winds, &c. There had been something of this constantly, but not to that amount. The oppression which the poor people have most to complain of, is the not having any tenures in their lands, by which means they are entirely subject to their employers.

Manufactures here are only woollens. Carrick is one of the greatest manufacturing towns in Ireland. Principally for ratteens, but of late they have got into broad-cloths, all for home consumption; the manufacture increases, and is very flourishing. There are between three and four hundred people employed by it, in Carrick and its neighbourhood.

Curraghmore is one of the finest places in Ireland, or indeed that I have any where seen. The house, which is large, is situated upon a rising ground, in a vale surrounded

by



By very bold hills, which rise in a variety of forms and offer to the eye, in rising through the grounds, very noble and striking scenes. These hills are exceedingly varied, so that the detour of the place is very pleasing. In order to see it to advantage, I would advise a traveller to take the ride which Lord Tyrone carried me. Passed through the deer-park wood of old oaks, spread over the side of a bold hill, and of such an extent, that the scene is a truly forest one, without any other boundary in view than what the stems of trees offer from mere extent, retiring one behind another till they thicken so much to the eye, under the shade of their spreading tops, as to form a distant wall of wood. This is a sort of scene not common in Ireland, it is a great extent alone that will give it. From this hill enter an ever-green plantation, a scene which winds up the deer-park hill, and opens on to the brow of it, which commands a most noble view indeed. The lawns round the house appear at one's feet, at the bottom of a great declivity of wood, almost every where surrounded by plantations. The hills on the opposite side of the vale against the house, consist of a large lawn in the center of the two woods, that to the right of an immense extent, which waves over a mountain side in the finest manner imaginable, and lead the eye to the scenery on the left, which is a beautiful vale of rich inclosures, of several miles extent, with the Sure making one great reach through it, and a bold bend just before it enters a gap in the hills towards Waterford, and winds behind them; to the right you look over a large plain, backed by the great Cummeragh mountains. For a distinct extent of view, the parts of which are all of a commanding magnitude, and a variety equal to the number, very few prospects are finer than this.

From hence the boundary plantation extends some miles to the west and north-west of the domain, forming a margin to the whole of different growths, having been planted, by degrees, from three to sixteen years. It is in general well grown, and the trees thriven exceedingly, particularly the oak, beech, larch, and firs. It is very well sketched, with much variety given to it.

Pass by the garden across the river which murmurs over a rocky bed, and follow the riding up a steep hill, covered with wood from some breaks, in which the house appears perfectly buried in a deep wood, and come out, after a considerable extent of ride, into the higher lawn, which commands a view of the scenery about the house; and from the brow of the hill the water, which is made to imitate a river, has a good effect, and throws a great air of cheerfulness over the scene, for from hence the declivity below it is hid; but the view, which is the most pleasing from hence, the finest at Curraghmoor, and indeed one of the most striking that is any where to be seen, is that of the hanging wood to the right of the house, rising in so noble a sweep as perfectly to fill the eye, and leave the fancy scarce any thing to wish: at the bottom is a small semicircular lawn around which flows the river, under the immediate shade of very noble oaks; the whole wood rises boldly from the bottom, tree above tree, to a vast height, of large oak, the masses of shade are but tints of one colour, it is not chequered with a variety, there is a majestic simplicity, a unity in the whole, which is attended with an uncommon impression, and such as none but the most magnificent scenes can raise.

Descending from hence through the roads, the riding crosses the river, passes through the meadow, which has such an effect in the preceding scene, from which also the view is very fine, and leads home through a continued and an extensive range of fine oak, partly on a declivity, at the bottom of which the river murmurs its broken course.

Besides this noble riding, there is a very agreeable walk runs immediately on the banks of the river, which is perfect in its style; it is a sequestered line of wood, so high on the declivities in some places, and so thick on the very edge in others, overspreading the river, that the character of the scene is gloom and melancholy, heightened by the noise



noise of the water falling from stone to stone; there is a considerable variety in the banks of it, and in the figures and growth of the wood, but none that hurts the impression, which is well preserved throughout.

October 17, accompanied Lord Tyrone to Waterford; made some inquiries into the state of their trade, but found it difficult, from the method in which the custom-house books are kept, to get the details I wished; but in the year following having the pleasure of a long visit at Ballycanvan, the seat of Cornelius Bolton, Esq., his son, the member for the city, procured me every information I could wish, and that in so liberal and polite a manner, that it would not be easy to express the obligations I am under to both. In general, I was informed, that the trade of the place had increased considerably in ten years, both the exports and imports. The exports of the products of pasturage, full one-third in twelve years. That the staple trade of the place is the Newfoundland trade; this is very much increased; there is more of it here than any where. The number of people who go passengers in the Newfoundland ships is amazing: from sixty to eighty ships, and from three thousand to five thousand annually. They come from most parts of Ireland, from Corke, Kerry, &c. Experienced men will get 18l. to 25l. for the season, from March to November; a man who never went will have five to seven pounds, and his passage, and others rise to 20l. the passage out they get, but pay home two pounds. An industrious man in a year will bring home twelve to sixteen pounds with him, and some more. A great point for them is to be able to carry out all their stows, for every thing there is exceedingly dear, one or two hundred per cent. dearer than they can get them at home. They are not allowed to take out any woollen goods but for their own use. The ships go loaded with pork, beef, butter, and some salt; and bring home passengers, or get freights where they can: sometimes rum. The Waterford pork comes principally from the barony of Iverk in Kilkenny, where they fatten great numbers of large hogs; for many weeks together they kill here three to four thousand a week, the price fifty shillings to four pounds each; goes chiefly to Newfoundland. One was killed in Mr. Penrose's cellar, that weighed five hundred weight and a quarter, and measured from the nose to the end of the tail, nine feet four inches.

There is a foundery at Waterford for pots, kettles, weights, and all common utensils; and a manufactory by Messieurs King and Tegent, of anvils to anchors, twenty hundred weight, &c. which employs forty hands. Smiths earn from 6s. to 24s. a week. Nailors from 10s. to 12s. And another less considerable. There are two sugar-houses, and many salt-houses. The salt is boiled over lime-kilns.

There is a fishery upon the coast of Waterford, for a great variety of fish, herrings particularly in the mouth of Waterford harbour, and two years ago in such quantities there, that the tides left the ditches full of them. There are some premium boats both here and at Dungarvon, but the quantity of herrings barrelled is not considerable.

The butter trade of Waterford has increased greatly for seven years past; it comes from Waterford principally, but much from Carlow; for it comes from twenty miles beyond Carlow, for sixpence per hundred. From the 1st of January 1774 to the 1st of January 1775, there were exported fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and fifty-six casks of butter, each, on an average, one hundred weight, at the mean price of 50s. Revenue of Waterford, 1751. 17,000l.; 1776, 52,000l. The slaughter trade has increased, but not so much as the butter. Price of butter now at Waterford 58s.; twenty years' average, 42s. Beef now to 25s., average, twenty years, 10s. to 18s. Pork now 30s., average, twenty years, 16s. to 22s. Eighty sail of ships now belonging to the port, twenty years ago not thirty. They pay to the captains of ship of two hundred



hundred tons 5*l.* a month; the mate 3*l.* 10*s.* Ten men at 40*s.*, five years ago only 27*s.* Building ships, 10*l.* a ton. Wear and tear of such a ship 20*l.* a month. Ship provisions 20*s.* a month.

The new church in this city is a very beautiful one; the body of it is in the same stile exactly as that of Belfast already described: the total length one hundred and seventy feet, the breadth fifty-eight. The length of the body of the church ninety-two, the height forty; breadth between the pillars twenty-six. The isle (which I do not remember at Belfast) is fifty-eight by forty-five. A room on one side the steeple, space for the bishop's court, twenty-four by eighteen; on the other side, a room of the same size for the vestry; and twenty-eight feet square left for a steeple when their funds will permit. The whole is light and beautiful: it was built by subscription, and there is a fine organ bespoke at London. But the finest object in this city is the quay, which is unrivalled by any I have seen; it is an English mile long; the buildings on it are only common houses, but the river is near a mile over, flows up to the town in one noble reach, and the opposite shore a bold hill, which rises immediately from the water to a height that renders the whole magnificent. This is scattered with some wood, and divided into pastures of a beautiful verdure, by hedges. I crossed the water, in order to walk up the rocks on the top of this hill; in one place over against Bilberry quarry, you look immediately down on the river, which flows in noble reaches from Granny castle on the right past Cromwell's rock, the shores on both sides quite steep, especially the rock of Bilberry. You look over the whole town, which here appears in a triangular form; besides the city the Cummeragh mountains, Slein-a-man, &c. come in view. Kilmacow river falls into the Sure, after flowing through a large extent of well planted country; this is the finest view about the city.

From Waterford to Passage, and got my chaise and horses on board the Countess of Tyrone packet, in full expectation of sailing immediately, as the wind was fair, but I soon found the difference of these private vessels and the post-office packets at Holyhead and Dublin. When the wind was fair the tide was foul; and when the tide was with them the wind would not do; in English, there was not a complement of passengers, and so I had the agreeableness of waiting with my horses in the hold, by way of rest, after a journey of above one thousand five hundred miles.

October 18, after a beastly night passed on ship board, and finding no signs of departure, walked to Ballycanvan, the seat of Cornelius Bolton, Esq.; rode with Mr. Bolton, jun. to Faithleghill, which commands one of the finest views I have seen in Ireland. There is a rock on the top of a hill, which has a very bold view on every side down on a great extent of country, much of which is grass inclosures of a good verdure. This hill is the center of a circle of about ten miles diameter, beyond which higher lands rise, which, after spreading to a great extent, have on every side a back ground of mountain: in a northerly direction mount Leinster, between Wexford and Wicklow, twenty-six miles off, rises in several heads far above the clouds. A little to the right of this, Sliakeiltha (*i. e.* the woody mountain), at a less distance, is a fine object. To the left, Tory hill, only five miles, in a regular form varies the outline. To the east, there is the long mountain, eighteen miles distant, and several lesser Wexford hills. To the south-east, the Saltees. To the south, the ocean, and the colines about the bay of Tramore. To the west, Monavollagh rises two thousand one hundred and sixty feet above the level of the sea, eighteen miles off, being part of the great range of the Cummaragh mountains; and to the north-west Slinaman, at the distance of twenty four miles; so that the outline is every where bold and distinct, though distant. These circum-



circumstances would alone form a great view, but the water part of it, which fills up the canals, is in a much superior style. The great river Suir takes a winding course from the city of Waterford, through a rich country, hanging on the sides of hills to its banks, and dividing into a double channel, forms the lesser island, both of which courses you command distinctly; united, it makes a bold reach under the hill on which you stand, and there receives the noble tribute of the united waters of the Barrow and Nore, in two great channels, which form the larger island; enlarged by such an accession of water, it winds round the hill in a bending course, of the freest and most graceful outline, every where from one to three miles across, with bold shores, that give a sharp outline to its course to the ocean; twenty sail of ships at Passage gave animation to the scene; upon the whole, the boldness of the mountain outline, the variety of the grounds, the vast extent of river, with the declivity to it from the point of view, altogether form so unrivalled a scenery, every object so commanding, that the general want of wood is almost forgotten.

Two years after this account was written I again visited this enchanting hill, and walked to it, day after day, from Ballycanvan, and with increasing pleasure. Mr Bolton, jun. has, since I was there before, inclosed forty acres on the top and steep slope to the water, and began to plant them. This will be a prodigious addition; for the slope forming the bold shore for a considerable space, and having projections from which the wood will all be seen in the gentle hollows of the hill, the effect will be amazingly fine. Walks and a riding are tracing out, which will command fresh beauties at every step; the spots from which a variety of beautiful views are seen are numerous. All the way from Ballycanvan to Faithleg, the whole to the amount of one thousand two hundred acres, is the property of Mr. Bolton.

Farms about Ballycanvan, Waterford, &c. are generally small, from twenty and thirty to five hundred acres, generally about two hundred and fifty, all above two hundred acres are in general dairies; some of the dairy ones rise very high. The soil is a reddish stony, or stony gravel, dry, except low lands, which are clay or turf. Rents vary much, about the town very high, from 5l. 5s. to 9l. but at the distance of a few miles towards Passage, &c. they are from 20s. to 40s. and some higher, but the country in general does not rise so high, usually 10s. to 20s. for dairying land.

The poor people spin their own flax, but not more, and a few of them wool for themselves. Their food is potatoes and milk; but they have a considerable assistance from fish, particularly herrings; part of the year they have also barley, oats, and rye bread. They are incomparably better off in every respect than twenty years ago. Their increase about Ballycanvan is very great, and tillage all over this neighbourhood is increased. The rent of a cabin 10s., an acre with it, 20s. The grass of a cow a few years ago 20s., now 25s. or 30s.

An exceeding good practice here in making their fences is, they plant the quick on the side of the bank in the common manner, and then, instead of the dead hedge we use in England on the top of the bank, they plant a row of old thorns, two or three feet high, which readily grow, and form at once a most excellent fence. Their way also of taking in sand-banks from the river deserves notice: they stake down a row of furzes at low water, laying stones on them to the height of one or two feet; these retain the mud, which every tide brings in, so as fill up all within the furze as high as their tops. I remarked on the strand, that a few boat loads of stones laid carelessly had had this effect, for within them I measured twelve inches deep of rich blue mud left behind them, the same as they use in manuring, full of shells and effervesced strongly with vinegar.



Among the poor people, the fishermen are in much the best circumstances; the fishery is considerable; Waterford and its harbour have fifty boats each, from eight to twelve tons, six men on an average to each, but to one of six tons, five men go. A boat of eight tons costs 40*l.*, one of twelve, 60*l.* To each boat there is a train of nets of six pair, which costs from 4*l.* 4*s.* to 6*l.* 6*s.*; tan them with bark. Their only net fishery is that of herrings, which is commonly carried on by shares. The division of the fish is, first, one-fourth for the boat; and then the men and nets divide the rest, the latter reckoned as three men. They reckon ten maze of herrings an indifferent night's work; when there is a good take, forty maze have been taken, twenty a good night; the price per maze from 1*s.* to 7*s.* average 5*s.* Their take in 1775, the greatest they have known, when they had more than they could dispose of, and the whole town and country stunk of them, they retailed them thirty-two for a penny: 1773 and 1774 good years. They barrelled many; but in general there is an import of Swedish. Besides the common articles I have registered, the following are, pigeons, 1*s.* a couple; a hare, 1*s.*; partridges, 9*d.*; turbot, fine ones, 4*s.* to 10*s.*; foals a pair, large, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.*; lobsters, 3*d.* each; oysters, 6*s.* per hundred; rabbits, 1*s.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* a couple; cod, 1*s.* each, large; salmon, 1½*d.* to 2*d.*

A very extraordinary circumstance I was told, that within five or six years there has been much hay-carried from Waterford to Norway, in the Norway ships that bring deals; as hay is dear here, it proves a most backward state of husbandry in that northerly region, since the neighbourhood of sea-ports to which this hay can alone go, is generally the best improved in all countries.

October 19, the wind being fair, took my leave of Mr. Bolton, and went back to the ship; met with a fresh scene of provoking delays, so that it was the next morning, October 20, at eight o'clock, before we sailed, and then it was not wind, but a cargo of passengers that spread our sails. Twelve or fourteen hours are not an uncommon passage; but such was our luck, that after being in sight of the lights on the Smalls, we were by contrary winds blown opposite to Arklow sands: a violent gale arose, which presently blew a storm that lasted thirty-six hours, in which, under a reefed main-sail, the ship drifted up and down wearing, in order to keep clear of the coasts.

No wonder this appeared to me, a fresh-water sailor, as a storm, when the oldest men on board reckoned it a violent one; the wind blew in furious gusts; the waves ran very high; the cabin windows burst open, and the sea pouring in set every thing afloat, and among the rest a poor lady, who had spread her bed on the floor. We had however the satisfaction to find, by trying the pumps every watch, that the ship made little water. I had more time to attend these circumstances than the rest of the passengers, being the only one in seven who escaped without being sick. It pleased God to preserve us, but we did not cast anchor in Milford Haven till Tuesday morning the 22d, at one o'clock.

It is much to be wished that there were some means of being secure of packets sailing regularly, instead of waiting till there is such a number of passengers as satisfies the owner and captain; with the post-office packets there is this satisfaction, and a great one it is; the contrary conduct is so perfectly detestable, that I should suppose the scheme of Waterford ones can never succeed.

Two years after, having been assured this conveyance was put on a new footing, I ventured to try it again; but was mortified to find that the Tyrone, the only one that could take a chaise or horses, (the Countess being laid up,) was repairing, but would sail in five days; I waited, and received assurance after assurance that she would be ready on such a day, and then on another; in a word, I waited twenty-four days before I failed; moderately speaking, I could by Dublin have reached Turin or Milan as soon



as I did Milford in this conveyance. All this time the papers had constant advertisements of the Tyrone sailing regularly, instead of letting the public know that she was under a repair. Her owner seems to be a fair and worthy man, he will therefore probably give up the scheme entirely, unless assisted by the corporation with at least four ships more, to sail regularly with or without passengers; at present it is a general disappointment: I was fortunate in Mr. Bolton's acquaintance, passing my time very agreeably at his hospitable mansion; but those who, in such a case, should find a Waterford inn their resource, would curse the Tyrone, and set off for Dublin. The expences of this passage are higher than those from Dublin to Holyhead: I paid,

	£.	s.	d.
A four-wheel chaise	3	3	0
Three horses	3	3	0
Self	1	1	0
Two servants	1	1	0
Custom-house at Waterford, hay, oats, &c.	2	1	7
Ditto at Pembroke and Hubberston	3	0	0
Sailors, boats, and sundry small charges	1	15	5
	£ 15	5	0

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1777. Upon a second journey to Ireland this year, I took the opportunity of going from Dublin to Mitchelstown, by a rout through the central part of the kingdom which I had not before sufficiently viewed.

Left Dublin the 24th of September, and taking the road to Naas, I was again struck with the great population of the country, the cabins being so much poorer in the vicinity of the capital than in the more distant parts of the kingdom.

To Kildare, crossing the Curragh, so famous for its turf. It is a sheep walk of above four thousand English acres, forming a more beautiful lawn than the hand of art ever made. Nothing can exceed the extreme softness of the turf, which is of a verdure that charms the eye, and highly set off by the gentle inequality of surface. The soil is a fine dry loam on a stoney bottom; it is fed by many large flocks, turned on it by the occupiers of the adjacent farms, who alone have the right, and pay very great rents on that account. It is the only considerable common in the kingdom. The sheep yield very little wool, not more than 3lb. per fleece, but of a very fine quality.

From Furness to Shaen Castle, in the Queen's County, Dean Coote's; but as the husbandry, &c. of this neighbourhood is already registered, I have only to observe, that Mr. Coote was so kind as to shew me the improved grounds of Dawson's Court, the seat of Lord Carlow, which I had not seen before. The principal beauties of the place are the well grown and extensive plantations, which form a shade not often met with in Ireland. There is in the back grounds a lake well accompanied with wood, broken by several islands that are covered with underwood, and an ornamented walk passing on the banks which leads from the house. This lake is in the season perfectly alive with wild-fowl; near it is a very beautiful spot, which commands a view of both woods and water, a situation either for a house or a temple. Mr. Dawson is adding to the plantations, an employment of all others the most meritorious in Ireland. Another work, scarcely less so, was the erecting a large handsome inn, wherein the same gentleman



man intends establishing a person who shall be able to supply travellers, post, with either chaises or horses.

From Shaen Castle to Gloster, in the King's County, the seat of John Lloyd, Esq. member for that county, to whose attention I owe the following particulars, in which he took every means to have me well and accurately informed. But first let me observe, that I was much pleased to remark, all the way from Naas quite to Rosserea, that the country was amongst the finest I had seen in Ireland, and consequently that I was fortunate in having an opportunity of seeing it after the involuntary omission of last year. The cabins, though many of them are very bad, yet are better than in some other countries, and chimneys generally a part of them. The people too have no very miserable appearance; the breed of cattle and sheep good, and the hogs much the best I have any where seen in Ireland. Turf is every where at hand, and in plenty; yet are the bogs not so general as to affect the beauty of the country, which is very great in many tracts, with a scattering of wood, which makes it pleasing. Shaen Castle stands in the midst of a very fine tract. From Mountrath to Gloster, Mr. Lloyd's, I could have imagined myself in a very pleasing part of England; the country breaks into a variety of inequalities of hill and dale; it is all well inclosed with fine hedges; there is a plenty of wood, not so monopolized as in many parts of the kingdom by here and there a solitary seat, but spread over the whole face of the prospect: look which way you will, it is cultivated and chearful.

The Shannon adds not a little to the convenience and agreeableness of a residence so near it. Besides affording these sorts of wild fowl, the quantity and size of its fish are amazing: pikes swarm in it, and rise in weight to fifty pounds. In the little flat spaces on its banks are small but deep lochs, which are covered in winter and in floods; when the river withdraws, it leaves plenty of fish in them, which are caught to put into stews. Mr. Holmes has a small one before his door at Johnstown, with a little stream which feeds it; a trowling-rod here gets you a bite in a moment, of a pike from twenty to forty pounds. I eat of one of twenty-seven pounds so taken; I had also the pleasure of seeing a fisherman bring three trouts, weighing fourteen pounds, and sell them for sixpence-halfpenny a piece. A couple of boats lying at anchor, with lines extended from one to the other, and hooks in plenty from them, have been known to catch an incredible quantity of trout. Colonel Prittie, in one morning, caught four stone odd pounds, thirty-two trouts: in general they rise from three to nine pounds. Perch swarm; they appeared in the Shannon for the first time about ten years ago, in such plenty that the poor lived on them; bream of six pounds; eels very plentiful. There are many gillaroos in the river, one of twelve pounds weight was sent to Mr. Jenkinson. Upon the whole, these circumstances, with the pleasure of shooting and boating on the river, added to the glorious view it yields, and which is enough at any time to cheer the mind, render this neighbourhood one of the most enviable situations to live in that I have seen in Ireland. The face of the country gives every circumstance of beauty. From Killodeernan-hill, behind the new house building by Mr. Holmes, the whole is seen to great advantage. The spreading part of the Shannon, called Lóch Derg, is commanded distinctly for many miles; it is in two grand divisions of great variety: that to the north is a reach of five miles leading to Portumna. The whole hither shore a scenery of hills, checkered by inclosures and little woods, and retiring from the eye into a rich distant prospect. The woods of Doras, belonging to Lord Clanrickard, form a part of the opposite shore, and the river itself presents an island of one hundred and twenty acres. Inclining to the left, a vale of rough ground, with an old castle in it, is backed by a bold hill, which intercepts the river there, and then the great reach of fifteen miles, the bay



of Sheriff, spreads to the eye, with a magnificence not a little added to by the boundary, a sharp outline of the county of Clare mountains, between which and the Duharrow hills the Shannon finds its way. These hills lead the eye still more to the left, till the Keeper meets it, presenting a very beautiful outline that sinks into other ranges of hill, uniting with the Devil's Bit. The home scenery of the grounds, woods, hills, and lake of Johnstown, is beautiful.

Dancing is very general among the poor people, almost universal in every cabin. Dancing-masters of their own rank travel through the country from cabin to cabin, with a piper or blind fidler, and the pay is sixpence a quarter. It is an absolute system of education. Weddings are always celebrated with much dancing; and a Sunday rarely passes without a dance; there are very few among them who will not, after a hard day's work, gladly walk seven miles to have a dance. John is not so lively, but then a hard day's work with him is certainly a different affair from what it is with Paddy. Other branches of education are likewise much attended to, every child of the poorest family learning to read, write, and cast accounts.

There is a very ancient custom here, for a number of country neighbours among the poor people, to fix upon some young woman that ought, as they think, to be married; they also agree upon a young fellow as a proper husband for her; this determined, they send to the fair one's cabin to inform her that on the Sunday following "she is to be horsed," that is, carried on men's backs. She must then provide whisky and cyder for a treat, as all will pay her a visit after mas for a hurling match. As soon as she is horsed, the hurling begins, in which the young fellow appointed for her husband has the eyes of all the company fixed on him: if he comes off conqueror, he is certainly married to the girl; but if another is victorious, he as certainly loses her, for she is the prize of the victor. These trials are not always finished in one Sunday, they take sometimes two or three, and the common expression when they are over is, that "such a girl was goal'd." Sometimes one barony hurls against another, but a marriageable girl is always the prize. Hurling is a sort of cricket, but instead of throwing the ball in order to knock down a wicket, the aim is to pass it through a bent stick, the ends stuck in the ground. In these matches they perform such feats of activity, as ought to evidence the food they live on to be far from deficient in nourishment.

In the hills above Derry are some very fine slate quarries, that employ sixty men. The quarrymen are paid 3s. a thousand for the slates, and the labourers 5d. a day. They are very fine, and sent by the Shannon to distant parts of the kingdom; the price at the quarry 6s. a thousand, and at the shore 6s. 8d. Four hundred thousand slates are raised to pay the rent only, from which some estimate may be made of the quantity.

Mr. Head has a practice in his fences which deserves universal imitation; it is planting trees for gate-posts. Stone piers are expensive, and always tumbling down; trees are beautiful, and never want repairing. Within fifteen years this gentleman has improved Derry so much, that those who had only seen it before would find it almost a new creation. He has built a handsome stone-house, on the slope of a hill rising from the Shannon, and backed by some fine woods, which unite with many old hedges well planted to form a woodland scene, beautiful in the contrast to the bright expanse of the noble river below: the declivity on which these woods are, finishes in a mountain, which rises above the whole. The Shannon gives a bend around the adjoining lands, so as to be seen from the house both to the west and north, the lawn falling gradually to a margin of wood on the shore, which varies the outline. The river is two miles broad, and on the opposite shore cultivated inclosures rise in some places almost to the mountain top, which is very bold.



It is a very singular demesne; a stripe of very beautiful ground, reaching two miles along the banks of the river, which forms his fence on one side, with a wall on the other. There is so much wood as to render it very pleasing, adding to every day by planting all the fences made or repaired. From several little hills, which rise in different parts of it, extensive views of the river are commanded quite to Portumna; but these are much eclipsed by that from the top of the hill above the slate quarry. From thence you see the river for at least forty miles, from Portumna to twenty miles beyond Limerick. It has the appearance of a fine basin, two miles over, into which three great rivers lead, being the north and south course and the bay of Skeriff. The reaches of it one beyond another to Portumna are fine. At the foot of the mountain Mr. Head's demesne extends in a shore of rich woodland.

October 7th, took my leave of Mr. Head, after passing four days very agreeably: Through Killaloe, over the Shannon, a very long bridge of many arches; went out of the road to see a fall of that river at Castle Connel, where there is such an accompaniment of wood as to form a very pleasing scenery; the river takes a very rapid rocky course around a projecting rock, on which a gentleman has built a summer-house, and formed a terrace: it is a striking spot. To Limerick. Laid at Bennis's, the first inn we had slept in from Dublin. God preserve us this journey from another!

It is not uncommon, especially in mountainous countries, to find objects that much deserve the attention of travellers entirely neglected by them. There are a few instances of this upon Lord Kingsborough's estate, in the neighbourhood of Mitchelstown; the first I shall mention is a cave at Skeheenrinky, on the road between Cahir and that place: the opening to it is a cleft of rock in a lime-stone hill, so narrow as to be difficult to get into it. I descended by a ladder of about twenty steps, and then found myself in a vault of a hundred feet long, and fifty or sixty high: a small hole on the left leads from this a winding course of I believe not less than half an Irish mile, exhibiting a variety that struck me much. In some places the cavity in the rock is so large, that when well lighted up by candles (not flambeaux, Lord Kingsborough once shewed it me with them, and we found their smoke troublesome) it takes the appearance of a vaulted cathedral, supported by massy columns. The walls, cieling, floor, and pillars, are by turns composed of every fantastic form; and often of very beautiful incrustations of spar, some of which glitters so much, that it seems powdered with diamonds; and in others the cieling is formed of that sort which has so near a resemblance to a cauliflower. The spar formed into columns by the dropping of water has taken some very regular forms; but others are different, folded in plaits of light drapery, which hang from their support in a very pleasing manner. The angles of the walls seem fringed with icicles. One very long branch of the cave, which turns to the north, is in some places so narrow and low, that one crawls into it, when it suddenly breaks into large vaulted spaces, in a thousand forms. The spar in all this cave is very brilliant, and almost equal to Bristol stone. For several hundred yards in the larger branch, there is a deep water at the bottom of the declivity to the right, which the common people call the river. A part of the way is over a sort of potter's clay, which moulds into any form, and is of a brown colour; a very different soil from any in the neighbouring country. I have seen the famous cave in the Peak, but think it very much inferior to this; and Lord Kingsborough, who has viewed the Grot d'Aucel in Burgundy, says that it is not to be compared with it.

But the commanding region of the Galties deserves more attention. Those who are fond of scenes in which nature reigns in all her wild magnificence, should visit this stupendous chain. It consists of many vast mountains, thrown together in an assemblage of



of the most interesting features, from boldness and height of the declivities, freedom of outline, and variety of parts, filling a space of about six miles by three or four. Galtymore is the highest point, and rises like the lord and father of the surrounding progeny. From the top you look down upon a great extent of mountain, which shelves away from him to the south, east, and west; but to the north the ridge is almost a perpendicular declivity. On that side the famous golden vale of Limerick and Tipperary spreads a rich level to the eye, bounded by the mountains of Clare, King's and Queen's counties, with the course of the Shannon, for many miles below Limerick. To the south you look over alternate ridges of mountains, which rise one beyond another, till in a clear day the eye meets the ocean near Dungarvon. The mountains of Waterford and Knockmaldown fill up the space to the south-east. The western is the most extensive view; for nothing stops the eye till Mangerton and Macgilly Cuddy's Reeks point out the spot where Killarney's lake calls for a farther excursion. The prospect extends into eight counties, Cork, Kerry, Waterford, Limerick, Clare, Queen's, Tipperary, King's.

A little to the west of this proud summit, below it in a very extraordinary hollow, is a circular lake of two acres, reported to be unfathomable. The descriptions which I have read of the craters of exhausted volcanoes, leave very little doubt of this being one; and the conical regularity of the summit of Galtymore speaks the same language. East of this respectable hill, to use Sir William Hamilton's language, is a declivity of about one quarter of a mile, and there Galtymore rises in a yet more regular cone, and between the two hills is another lake, which from position seems to have been once the crater which threw up Galtymore, as the first mentioned was the origin of Galtymore. Beyond the former hill is a third lake, and east of that another hill; I was told of a fourth, with another corresponding mountain. It is only the mere summit of these mountains which rise above the lakes. Speaking of them below, they may be said to be on the tops of the hills; they are all of them at the bottom of an almost regularly circular hollow. On the side next the mountain top are walls of perpendicular rocks, in regular strata, and some of them piled on each other, with an appearance of art rather than nature. In these rocks the eagles, which are seen in numbers on the Galties, have their nests. Supposing the mountains to be of volcanic origin, and these lakes the craters, of which I have not a doubt; they are objects of the greatest curiosity, for there is an unusual regularity in every considerable summit, having its corresponding crater; but without this circumstance the scenery is interesting in a very great degree. The mountain summits, which are often wrapped in the clouds, at other times exhibit the freest outline; the immense scooped hollows which sink at your feet, declivities of so vast a depth as to give one terror to look down; with the unusual forms of the lower region of hills, particularly Bull hill, and Round hill, each a mile over, yet rising out of circular vales, with the regularity of semi-globes, unite upon the whole to exhibit a scenery to the eye, in which the parts are of a magnitude so commanding; a character so interesting, and a variety so striking, that they well deserve to be examined by every curious traveller.

Nor are these immense outlines the whole of what is to be seen in this great range of mountains. Every glen has its beauties; there is a considerable mountain river, or rather torrent, in every one of them; but the greatest are the Funcheon, between Seefang and Galtymore; the Limestone river, between Galtymore and Round hill, and the Grouse river, between Coolegarranroe, and Mr. O'Callaghan's mountain; these present to the eye, for a tract of about three miles, every variety that rock, water, and mountain can give, thrown into all the fantastic forms which art may attempt in ornamented



mented grounds, but always fails in. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the water, when not discoloured by rain, its lucid transparency shews, at considerable depths, every pebble no bigger than a pin, every rocky basin alive with trout and eels, that play and dash among the rocks, as if endowed with that native vigour which animates, in a superior degree, every inhabitant of the mountains, from the bounding red deer, and the soaring eagle, down even to the fishes of the brook. Every five minutes you have a waterfall in these glens, which in any other region, would stop every traveller to admire it. Sometimes the vale takes a gentle declivity, and presents to the eye, at one stroke, twenty or thirty falls, which render the scenery all alive with motion; the rocks are tossed about in the wildest confusion, and the torrent bursts by turns from above, beneath, and under them; while the back ground is always filled up with the mountains which stretch around.

In the western Glen is the finest cascade in all the Galties; there are two falls, with a basin in the rock between, but from some points of view they appear one; the rock over which the water tumbles is about sixty feet high. A good line in which to view these objects is either to take the Killarney and Mallow road, to Mitchelstown, and from thence by Lord Kingborough's new one, to Skeheenrinky, there to take one of the Glens, to Galtybeg, and Galtymore, and return to Mitchelstown by the Wolf's track, Temple hill, and the Waterfall; or, if the Cork road is travelling, to make Dobbin's inn, at Ballyporeen, the head quarters, and view them from thence.

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Having heard much of the beauties of a part of the Queen's County, I had not before seen, I took that line of country in my way on a journey to Dublin.

From Mitchelstown to Cashel, the road leads as far as Galbally in the route already travelled from Cullen; towards Cashel the country is various. The only object deserving attention, are the plantations of Thomastown, the seat of Francis Mathew, Esq.; they consist chiefly of hedge-row trees in double and treble rows, are well grown, and of such extent as to form an uncommon woodland scene in Ireland. Found the widow Holland's inn, at Cashel, clean and very civil. Take the road to Urlingford. The rich sheep pastures, part of the famous golden vale, reach between three and four miles from Cashel to the great bog by Botany Hill, noted for producing a greater variety of plants than common. That bog is separated by only small tracts of land, from the string of bogs which extend through the Queen's County, from the great bog of Allen; it is here of considerable extent, and exceedingly improveable. Then enter a low marshy bad country, which grows worse after passing the sixty-sixth mile stone, and successive bogs in it. Breakfast at Johnstown, a regular village on a slight eminence, built by Mr. Hayley; it is near the Spaw of Ballyspellin. Rows of trees are planted; but their heads all cut off, I suppose from their not thriving, being planted too old. Immediately on leaving these planted avenues, enter a row of eight or ten new cabins, at a distance from each other, which appear to be a new undertaking, the land about them all pared and burnt, and the ashes in heaps.

Enter a fine planted country, with much corn and good thriving quick hedges for many miles. The road leads through a large wood, which joins Lord Ashbrook's plantations, whose house is situated in the midst of more wood than almost any one I have seen in Ireland. Pass Durrow; the country for two or three miles continues all inclosed with fine quick hedges, is beautiful, and has some resemblance to the best parts of Essex. Sir Robert Staple's improvements join this fine tract; they are completed in.



in a most perfect manner, the hedges well-grown, cut, and in such excellent order, that I can scarcely believe myself to be in Ireland. His gates are all of iron. These sylvan scenes continue through other seats beautifully situated, amidst gentle declivities of the finest verdure, full grown woods, excellent hedges, and a pretty river winding by the house. The whole environs of several would be admired in the best parts of England.

Cross a great bog, within sight of Lord De Vescey's plantations. The road leads over it, being drained for that purpose by deep cuts on either side. I should apprehend this bog to be among the most improveable in the country.

Slept at Ballyroan, at an inn kept by three animals, who call themselves women; met with more impertinence than at any other in Ireland. It is an execrable hole. In three or four miles pass Sir John Parnell's, prettily situated in a neatly dressed lawn, with much wood about it, and a lake quite alive with wild fowl.

Pass Monstereven, and cross directly a large bog, drained and partly improved; but all of it bearing grass, and seems in a state that might easily be reduced to rich meadow, with only a dressing of lime. Here I got again into the road I had travelled before.

I must in general remark, that from near Urlingford to Dawson Court, near Monstereven, which is completely across the Queen's County, is a line of above thirty English miles, and is for that extent by much the most improved of any I have seen in Ireland. It is generally well planted, has many woods, and not consisting of patches of plantation just by gentlemen's houses, but spreading over the whole face of the country, so as to give it the richness of an English woodland scene. What a country would Ireland be, had the inhabitants of the rest of it improved the whole like this!

## PART II.

### SECTION I.—*Soil, Face of the Country, and Climate.*

TO judge of Ireland by the conversation one sometimes hears in England, it would be supposed that one half of it was covered with bogs, and the other with mountains filled with Irish ready to fly at the sight of a civilized being. There are people who will smile when they hear that, in proportion to the size of the two countries, Ireland is more cultivated than England, having much less waste land of all sorts. Of uncultivated mountains there are no such tracts as are found in our four northern counties, and the North Riding of Yorkshire, with the eastern line of Lancaster, nearly down to the Peak of Derby, which form an extent of above a hundred miles of waste. The most considerable of this sort in Ireland are in Kerry, Galway, and Mayo, and some in Sligo and Donnegal. But all these together will not make the quantity we have in the four northern counties; the vallies in the Irish mountains are also more inhabited, I think, than those of England, except where there are mines, and consequently some sort of cultivation creeping up the sides. Natural fertility, acre for acre over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favour of Ireland; of this I believe there can scarcely be a doubt entertained, when it is considered that some of the more beautiful, and even best cultivated counties in England, owe almost every thing to the capital art and industry of the inhabitants.

The circumstance which strikes me as the greatest singularity of Ireland, is the rockiness of the soil, which should seem at first sight against that degree of fertility; but the



contrary is the fact. Stone is so general, that I have great reason to believe the whole island is one vast rock of different strata and kinds rising out of the sea. I have rarely heard of any great depths being sunk without meeting with it. In general it appears on the surface in every part of the kingdom, the flattest and most fertile parts, as Limerick, Tipperary, and Meath, have it at no great depth, almost as much as the more barren ones. May we not recognize in this the hand of bounteous Providence, which has given, perhaps the most stoney soil in Europe to the moistest climate in it? If as much rain fell upon the clays of England (a soil very rarely met with in Ireland, and never without much stone) as falls upon the rocks of her sister island, those lands could not be cultivated. But the rocks are here clothed with verdure; those of lime-stone with only a thin covering of mould, have the softest and most beautiful turf imaginable.

Of the great advantages resulting from the general plenty of lime-stone and lime-stone gravel, and the nature of the bogs, I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter.

The rockiness of the soil in Ireland is so universal, that it predominates in every sort. One cannot use with propriety the terms clay, loam, sand, &c. it must be a *stoney* clay, a *stoney* loam, a *gravelly* sand. Clay, especially the yellow, is much talked of in Ireland, but it is for want of proper discrimination. I have once or twice seen almost a pure clay upon the surface, but it is extremely rare. The true yellow clay is usually found in a thin stratum under the surface mould, and over a rock; harsh, tenacious, stoney, strong loams, difficult to work, are not uncommon; but they are quite different from English clays.

Friable sandy loams, dry but fertile, are very common, and they form the best soils in the kingdom for tillage and sheep. Tipperary and Roscommon abound particularly in them. The most fertile of all, are the bullock pastures of Limerick, and the banks of the Shannon in Clare, called the *Corcaffes*. These are a mellow, putrid, friable loam.

Sand which is so common in England, and yet more common through Spain, France, Germany, and Poland, quite from Gibraltar to Petersburg, is no where met with in Ireland, except for narrow slips of hillocks, upon the sea coast. Nor did I ever meet with, or hear of a chalky soil.

The bogs, of which foreigners have heard so much, are very extensive in Ireland; that of Allen extends eighty miles, and is computed to contain three hundred thousand acres. There are others also, very extensive, and smaller ones scattered over the whole kingdom; but these are not in general more than are wanted for fuel. When I come to speak of the improvement of waste lands, I shall describe them particularly.

Besides the great fertility of the soil, there are other circumstances which come within my sphere to mention. Few countries can be better watered, by large and beautiful rivers; and it is remarkable, that by much the finest parts of the kingdom are on the banks of these rivers. Witness the Sure, Blakwater, the Liffy, the Boyne, the Nore, the Barrow, and part of the Shannon, they wash a scenery that can hardly be exceeded. From the rockiness of the country, however, there are few of them that have not obstructions, which are great impediments to inland navigation.

The mountains of Ireland give to travelling that interesting variety, which a flat country can never abound with. And at the same time, they are not in such number as to confer the usual character of poverty, which attends them. I was either upon or very near the most considerable in the kingdom. Mangerton, and the Reeks, in Kerry; the Galties in Corke; those of Mourne in Down; Crow Patrick, and Neplin in Mayo,



these are the principal in Ireland, and they are of a character, in height and sublimity, which should render them the objects of every traveller's attention.

Relative to the climate of Ireland, a short residence cannot enable a man to speak much from his own experience; the observations I have made myself confirm the idea of its being vastly wetter than England; from the 20th of June to the 20th of October, I kept a register, and there were, in one hundred and twenty-two days, seventy-five of rain, and very many of them incessant and heavy. I have examined similar registers I kept in England, and can find no year that even approaches to such a moisture as this. But there is a register of an accurate diary published, which compares London and Corke. The result is, that the quantity at the latter place was double to that at London. See *Smith's Hist. of Corke*.

From the information I received, I have reason to believe, that the rainy season sets in usually about the first of July, and continues very wet till September or October, when there is usually a dry fine season of a month or six weeks. I resided in the county of Corke, &c. from October till March, and found the winter much more soft and mild, than ever I experienced one in England. I was also a whole summer there (1778), and it is fair to mention, that it was as fine a one as ever I knew in England, though by no means so hot. I think hardly so wet as very many I have known in England. The tops of the Galty mountains exhibited the only snow we saw; and as to frosts, they were so slight and rare that I believe myrtles, and yet tenderer plants, would have survived without any covering. But when I say that the winter was not remarkable for being wet, I do not mean that we had a dry atmosphere. The inches of rain which fell in the winter I speak of, would not mark the moisture of the climate. As many inches will fall in a single tropical shower, as in a whole year in England. See *Mitchel's Present State of Great Britain and North America*. But if the clouds presently disperse, and a bright sun shines, the air may soon be dry. The worst circumstance of the climate of Ireland, is the constant moisture without rain. Wet a piece of leather, and lay it in a room where there is neither sun nor fire, and it will not in summer even be dry in a month. I have known gentlemen in Ireland deny their climate being moister than England, but if they have eyes let them open them, and see the verdure that clothes their rocks, and compare it with ours in England—where rocky soils are of a russet brown however sweet the food for sheep. Does not their island lie more exposed to the great Atlantic; and does not the west wind blow three fourths of a year? If there was another island yet more westward, would not the climate of Ireland be improved? Such persons speak equally against fact, reason, and philosophy. That the moisture of a climate does not depend on the quantity of rain that falls, but on the powers of aerial evaporation, Dr. Dobson has clearly proved. *Phil. Transf.* vol. lxxvii. part i. p. 244.

#### *Oppression.*

BEFORE I conclude this article of the common labouring poor in Ireland, I must observe, that their happiness depends not merely upon the payment of their labour, their cloaths, or their food; the subordination of the lower classes, degenerating into oppression, is not to be overlooked. The poor in all countries, and under all governments, are both paid and fed, yet there is an infinite difference between them in different ones. This inquiry will by no means turn out so favourable as the preceding articles. It must be very apparent to every traveller through that country, that the labouring poor are treated with harshness, and are in all respects so little considered,



that their want of importance seems a perfect contrast to their situation in England, of which country, comparatively speaking, they reign the sovereigns. The age has improved so much in humanity, that even the poor Irish have experienced its influence, and are every day treated better and better; but still the remnant of the old manners, the abominable distinction of religion, united with the oppressive conduct of the little country gentlemen, or rather vermin of the kingdom, who never were out of it, altogether bear still very heavy on the poor people, and subject them to situations more mortifying than we ever behold in England. The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but that of his will. To discover what the liberty of the people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm: the language of written law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery; there is too much of this contradiction in Ireland; a long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission: speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of *written* liberty. Landlords that have resided much abroad are usually humane in their ideas, but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind, so that even in this polished age there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England.

A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, labourer, or cottar dares to refuse to execute. Nothing satisfies him but an unlimited submission. Disrespect, or any thing tending towards sauciness, he may punish with his cane or his horse-whip with the most perfect security, a poor man would have his bones broke, if he offered to lift his hands in his own defence. Knocking-down is spoken of in the country in a manner that makes an Englishman stare. Landlords of consequence have assured me that many of their cottars would think themselves honoured by having their wives and daughters sent for to the bed of their master; a mark of slavery that proves the oppression under which such people must live. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. But let it not be imagined that this is common; formerly it happened every day, but law gains ground. It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipt into a ditch by a gentleman's footman to make way for his carriage; if they are overturned or broken in pieces, no matter, it is taken in patience; were they to complain they would perhaps be horse-whipped. The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where manners are in conspiracy against law, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? It is a fact, that a poor man having a contest with a gentleman must—but I am talking nonsense, they know their situation too well to think of it; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

The colours of this picture are not charged. To assert that all these cases are common, would be an exaggeration, but to say that an unfeeling landlord will do all this with impunity is to keep strictly to truth: and what is liberty but a farce and a jest, if



its blessings are received as the favour of kindness and humanity, instead of being the inheritance of Right?

Consequences have flowed from these oppressions which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of White-boys, Steel-boys, Oak-boys, Peep-of-day-boys, &c. But these various insurgents are not to be confounded, for they are very different. The proper distinction in the discontents of the people is into Protestant and Catholic. All but the White-boys were among the manufacturing Protestants in the north. The White-boys Catholic labourers in the south: from the best intelligence I could gain, the riots of the manufacturers had no other foundation but such variations in the manufacture as all fabrics experience, and which they had themselves known and submitted to before. The case, however, was different with the White-boys; who being labouring Catholics met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission had not very severe treatment in respect of tythes, united with a great speculative rise of rent about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance; the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation, acts were passed for their punishment which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; this arose to such a height that by one they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which, though repealed the following session, marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would if executed tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure from overlooking the real cause of the disease, which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as yourselves: put an end to that system of religious persecution which for seventy years has divided the kingdom against itself; in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection, perform them completely, and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals.

A better treatment of the poor in Ireland is a very material point of the welfare of the whole British Empire. Events may happen which may convince us fatally of this truth; if not, oppression must have broken all the spirit and resentment of men. By what policy the government of England can for so many years have permitted such an absurd system to be matured in Ireland, is beyond the power of plain sense to discover.

### *Emigrations.*

BEFORE the American war broke out, the Irish and Scotch emigrations were a constant subject of conversation in England, and occasioned much discourse even in parliament. The common observation was, that if they were not stopped, those countries would be ruined, and they were generally attributed to a great rise of rents. Upon going over to Ireland I determined to omit no opportunities of discovering the cause and extent of this emigration, and my information, as may be seen in the minutes of the journey, was very regular. I have only a few general remarks to make on it here.

The spirit of emigrating in Ireland appeared to be confined to two circumstances, the presbyterian religion, and the linen manufacture. I heard of very few emigrants except among manufacturers of that persuasion. The Catholics never went, they seem not only tied to the country but almost to the parish in which their ancestors lived. As to the emigration in the north it was an error in England to suppose it a novelty which  
arose



arose with the increase in rents. The contrary was the fact, it had subsisted perhaps forty years, inasmuch that at the ports of Belfast, Derry, &c. the *passenger trade*, as they called it, had long been a regular branch of commerce, which employed several ships, and consisted in carrying people to America. The increasing population of the country made it an increasing trade, but when the linen trade was low, the *passenger trade* was always high. At the time of Lord Donnegall's letting his estate in the north the linen business suffered a temporary decline, which sent great numbers to America, and gave rise to the error that it was occasioned by the increase of his rents: the fact, however, was otherwise, for great numbers of those who went from his lands actually sold those leases for considerable sums, the hardship of which was supposed to have driven them to America. Some emigration, therefore, always existed, and its increase depended on the fluctuations of linen; but as to the *effect* there was as much error in the conclusions drawn in England as before in the *cause*.

It is the misfortune of all manufactures worked for a foreign market to be upon an insecure footing, periods of declension will come, and when in consequence of them great numbers of people are out of employment, the best circumstance is their enlisting in the army or navy; and it is the common result; but unfortunately the manufacture in Ireland (of which I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter) is not confined as it ought to be to towns, but spreads into all cabins of the country. Being half farmers, half manufacturers, they have too much property in cattle, &c. to enlist when idle; if they convert it into cash it will enable them to pay their passage to America, an alternative always chosen in preference to the military life. The consequence is, that they must live without work till their substance is quite consumed before they will enlist. Men who are in such a situation that from various causes they cannot work, and won't enlist, should emigrate, if they stay at home they must remain a burthen upon the community; emigration should not, therefore, be condemned in states so ill governed as to possess many people willing to work, but without employment.

## SECTION II.—Roads—Carrs.

FOR a country, so very far behind us as Ireland, to have got suddenly so much the start of us in the article of roads, is a spectacle that cannot fail to strike the English traveller exceedingly. But from this commendation the turnpikes in general must be excluded, they are as bad as the bye-roads are admirable. It is a common complaint, that the tolls of the turnpikes are so many jobs, and the roads left in a state that disgrace the kingdom.

The following is the system on which the cross-roads are made. Any person, wishing to make or mend a road, has it measured by two persons, who swear to the measurement before a justice of the peace. It is described as leading from one market-town to another (it matters not in what direction), that it will be a public good, and that it will require such a sum per perch of twenty-one feet, to make or repair the same; a certificate to this purpose (of which printed forms are sold), with the blanks filled up, is signed by the measurers, and also by two persons called overseers, one of whom is usually the person applying for the road, the other the labourer he intends to employ as an overseer of the work, which overseer swears also before the justice the truth of the valuation. The certificate, thus prepared, is given by any person to some one of the grand jury, at either of the assizes, but usually in the spring. When all the common business of trials is over, the jury meets on that of roads; the chairman reads the certificates, and they are all put to the vote, whether to be granted or not. If re-

jected,



jected, they are torn in pieces and no further notice taken; if granted, they are put on the file.

This vote of approbation, without any farther form, enables the person who applied for the presentment immediately to construct or repair the road in question, which he must do at his own expence; he must finish it by the following assizes, when he is to send a certificate of his having expended the money pursuant to the application; this certificate is signed by the foreman, who also signs an order on the treasurer of the county to pay him, which is done immediately. In like manner are bridges, houses of correction, gaols, &c. &c. built and repaired. If a bridge over a river which parts two counties, half is done by one and the other half by the other county.

The expence of these works is raised by a tax on the lands, paid by the tenant; in some counties it is acreable, but in others it is on the *plough land*, and as no two plough lands are of the same size is a very unequal tax. In the county of Meath it is acreable, and amounts to one shilling per acre, being the highest in Ireland; but in general it is from three-pence to sixpence per acre, and amounts of late years through the whole kingdom to one hundred and forty thousand pounds a-year.

The juries will very rarely grant a presentment for a road which amounts to above fifty pounds, or for more than six or seven shillings a perch, so that if a person wants more to be made than such a sum will do, he divides it into two or three different measurements or presentments. By the act of parliament all presentment-roads must be twenty-one feet wide at least from fence to fence, and fourteen feet of it formed with stone or gravel.

As the power of the grand jury extends in this manner to the cutting new roads where none ever were before, as well as to the repairing and widening old ones, exclusive, however, of parks, gardens, &c. it was necessary to put a restriction against the wanton expence of it. Any presentment may be traversed that is opposed, by denying the allegations of the certificate; this is sure of delaying it until another assizes, and in the mean time persons are appointed to view the line of road demanded, and report on the necessity or hardship of the case. The payment of the money may also be traversed after the certificate of its being laid out; for if any person views and finds it a manifest imposition and job, he has that power to delay payment until the cause is cleared up and proved. But this traverse is not common. Any persons are eligible for asking presentments; but it is usually done only by resident gentlemen, agents, clergy, or respectable tenantry. It follows necessarily, that every person is desirous of making the roads leading to his own house, and that private interest alone is considered in it, which I have heard objected to the measure; but this I must own appears to me the great merit of it. Whenever individuals act for the public alone, the public is very badly served; but when the pursuit of their own interest is the way to benefit the public, then is the public good sure to be promoted; such is the case of presentment of roads: for a few years the good roads were all found leading from houses like rays from a center, with a surrounding space, without any communication; but every year brought the remedy, until in a short time, those rays pointing from so many centers met, and then the communication was complete. The original act passed but seventeen years ago, and the effect of it in all parts of the kingdom is so great, that I found it perfectly practicable to travel upon wheels by a map; I will go here; I will go there; I could trace a route upon paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and every where I found beautiful roads without break or hindrance, to enable me to realize my design. What a figure would a person make in England, who should attempt to move in that manner, where the roads, as Dr. Burn has well observed, are almost in as bad a state as in the time of Philip and Mary.



Mary. In a few years there will not be a piece of bad road except turnpikes in all Ireland. The money raised for this first and most important of all national purposes, is expended among the people who pay it, employs themselves and their teams, encourages their agriculture, and facilitates so greatly the improvement of waste lands, that it ought always to be considered as the first step to any undertaking of that sort.

At first, roads, in common with bridges, were paid out of the general treasure of the county, but by a subsequent act the road tax is now on baronies; each barony pays for its own roads. By another act juries were enabled to grant presentments of narrow mountain roads, at two shillings and sixpence a perch. By another, they were empowered to grant presentments of footpaths, by the side of roads, to one shilling a perch. By a very late act, they are also enabled to contract at three-halfpence per perch per annum from the first making of a road, for keeping it in repair, which before could not be done without a fresh presentment. Arthur King, Esq. of Moniva, whose agriculture is described in the preceding minutes, and who at that time represented the county of Galway, was the worthy citizen who first brought this excellent measure into parliament: Ireland, and every traveller that ever visits it ought, to the latest time, to revere the memory of such a distinguished benefactor to the public. Before that time the roads, like those of England, remained impassable, under the miserable police of the six days' labour. Similar good effects would here flow from adopting the measure, which would ease the kingdom of a great burthen in its public effect absolutely contemptible; and the tax here, as in Ireland, ought to be so laid, as to be borne by the tenant, whose business it is at present to repair.

Upon the imperfections of the Irish system I have only to remark, that juries should, in some cases, be more ready than they are to grant these presentments. In general, they are extremely liberal, but sometimes they take silly freaks of giving none, or very few. Experience having proved, from the general goodness of the roads, that abuses cannot be very great, they should go on with spirit to perfect the great work throughout the kingdom; and as a check upon those who lay out the money, it might perhaps be adviseable to print county maps of the presentment roads, with corresponding lists and tables of the names of all persons who have obtained presentments, the sums they received, and for what roads. These should be given freely by the jurymen, to all their acquaintance, that every man might know, to whose carelessness or jobbing the public was indebted for bad roads, when they had paid for good ones. Such a practice would certainly deter many.

At eleven million forty-two thousand six hundred and forty-two acres in the kingdom, 140,000*l.* a year amounts to just three-pence an acre for the whole territory: a very trifling tax for such an improvement, and which almost ranks in public ease and benefit with that of the post-office.

### SECTION. III.—*Manners and Customs.*

*Quid leges sine moribus,  
Vana proficiunt!*

IT is but an illiberal business for a traveller, who designs to publish remarks upon a country to sit down coolly in his closet and write a satire on the inhabitants. Severity of that sort must be enlivened with an uncommon share of wit and ridicule, to please. Where very gross absurdities are found, it is fair and manly to note them; but to enter into character and disposition is generally uncandid, since there are no people but might be



be better than they are found, and none but have virtues which deserve attention, at least as much as their failings; for these reasons this section would not have found a place in my observations, had not some persons, of much more flippancy than wisdom, given very gross misrepresentations of the Irish nation. It is with pleasure, therefore, that I take up the pen on the present occasion; as a much longer residence there enables me to exhibit a very different picture; in doing this, I shall be free to remark, wherein I think the conduct of certain classes may have given rise to general and consequently injurious condemnation.

There are three races of people in Ireland, so distinct, as to strike the least attentive traveller: these are the Spanish which are found in Kerry, and a part of Limerick and Corke, tall and thin, but well made, a long visage, dark eyes, and long black lank hair. The time is not remote when the Spaniards had a kind of settlement on the coast of Kerry, which seemed to be overlooked by government. There were many of them in Queen Elizabeth's reign, nor were they entirely driven out till the time of Cromwell. There is an island of Valentia on that coast, with various other names, certainly Spanish. The Scotch race is in the north, where are to be found the features which are supposed to mark that people, their accent and many of their customs. In a district near Dublin, but more particularly in the baronies of Bargie and Forth in the county of Wexford, the Saxon tongue is spoken without any mixture of the Irish, and the people have a variety of customs mentioned in the minutes, which distinguish them from their neighbours. The rest of the kingdom is made up of mongrels. The Milesian race of Irish, which may be called *native*, are scattered over the kingdom, but chiefly found in Connaught and Munster; a few considerable families, whose genealogy is undoubted, remain, but none of them with considerable possessions except the O'Briens and Mr. O'Neil; the former have near twenty thousand pounds a year in the family, the latter half as much, the remnant of a property once his ancestors, which now forms six or seven of the greatest estates in the kingdom. O'Hara and M'Dermot are great names in Connaught, and O'Donoghue a considerable one in Kerry; but I heard of a family of O'Driscall's in Corke, who claim an origin prior in Ireland to any of the Milesian race.

The only divisions which a traveller, who passed through the kingdom without making any residence could make, would be into people of considerable fortune and mob. The intermediate division of the scale, so numerous and respectable in England, would hardly attract the least notice in Ireland. A residence in the kingdom convinces one, however, that there is another class in general of small fortune,—country gentlemen and renters of land. The manners, habits, and customs of people of considerable fortune are much the same every where, at least there is very little difference between England and Ireland, it is among the common people one must look for those traits by which we discriminate a national character. The circumstances which struck me most in the common Irish were, vivacity and a great and eloquent volubility of speech; one would think they could take snuff and talk without tiring till doomsday. They are infinitely more cheerful and lively than any thing we commonly see in England, having nothing of that incivility of fullen silence with which so many Englishmen seem to wrap themselves up, as if retiring within their own importance. Lazy to an excess at *work*, but so spiritedly active at *play*, that at *hurling*, which is the cricket of savages, they shew the greatest feats of agility. Their love of society is as remarkable as their curiosity is insatiable; and their hospitality to all comers, be their own poverty ever so pinching, has too much merit to be forgotten. Pleased to enjoyment with a joke, or witty repartee, they will repeat it with such expression, that the laugh will be universal. Warm friends and revengeful enemies;



enemies; they are inviolable in their secrecy, and inevitable in their resentment; with such a notion of honour, that neither threat nor reward would induce them to betray the secret or person of a man, though an oppressor, whose property they would plunder without ceremony. Hard drinkers and quarrelsome; great liars, but civil, submissive, and obedient. Dancing is so universal among them, that there are every where itinerant dancing-masters, to whom the cottars pay sixpence a quarter for teaching their families. Besides the Irish jig, which they can dance with a most luxuriant expression, minuets and country-dances are taught; and I even heard some talk of cotillions coming in.

Some degree of education is also general, hedge schools, as they are called, (they might as well be termed ditch ones, for I have seen many a ditch full of scholars,) are every where to be met with where reading and writing are taught; schools are also common for men; I have seen a dozen great fellows at school, and was told they were educating with an intention of being priests. Many strokes in their character are evidently to be ascribed to the extreme oppression under which they live. If they are as great thieves and liars as they are reported, it is certainly owing to this cause.

If from the lowest class we rise to the highest, all there is gaiety, pleasure, luxury, and extravagance; the town life at Dublin is formed on the model of that of London. Every night in the winter there is a ball or a party, where the polite circle meet, not to enjoy but to sweat each other; a great crowd crammed into twenty feet square gives a zest to the *agrément*s of small talk and whist. There are four or five houses large enough to receive a company commodiously, but the rest are so small as to make parties detestable. There is however an agreeable society in Dublin, in which a man of large fortune will not find his time heavy. The stile of living may be guessed from the fortunes of the resident nobility and great commoners; there are about thirty that possess incomes from seven to twenty thousand pounds a year. The court has nothing remarkable or splendid in it, but varies very much, according to the private fortune or liberality of disposition in the lord lieutenant.

In the country their life has some circumstances which are not commonly seen in England. Large tracts of land are kept in hand by every body to supply the deficiencies of markets; this gives such a plenty, that, united with the lowness of taxes and prices, one would suppose it difficult for them to spend their incomes, if Dublin in the winter did not lend assistance. Let it be considered that the prices of meat are much lower than in England; poultry only a fourth of the price; wild fowl and fish in vastly greater plenty; rum and brandy not half the price; coffee, tea, and wines far cheaper; labour not above a third; servants' wages upon an average thirty per cent. cheaper. That taxes are inconsiderable, for there is no land-tax, no poor-rates, no window-tax, no candle or soap-tax, only half a wheel-tax, no servants-tax, and a variety of other articles heavily burthened in England, but not in Ireland. Considering all this, one would think they could not spend their incomes; they do contrive it however. In this business they are assisted by two customs that have an admirable tendency to it, great numbers of horses and servants.

In England such extensive demesnes would be parks around the seats for beauty as much as use, but it is not so in Ireland; the words deer-park and demesne are to be distinguished; there are great demesnes without any parks, but a want of taste, too common in Ireland, is having a deer-park at a distance from the house; the residence surrounded by walls, or hedges, or cabins; and the lawn inclosure scattered with animals of various sorts, perhaps three miles off. The small quantity of corn proportioned to the total acres, shews how little tillage is attended to even by those who are the best able to carry it on; and the column of turnips proves in the clearest manner, what



the progress of improvement is in that kingdom. The number of horses may almost be esteemed a satire upon common sense; were they well fed enough to be useful, they would not be so numerous, but I have found a good hack for a common ride scarce in a house where there were a hundred. Upon an average, the horses in gentlemen's stables throughout the kingdom are not fed half so well as they are in England by men of equal fortune; yet the number makes the expence of them very heavy.

Another circumstance to be remarked in the country life is the miserableness of many of their houses; there are men of five thousand a year in Ireland, who live in habitations that a man of seven hundred a year in England would disdain; an air of neatness, order, dress, and *propreté*, is wanting to a surprising degree around the mansion; even new and excellent houses have often nothing of this about them. But the badness of the houses is remedying every hour throughout the whole kingdom, for the number of new ones just built, or building, is prodigiously great. I should suppose there were not ten dwellings in the kingdom thirty years ago that were fit for an English pig to live in. Gardens were equally bad, but now they are running into the contrary extreme, and wall in five, six, ten, and even twenty Irish acres for a garden, but generally double or treble what is necessary.

The tables of people of fortune are very plentifully spread; many elegantly, differing in nothing from those of England. I think I remarked that venison wants the flavour it has with us, probably for the same reason, that the produce of rich parks is never equal to that of poor ones; the moisture of the climate, and the richness of the soil, give fat but not flavour. Another reason is the smallness of the parks, a man who has three or four thousand acres in his hands, has not perhaps above three or four hundred in his deer-park, and range is a great point for good venison. Nor do I think that garden vegetables have the flavour found in those of England, certainly owing to the climate; green peas I found every where perfectly insipid, and lettuce, &c. not good. Claret is the common wine of all tables, and so much inferior to what is drank in England, that it does not appear to be the same wine; but their port is incomparable, so much better than the English, as to prove, if proof was wanting, the abominable adulterations it must undergo with us. Drinking and duelling are two charges which have long been alledged against the gentlemen of Ireland, but the change of manners which has taken place in that kingdom is not generally known in England. Drunkenness ought no longer to be a reproach, for at every table I was at in Ireland I saw a perfect freedom reign, every person drank just as little as they pleased, nor have I ever been asked to drink a single glass more than I had an inclination for; I may go farther and assert that hard drinking is very rare among people of fortune; yet it is certain that they sit much longer at table than in England. I was much surprised at first going over to find no summons to coffee, the company often sitting till eight, nine, or ten o'clock before they went to the ladies. If a gentleman likes tea or coffee, he retires without saying any thing; a stranger of rank may propose it to the master of the house, who from custom contrary to that of England, will not stir till he receives such a hint, as they think it would imply a desire to save their wine. If the gentlemen were generally desirous of tea, I take it for granted they would have it; but their slighting is one inconvenience to such as desire it, not knowing when it is provided, conversation may carry them beyond the time, and then if they do trifle over the coffee it will certainly be cold. There is a want of attention in this, which the ladies should remedy; if they will not break the old custom and send to the gentlemen, which is what they ought to do, they certainly should have a salver fresh. I must however remark, that at the politest tables, which are those of people who have resided much out of Ireland, this point is conducted exactly as it is in England.

Duelling



Duelling was once carried to an excess, which was a real reproach and scandal to the kingdom; it of course proceeded from excessive drinking; as the cause has disappeared, the effect has nearly followed; not however entirely, for it is yet far more common among people of fashion than in England. Of all practices a man who felt for the honour of his country, would wish soonest to banish this, for there is not one favourable conclusion to be drawn from it: as to courage nobody can question that of a polite and enlightened nation, entitled to a share of the reputation of the age; but it implies uncivilized manners, an ignorance of those forms which govern polite societies, or else a brutal drunkenness; the latter is no longer the cause or the pretence. As to the former, they would place the national character so backward, would take from it so much of its pretence to civilization, elegance and politeness of manners, that no true Irishman would be pleased with the imputation. Certain it is, that none are so captious as those who think themselves neglected or despised; and none are so ready to believe themselves either one or the other, as persons unused to good company. Captious people, therefore, who are ready to take an affront, must inevitably have been accustomed to ill company, unless there should be something uncommonly crooked in their natural dispositions, which is not to be supposed. Let every man that fights his one, two, three, or half a dozen duels, receive it as a maxim, that every one he adds to the number is but an additional proof of his being ill educated, and having vitiated his manners by the contagion of bad company; who is it that can reckon the most numerous rencontres? who but the bucks, bloods, landjobbers, and little drunken country gentlemen? Ought not people of fashion to blush at a practice which will very soon be the distinction only of the most contemptible of the people? the point of honour will and must remain for the decision of certain affronts, but it will rarely be had recourse to in polite, sensible, and well-bred company. The practice among real gentlemen in Ireland every day declining is a strong proof that a knowledge of the world corrects the old manners, and consequently its having ever been prevalent was owing to the causes to which I have attributed it.

There is another point of manners somewhat connected with the present subject, which partly induced me to place a motto at the head of this section. It is the conduct of juries; the criminal law of Ireland is the same as that of England, but in the execution it is so different, as scarcely to be known. I believe it is a fact, at least I have been assured so, that no man was ever hanged in Ireland for killing another in a duel: the security is such that nobody ever thought of removing out of the way of justice, yet there have been deaths of that sort, which had no more to do with honour than stabbing in the dark. I believe Ireland is the only country in Europe, I am sure it is the only part of the British dominions where associations among men of fortune are necessary for apprehending ravishers. It is scarcely credible how many young women have even of late years been ravished, and carried off in order (as they generally have fortunes) to gain to appearance a voluntary marriage. These actions, it is true, are not committed by the class I am considering at present; but they are tried by them, and acquitted. I think there has been only one man executed for that crime, which is so common as to occasion the associations I mentioned; it is to this supine execution of the law that such enormities are owing. Another circumstance which has the effect of screening all sorts of offenders, is men of fortune protecting them, and making interest for their acquittal, which is attended with a variety of evil consequences. I heard it boasted in the county of Fermannah, that there had not been a man hanged in it for two and twenty years; all I concluded from this was, that there had been many a jury who deserved it richly.



Let me, however, conclude what I have to observe on the conduct of the principal people residing in Ireland, that there are great numbers among them who are as liberal in all their ideas as any people in Europe; that they have seen the errors which have given an ill character to the manners of their country, and done every thing that example could effect to produce a change: that that happy change has been partly effected, and is effecting every hour, insomuch that a man may go into a vast variety of families which he will find actuated by no other principles than those of the most cultivated politeness, and the most liberal urbanity.

But I must now come to another class of people, to whose conduct it is almost entirely owing, that the character of the nation has not that lustre abroad, which I dare assert it will soon very generally merit: this is the class of little country gentlemen\*; tenants, who drink their claret by means of profit rents; jobbers in farms; bucks; your fellows with round hats, edged with gold, who hunt in the day, get drunk in the evening, and fight the next morning. I shall not dwell on a subject so perfectly disagreeable, but remark that these are the men among whom drinking, wrangling, quarreling, fighting, ravishing, &c. &c. &c. are found as in their native soil; once to a degree that made them the pest of society; they are growing better, but even now, one or two of them got by accident (where they have no business) into better company are sufficient very much to derange the pleasures that result from a liberal conversation. A new spirit; new fashions; new modes of politeness exhibited by the higher ranks are imitated by the lower, which will, it is to be hoped, put an end to this race of beings; and either drive their sons and cousins into the army or navy, or sink them into plain farmers like those we have in England, where it is common to see men with much greater property without pretending to be gentlemen. I repeat it from the intelligence I received, that even this class are very different from what they were twenty years ago, and improve so fast that the time will soon come when the national character will not be degraded by any set.

That character is upon the whole respectable: it would be unfair to attribute to the nation at large the vices and follies of only one class of individuals. Those persons from whom it is candid to take a general estimate do credit to their country. That they are a people learned, lively, and ingenious, the admirable authors they have produced will be an eternal monument; witness their Swift, Sterne, Congreve, Boyle, Berkeley, Steele, Farquhar, Southerne, and Goldsmith. Their talent for eloquence is felt, and acknowledged in the parliaments of both the kingdoms. Our own service both by sea and land, as well as that (unfortunately for us) of the principal monarchies of Europe speak their steady and determined courage. Every unprejudiced traveller who visits them will be as much pleased with their cheerfulness, as obliged by their hospitality; and will find them a brave, polite, and liberal people.

\* This expression is not to be taken in a general sense. God forbid I should give this character of all country gentlemen of small fortunes in Ireland: I have myself been acquainted with exceptions.—I mean only that in general they are not the most liberal people in the kingdom.



L E T T E R S  
CONCERNING  
THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BASALTES  
OF THE  
NORTHERN COAST OF THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM;  
WITH  
AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ANTIQUITIES, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS.  
BY THE REV. WILLIAM HAMILTON, A.M. F.T.C.D.

LETTER I.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, July 20, 1784.*

MY natural curiosity, and the wish I had to trace the whole extent of the Basaltes of this country, induced me to make a short voyage, some days ago, to the island of Raghery \*, which lies six or seven miles off the north coast of Antrim, opposite to Ballycastle bay.

I enjoyed a good deal of pleasure in examining that little spot, which to me was almost a new kingdom; and if an account of it can at all contribute to amuse an idle hour of yours, I shall more than double my own gratification.

Though the island be not very remote, yet its situation, so much exposed to the northern ocean, and the turbulence of its irregular tides, have thrown such difficulties in the way of landmen, that few have visited it but from necessity; and some curious arrangements of the columnar basaltes, with which it abounds, have never been noticed, except by the inhabitants.

The chalky † cliffs of Raghery, crowned by a venerable covering of brown rock, form a very beautiful and picturesque appearance as one sails toward them; and if the turbulence of the sea do not restrain the eyes and fancy from expatiating around, such a striking similitude appears between this and the opposite coast, as readily suggests an idea that the island might once have formed a part of the adjoining country, from whence it has been disunited by some violent shock of nature.

You, to whom demonstration is familiar, will naturally wonder to see two shores, seven or eight miles asunder, so expeditiously connected by such a slender and fanciful middle term as apparent similitude; and yet the likeness is so strong, and attended with such peculiar circumstances, that I do not entirely despair of prevailing even on you to acknowledge my opinion as a probable one.

It does not appear unreasonable to conclude, that if two pieces of land, separated from each other by a chasm, be composed of the same kind of materials, similarly arranged at equal elevations, these different lands might have been originally connected, and the chasm be only accidental. For let us conceive the materials to be deposited by any of the elements of fire, air, earth, or water, or by any cause whatever, and it is not likely that this cause, otherwise general, should in all its operations regularly stop short at the chasm.

\* Rachlin, Rachrin.

† White lime-stone.



The materials of which the island of Raghery is composed, are accurately the same as those of the opposite shore, and the arrangement answers so closely, as almost to demonstrate at first view their former union. But to explain this more clearly, it will be necessary to give you a general sketch of this whole line of coast.

The northern coast of Antrim seems to have been originally a compact body of limestone rock, considerably higher than the present level of the sea; over which, at some later period, extensive bodies of vitrifiable stone have been superinduced in a state of softness. The original calcareous stratum appears to be very much deranged and interrupted by these incumbent masses. In some places it is depressed greatly below its ancient level—shortly after it is borne down to the water's edge, and can be traced under its surface—by and by it dips entirely, and seems irretrievably lost under the superior mass—in a short space, however, it begins to emerge, and after a similar variation recovers its original height.

In this manner, and with such repeated vicissitudes of elevation and depression, it pursues a course of forty miles along the coast, from Lough Foyle to Lough Larne.

It naturally becomes an object of curiosity to enquire what the substance is from which the lime-stone seems thus to have shrunk, burying itself (as it were in terror) under the covering of the ocean: and on examination it appears to be the columnar basaltes, under which the lime-stone stratum is never found, nor indeed does it ever approach nearer to it without evident signs of derangement.

Thus for example:—the chalky cliffs may be discovered a little eastward from Portrush; after a short course, they are suddenly depressed to the water's edge under Dunluce castle, and soon after lost entirely in passing near the basalt hill of Dunluce, whose crags near the sea are all columnar. At the river Bush the lime-stone recovers, and skims for a moment along the level of the sea, but immediately vanishes on approaching toward the great basalt promontory of Bengore, under which it is completely lost for the space of more than three miles.

Eastward from thence, beyond Dunseverick castle, it again emerges, and rising to a considerable height, forms a beautiful barrier to White Park bay and the Ballintoy shore. After this it suffers a temporary depression near the basalt hill of Knockfoghy, and then ranges along the coast as far as Ballycastle bay.

Fairhead, standing with magnificence on its massy columns of basaltes, again exterminates it; and once again it rises to the eastward, and pursues its devious course, forming, on the Glenarm shores, a line of coast the most fantastically beautiful that can be imagined.

If this tedious expedition has not entirely worn out your patience, let us now take a view of the coast of Raghery itself, from the lofty summit of Fairhead, which overlooks it. Westward, we see its white cliffs rising abruptly from the ocean, corresponding accurately in materials and elevation with those of the opposite shore, and like them crowned with a venerable load of the same vitrifiable rock. Eastward, we behold it dip to the level of the sea, and soon give place to many beautiful arrangements of basalt pillars, which form the eastern end of the island, and lie opposite to the basaltes of Fairhead, affording in every part a reasonable presumption that the two coasts were formerly connected, and that each was created and deranged by the same causes extensively operating over both.

But it is not in these larger features alone that the similitude may be traced; the more minute and accidental circumstances serve equally well to ascertain it.

Thus an heterogeneous mass of freestone, coals, iron ore, &c. which forms the east side of Ballycastle bay, and appears quite different from the common fossils of the country,



try, may be traced also directly opposite, running into Raghery, with circumstances which almost demonstrably ascertain it to be the same vein.

What I would infer from hence is, that this whole coast has undergone considerable changes in the course of successive ages; that those abrupt promontories, which now run wildly into the ocean, in proud defiance of its boisterous waves, have been rendered broken and irregular by some violent convulsion of nature; and that the island of Raghery, standing as it were in the midst between this and the Scottish coast, may be the surviving fragment of a large tract of country which at some period of time has been buried in the deep.

But I shall wave this tedious subject for the present, and endeavour to compensate for the dryness of this letter by some account of the state and singularities of this little island.

In the mean time, I must entreat you will be so candid as to give me timely notice whenever my letters become dull and unentertaining—I shall otherwise lose my labour to very bad purpose, as the chief object of them is to amuse you.

I am, dear Sir, with the greatest respect, your affectionate, &c.

## LETTER II.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, July 27.*

THE remarkable haziness which has prevailed in our atmosphere, during the whole of this summer, both by sea and land, has been very unfavourable to views along the coast, and even in the short trip I made to Raghery, gave me reason to be apprehensive of missing our course, as the rapidity of the tide soon carries a vessel clear of the island. However, with the assistance of a gleam from the meridian sun, we got safely across the channel in the space of two or three hours.

Raghery is near five miles in length, and about three quarters of a mile in breadth; toward the middle it is bent in an angle opposite to Ballycastle, and forms a tolerable bay, affording good anchorage, in deep water with a stiff clay bottom; but a westerly wind raises such a heavy swell all along this coast, that few vessels can ride out a gale from that quarter.

Its tides are very remarkable. Here it is that the great body of water which flows from the ocean during the flood tide, to supply the north part of the Irish channel, is first confined and broken in its course; and a large portion of it is returned near the west end of the island, in a counter tide, which supplies all the loughs and bays for the space of thirty miles, running toward the west, along the counties of Antrim, Derry, and Donegal; while in the mean time the true tide of flood runs toward the east, at the distance of a few miles from the coast, parallel to the former.

From such eddies as this many singular irregularities arise, and in several places the tide from the westward (or the flood tide, as they denominate it) appears to flow nine hours, while the ebb continues only three.

Seamen, who are accustomed to navigate along this coast, know well how to use these different streams to good purpose. For example: a ship leaving Dublin with the flood tide (which comes into the Irish channel from the southward) may with a leading wind reach the county of Down; there the vessel will fall in with the northern tide of ebb, just then beginning to return to the ocean. With the assistance of this current, and the same leading breeze, the ship may fetch the isle of Raghery; where a judicious pilot, instead of opposing the returning tide of flood, may drop into a northern eddy, which will



will carry him as far as Lough Swilly; where the true tide of ebb will again receive him, and bear his ship out of the western ocean.

Thus by prudent management may he enjoy the advantage of four different successive tides, all favourable to his voyage.

The western winds (which prevail here during far the greater part of the year) sweeping with an uninterrupted blast over the Atlantic Ocean, roll a most formidable wave along this coast, of which I had some experience in crossing to the island. The day was uncommonly still; not a breath of wind to ruffle the water, and yet a heavy majestic swell, ever heaving forward seemed to threaten ruin to our boat, and frequently hid from view even the lofty promontory of Fairhead. From this unruffled surface, however, there was not the slightest danger to be apprehended, and our vessel rose and descended on the glassy wave with entire security. How changed was this scene in the course of a few hours! The moment that the ebb began to return to the ocean, rushing in opposition to this western swell, all was confusion and tumult. The long wave which had just before rolled forward in silent majesty, was now fretted and broken into a tempestuous sea, which the stoutest boats dare not encounter, and even the best ships wish to avoid.

This alternate scene of peace and war takes place twice every day, and it is by attention to this circumstance that the passage is made with tolerable security.

The little skiff in which I navigated was built of very slight materials, and did not seem to me well calculated to buffet these stormy seas. I observed that we had received a good deal of water into it; and on expressing my uneasiness that there was no visible means of throwing it out, one of the men instantly took off his brogue, with which he soon cleared the vessel of water, and put it on his foot again without seeming to feel the slightest inconvenience from the wetness of it; leaving me quite at ease on the subject of pumping the vessel.

Raghery contains about twelve hundred inhabitants, and is rather over peopled, as there is no considerable manufacture which might give employment to any superfluous hands\*.

The cultivated land is kindly enough, and produces excellent barley. In a plentiful year six hundred pounds worth of this grain has been exported from it. The craigy pasturage fattens a small, but delicious breed of sheep. Even its inhospitable rocks supply to the hand of industry a rich source of wealth, in the sea-weed it affords for the manufacture of kelp; which, under an indulgent landlord, often goes near to pay the whole rent of the island†.

\* From a census since held by the priest of the island, in order to lay a tax of one shilling on each person above the age of sixteen years, for the purpose of erecting a mass-house, it appears that the numbers amount to eleven hundred; there are one hundred and forty families, which almost average at the rate of eight persons to each family. The census has produced a great deal of uneasiness in the island, from an opinion that one person will die during the year in each family so numbered.

† This year an hundred tons of kelp have been exported from Raghery, which was bought by the linen bleachers of the north of Ireland, at 5l. 5s. per ton, the whole amounting to more than 525l. The annual rent of the island is but 600l. This entire manufacture is carried on by women and children, while the men are employed in more hazardous services. At low water the sea-weed is cut from the rocks, and spread out before the sun to dry; at night it is made up in little parcels, which are opened and shaken out again whenever the weather permits; this process is continued till the weed becomes dry enough to be burnt. A hole is then made in the ground, and a little temporary kiln erected, of loose stones, in which the weed is cautiously and gradually burned. During this process the vegetable salt, and every thing not capable of being easily dissipated by the fire, melts, and coalesces in one mass at the bottom of the kiln. In this state it is exported, no means having been yet established here, or in any part of the adjoining coast, to purify the alkaline salt from the various mixtures of marine salt, &c. with which it abounds.



The horses, as well as the sheep, are small in kind, but extremely serviceable, and sure footed beyond conception. Of this I had a strong proof in a little expedition which I made through the island with Mr. Gage, the hospitable proprietor of it. You must know it was but the other day the people of Raghery recollected that a road might be some convenience to them, so that in our excursion we were obliged to follow the old custom of riding over precipices, which would not appear contemptible, even to a man that enjoyed the full use of his legs.

It seems my horse, though fifteen or sixteen years old, had never before felt a bridle in his mouth, and after many attempts to shake it off, in a very critical situation, on the top of a very rugged precipice, he refused to proceed one step further, while this incumbrance impeded him. Having no other resource I was obliged to comply, and was carried over an exceeding dangerous heap of rocks, with a degree of caution which amazed me in the midst of my terrors.

It is somewhat singular that this island should not contain any native quadruped, except those universal travellers the rats\*, and the little shrew mouse which is sometimes found. But the various tribes of foxes, hares, rabbits, badgers, &c. for which it might afford excellent shelter, and which abound on the opposite shore, are here unknown. A few brace of hares indeed were lately introduced by the proprietor, which bid fair to produce a large increase.

A good many years ago, Lord Antrim gave orders to his huntsman to transport a couple of foxes into the island, for the purpose of propagating that precious breed of animals. But the inhabitants assembled in consternation, and having subscribed each a hank of yarn, prevailed on the huntsman to disobey orders. However he was sharp enough to take the hint, and for some years paid his annual visit to Raghery, for the purpose of raising a regular tribute, to save the poor islanders from those desolating invaders.

The inhabitants are a simple, laborious and honest race of people, and possess a degree of affection for their island which may very much surprise a stranger. In conversation they always talk of Ireland as a foreign kingdom, and really have scarcely any intercourse with it except in the way of their little trade. A common and heavy curse among them is—"May Ireland be your hinder end."

From this *amor patriæ* arises their great population, notwithstanding the perils which attend their turbulent coast, as they never entertain a thought of trying to better their fortune, by settling in any of the neighbouring towns of Antrim.

The tedious processes of civil law are little known in Raghery; and indeed the affection which they bear to their landlord, whom they always speak of by the endearing name of master, together with their own simplicity of manners, renders the interference of the civil magistrate very unnecessary. The seizure of a cow or a horse, for a few days, to bring the defaulter to a sense of duty; or a copious draught of salt-water from the surrounding ocean in criminal cases, forms the greater part of the sanctions and punishments of the island. If the offender be wicked beyond hope, banishment to Ireland is the dernier resort, and soon frees the community from this pestilential member.

In a sequestered island like this, one would expect to find bigoted superstition flourish successfully under the auspices of the Romish church; but the simplicity of the islanders does not foster any uncharitable tenets, and, contrary to one's expectation, they are

\* I had some hope that the native black rat of this kingdom, might have secured a retreat in this sequestered island, but in vain, their powerful northern enemies, with the cruelty of the old Danes, but with more success, have utterly exterminated the natives, and the rat of Norway has completely extended his wasteful dominion over Raghery.



neither grossly superstitious, nor rank bigots, but have been known to hold the unchristian doctrines of their late Spanish priest in great contempt; nay, in cases of necessity they do not scruple to apply for assistance to the Protestant minister. Of their good will to the established church, they give an annual proof which one rarely finds in any other part of Ireland: the minister's tythe amounts to about 100*l.* per annum, and when the islanders have got in their own harvest, they give the parson a day with their horses and cars, and bring the entire tythe home to his farm yard.

The chief desideratum of the islanders is a physician, the want of whom they seem to consider as their greatest misfortune, though their master appears to be of a very different sentiment; and indeed the remarkable population of Raghery makes much in favour of his opinion.

Small as this spot is, one can nevertheless trace two different characters among its inhabitants. The Kenramer, or western end, is craggy and mountainous, the land in the vallies is rich and well cultivated, but the coast destitute of harbours. A single native is here known to fix his rope to a stake driven into the summit of a precipice, and from thence, alone, and unassisted, to swing down the face of a rock in quest of the nests of sea fowl. From hence activity, bodily strength, and self-dependence, are eminent among the Kenramer men. Want of intercourse with strangers has preserved many peculiarities, and their native Irish seems to be the universal language.

The Ushet end, on the contrary, is barren in its soil, but more open and well supplied with little harbours; hence its inhabitants are become fishermen, are accustomed to make short voyages, and to barter. Intercourse with strangers has rubbed off many of their peculiarities, and the English language is well understood and generally spoken among them.

This distinction I fear may seem foolishly speculative, considering the diminutive object of it, and yet I assure you it is a matter of fact; and the inhabitants themselves are so well aware of it, that in perilous situations different offices and stations are appointed to each, according as he is an Ushet or Kenramer man.

Raghery has formerly been as it were a stepping-stone between the Irish and Scottish coasts, which the natives of each country alternately used in their various expeditions, and for which they frequently fought.

A number of small tumuli were lately opened in a little plain about the middle of the island, probably the monuments of so many heroes who in former ages had fallen honourably in this very field of battle. The chief himself lay in a stone coffin, and beside him an earthen vessel stood, which, by the residuum still visible, seemed formerly to have contained an offering of blood, or some perishable animal substance. Within the tumuli lay a considerable number of human bones, the remains of more ignoble men who might have fallen by the like fate of war.

Brazen swords, and spear heads of the same metal, found in this plain, bear strong evidence of the bloody scenes which have been transacted here in remote ages. A large silver fibula was found in one of the tumuli, which is deposited in the museum of Trinity college, Dublin; the workmanship is good, and argues considerable skill in the artist.

The traditions of the country do not go beyond the obscure period of Scottish and Danish incursions, which have alternately ravaged and depopulated the island. The memory of a cruel massacre, perpetrated by a Scottish clan (I think the Campbells), remains so strongly impressed on the minds of the present inhabitants, that no person of that name is allowed to settle in the island.

During



During the disturbances in Scotland, which succeeded the appointment of Baliol to the crown of that kingdom, Robert Bruce was driven out and obliged to take shelter, with a friend of his, in the isle of Raghery \*. However his enemies pursued him even to this remote spot and forced him to embark in a little skiff, and seek refuge on the ocean. The remains of a fortress are yet visible on the northern angle of the island, celebrated for the defence which this hero made in it, and still known by the name of Robert Bruce's castle. The antiquity of this building is therefore not much less than five hundred years; it may indeed be considerably older, as the time which Bruce spent in Raghery was scarcely sufficient for the purpose of erecting it.

One thing concerning this castle is worth remarking, that the lime of which it is built, has been burned with sea coal, the cinders of which are still visible in it, and bear so strong a resemblance to the cinder of the Ballycastle coal, as makes it extremely probable that our information concerning the collieries of that place were far from being an original discovery. Indeed there is reason to believe that they were both well known, and extensively wrought at a period of time when few people imagine the civilization or finances of this kingdom were equal to so expensive an undertaking †.

But this is a curious subject, and I shall take some other opportunity of giving you more information when you may not be fatigued with so large, and I fear so tedious a letter.

### LETTER III.

DEAR SIR,

Portrush, July 30.

IN my return from Raghery, I spent a few days at Ballycastle, a town pretty considerable in this part of the world, which has been almost entirely the creation of one man, a Mr. Boyd, who died some years ago.

According to the Persian system of moral duties †, it is likely Ireland cannot boast of an individual who has more fully discharged his trust than old Mr. Boyd;—not possessed of any considerable fortune, not supported by powerful natural connexions, nor endowed with any very superior talents, this man opened public roads, formed a harbour, built a town, established manufactures, and lived to see a wild and lawless country become populous, cultivated, and civilized. In the most literal sense his soul seems to have animated this little colony; in him it enjoyed life and strength, and with him all vigour and animation perished. By an ill-judged distribution of his fortune, and various untoward and unforeseen accidents, the manufactures of glass were neglected, the breweries and tanneries were mismanaged, the harbour became choaked with sand, and even the collieries (from particular circumstances) are not wrought with such spirit as the present

\* “Rex ipse cum uno plerumque comite, interim solus, per loca maxime inculta pererrabat, et cum ne sic quidem sibi tutus a civium perfidia et hostium crudelitate videretur, in Æbudas, ad veterem quendam amicum transfugit.” *It is probable this was the time when Bruce came to Raghery.* Buchanan's Hist. Scot.

Fordun, Barbour, &c. specially mention his residence in Rachlin. J. P.

† It may perhaps be imagined that the coals have been brought from Britain; but a little reflection will shew that to be extremely improbable, even so late as the time of Robert Bruce. It was but just then that the English themselves had discovered the use of sea-coal as a fuel; and we find in the time of Edward I. that, after being tried in London, they were immediately prohibited on a hasty opinion, that the vapour was noxious to the health of the inhabitants. It is not therefore to be readily believed, that at this early period England could have had any extensive export trade in coals: or, if so, it must have been to some populous and civilized country, to some safe harbour, to a great and commercial town; but, at the time we speak of, the British charts do not lay down a single village in all this line of coast.

‡ “Faire un enfant, et labourer un champ.” Vide Montesquieu's Persian Letters.



proprietor would wish to exert. In short, this gentleman constructed a most excellent machine, but unfortunately left it without any permanent principle of motion.

The eastern side of Ballycastle terminates in the bold promontory of Fairhead. Between this and the town lie the collieries, in an abrupt bank which overhangs the sea. Ships, however, cannot derive much advantage from this circumstance, as the unsheltered situation of the place, and the prevailing western winds, make a delay on the coast extremely dangerous, and renders it difficult to embark the coals.

The different fossils which generally lie above the coal, are till, or slate-coal, iron ore, and freestone\*.

It unfortunately happens that these beds (like most of the fossils of this kingdom which are formed in layers) dip, or underlie, to the southward; hence it follows, that when an horizontal adit, or level, has been pushed forward to the bed of coal, from the steep bank which faces toward the north, the men, in following the mine, are obliged to work downward, and have no means of carrying off the water; whereas if the dip of the beds were in the contrary direction, (that is, toward the north,) the work must be all up hill, by which the loaded waggons would have an easy descent outward, and all the water must constantly flow off toward the sea.

In my last letter I mentioned some reasons which might induce one to think that these collieries were wrought at a very remote period of time; but an accidental discovery has lately put that matter beyond doubt, and has laid open a very curious circumstance in the ancient history of this country.

About twelve years ago the workmen, in pushing forward a new adit toward the coal, unexpectedly broke through the rock † into a cavern. The hole which they opened was not large, and two young lads were made to creep, in with candles, to explore this new region. They accordingly went forward, and entered an extensive labyrinth branching off into numerous apartments, in the mazes and windings of which they were at last completely lost. After various vain attempts to return, their lights were extinguished, and they sat down together in utter despair of an escape from this dreary dungeon. In the mean time, the people without in the drift were alarmed for their safety; fresh hands were employed, a passage was at last made for the workmen, and the two unfortunate adventurers extricated after a whole night's imprisonment.

On examining this subterranean wonder, it was found to be a complete gallery which had been driven forward many hundred yards to the bed of coal;—that it branched off into various chambers where the miners had carried on their different works;—that pillars were left at proper intervals, to support the roof; in short, it was found to be an extensive mine, wrought by a set of people, at least as expert in the business as the present generation. Some remains of the tools, and even the baskets used in the works, were discovered, but in such a state, that on being touched they immediately fell to powder.

\* I was very much pleased with the discovery of a natural process among these fossils, not very unlike our artificial one for making crystals of artificial vitriol. You know that martial or green vitriol is a salt formed from the calx of iron united to the vitriolic acid, and that the component parts of sulphur are phlogiston, or the principle of inflammability, united to the vitriolic acid. It so happens that a thin layer of iron ore lies immediately over a bed of coal; in the places where this is exposed to the air and weather, the sulphur of the coal becomes decomposed, losing its phlogiston, while its other principle, namely the vitriolic acid, uniting with the calx of the iron, forms crystals of green vitriol, which lie in considerable quantity between the two layers.

† The adit is carried along the side of a course of hard rock, which cuts all the layers of coal, running north and south in a direction perpendicular to the horizon. It is called here a Gaur or March, and I apprehend is the same as what the Cornish miners call a Cross Gossan.



The antiquity of this work is pretty evident from hence, that there does not remain the most remote tradition of it in the country; but it is still more strongly demonstrable from a natural process which has taken place since its formation, for stalactite pillars had been generated, reaching from the roof of the pit to the floor; and the fieds and supports were found covered with sparry incrustations, which the present workmen do not observe to be deposited in any definite portion of time.

The people of this place attribute these works to the Danes; but a very slight consideration of the matter must satisfy any one that this opinion is ill founded. The Danes were never peaceable possessors of Ireland, but always engaged in bloody wars with the natives, in which they were alternately victors and vanquished. Like the eastern descendants of Ithmael, they stood at perpetual bay with all the world, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them.

It is not surely to the tumultuary and barbarous armies of the ninth and tenth centuries, whose harvest of wealth and power could only be expected from the rapid and hazardous ravages of war, that we are to attribute the slow and toilsome operations of peace which are carried on only where population, civilization, and trade flourish in an extreme degree.

While Ireland lay yet prostrate and gasping under the fatal wounds received in a bloody struggle of two hundred years, against those northern invaders, the English, under Henry II. made their successful inroad, and easily established themselves in a feeble and distracted country; from which time, till the beginning of the present century, this island presents nothing to our view but a wasteful scene of misery and desolation. That these collieries could have been wrought during this period seems extremely improbable. We are all along execrated by the English writers as a nation of barbarians, and our country cursed as a wilderness of forests and bogs. It is not then to be supposed that a savage people should ransack the bowels of the earth for coal, while their woods and bogs afforded such abundant fuel to their hand.

Upon the whole, during the dreary interval of near a thousand years, from the eighth to the eighteenth century, it is in vain to look for the laboured works of industry and peace, in a kingdom where war was the only trade, and where all property turned on the edge of the sword\*.

#### LETTER IV.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, August 3.*

IN riding from Ballycastle to Portrush, I went a short way off the beaten road, to see a whimsical little fishing rock, connected to the main land by a very extraordinary flying bridge; it is called Carrick-a-rede, (or the rock in the road,) and lies somewhat eastward from Ballintoy, on a most romantic shore. I was quite delighted with the picturesque appearance of this little fanciful fishery, of which I must beg leave to give you a short account; however, as I am a great advocate in favour of Mr. Locke's system of a dictionary of pictures, in preference to a dictionary of tedious descriptions, I shall inclose you a drawing of Carrick-a-rede, from a sketch which my draftsman made on the spot.

At a particular season of the year the salmon fish come along the coast in quest of the different rivers in which they annually cast their spawn. In this expedition the fish ge-

\* Some extraneous remarks on Irish antiquities are omitted.



nerally swim pretty close to the shore, that they may not miss their port; and the fishermen, who are well aware of this coasting voyage of the salmon, take care to project their nets at such places as may be most convenient for intercepting them in their course.

It so happens that Carrick-a-rede is the only place on this abrupt coast which is suited for the purpose. Here then, or no where, must be the fishery; but how to get at the rock is the question. A chasm full sixty feet in breadth, and of a depth frightful to look at, separates it from the adjacent land, in the bottom of which the sea breaks with an uninterrupted roar over the rocks; the island itself is inaccessible on every side except one spot, where under the shelter of an impending rock, a luxuriant herbage flourishes; but the wildness of the coast, and the turbulence of the sea, make it very difficult to land here.

*77. bridge*  
In this perplexity there is really no resource, except in attempting to throw a bridge of ropes from the main land to the island, which accordingly the fishermen every year accomplish\* in a very singular manner: two strong cables are extended across the gulph by an expert climber, and fastened firmly into iron rings mortised into the rock on both sides; between these ropes a number of boards, about a foot in breadth, are laid in succession, supported at intervals by cross cords; and thus the pathway is formed, which, though broad enough to bear a man's foot with tolerable convenience, does by no means hide from view the pointed rocks, and raging sea beneath, which in this situation exhibit the fatal effects of a fall, in very strong colouring: while the swings and undulations of the bridge itself, and of the hand rope, which no degree of tension can prevent in so great a length, suggest no very comfortable feelings to persons of weak nerves. Upon the whole, it is a beautiful bridge in the scenery of a landscape, but a frightful one in real life.

The mode of fishing on this coast is different from any I have seen, perhaps it may be new to you:

*salmon fish*  
The net is projected directly outward from the shore, with a slight bend, forming a bosom in that direction in which the salmon come: from the remote extremity a rope is brought obliquely to another part of the shore, by which the net may be swept round at pleasure, and drawn to the land; a heap of small stones is then prepared for each person: all things being ready, soon as the watchman perceives the fish advancing to the net, he gives the watch-word†: immediately some of the fishermen seize the oblique rope, by which the net is bent round to inclose the salmon, while the rest keep up an incessant cannonade with their ammunition of stones, to prevent the retreat of the fish till the net has been completely pulled round them; after which they all join forces, and drag the net and fish quietly to the rocks.

The salmon fisheries on the sea-coast, and in the rivers of the north of Ireland, have sometimes been very productive, affording a valuable cargo for the Italian markets during the time of Lent: the abundance of fish may in some measure be inferred from hence, that fourteen hundred salmon (as I am informed) have been taken in the river Bann at once hauling the net; and what is almost equally remarkable, near one thousand were caught at the succeeding haul. At present, however, the fisheries are but scanty, and it is the prevailing opinion, that too great success of the river fisheries has undone them, by destroying the mother salmon, which should be allowed free passage through the rivers to cast their spawn.

\* This bridge is only thrown across during the time of the salmon fishery, which is carried on in the summer months.

† At Portrush the word is *tarrying*.



Now that I am got upon the subject of fishing, let me tell you of an amusing instance of sagacity which I had an opportunity of seeing a short time ago, in a water-dog of this country, who had become a most excellent fisher :

In riding from Portrush to the Giant's Causeway with some company, we had occasion to ford the river Bush, near the sea ; and as the fishermen were going to haul their net, we stopped to see their success : As soon as the dog perceived the men to move, he instantly ran down the river of his own accord, and took post in the middle of it, on some shallows where he could occasionally run or swim, and in this position he placed himself, with all the eagerness and attention so strongly observable in a pointer dog, who *sets* his game :—We were for some time at a loss to apprehend his scheme, but the event satisfied us, and amply justified the prudence of the animal ; for the fish, when they feel the net, always endeavour to make directly out to sea. Accordingly one of the salmon, escaping from the net, rushed down the stream with great velocity, toward the ford, where the dog stood to receive him at an advantage. A very diverting chase now commenced, in which, from the shallowness of the water, we could discern the whole track of the fish, with all its rapid turnings and windings. After a smart pursuit the dog found himself left considerably behind, in consequence of the water deepening, by which he had been reduced to the necessity of swimming. But instead of following this desperate game any longer, he readily gave it over, and ran with all his speed directly down the river, till he was sure of being again sea-ward of the salmon, where he took post as before in his pointer's attitude. Here the fish a second time met him, and a fresh pursuit ensued, in which, after various attempts the salmon at last made its way out to the sea, notwithstanding all the ingenious and vigorous exertions of its pursuer.

Though the dog did not succeed at this time, yet I was informed that it was no unusual thing for him to run down his game ; and the fishermen assured me that he was of very great advantage to them, by turning the salmon toward the net ; in which point of view his efforts in some measure corresponded with the cannonade of stones which I mentioned at Carrick-a-rede.

During the whole of the chase this sagacious animal seemed plainly to have two objects in view ; one to seize his game, if possible, and the other, to drive it toward the net when the former failed ; each of which he managed with a degree of address and ingenuity extremely interesting and amazing.

It is somewhat unaccountable that mankind should look with so much horror and disgust on any remote similitude, which some of the brute creation bear to the human person and features, and yet dwell with pleasure on much nearer approaches toward their prerogative faculty of reason. At least thus much I am certain of, that we saw the exertions of this creature with infinite delight, and our regard for him seemed to increase in proportion as our idea of his excellence increased. Perhaps it may be, that a consciousness of decided superiority in the latter case, makes us observe the ingenuity of lower animals, without the alloy of any uneasiness from an apprehension of rivalry.

#### LETTER V.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, August 6.*

YOU would hardly believe how little remains of Irish history, language, or customs, are to be traced in this part of the country : the revolutions which it has undergone, in consequence of forfeitures to the English, and the encroachments of the Scots, have overturned every remnant of its original state.



During the time that the English were endeavouring to extend their pale, in every direction from the metropolis of the kingdom, over a desperate but disunited enemy, the Scottish clan of MacDonalds, who by an intermarriage had got footing in Ireland, began their ravages on the northern coast of Antrim; and by the powerful support which they received from Cantire, and the western isles of Scotland, established their dominion over a tract of country nearly forty miles in length.

As the people of those days generally followed the fortune of their chief, the greater part of the native Irish who survived these bloody scenes, transplanted themselves elsewhere, while the Scots remained peaceable possessors of the field; hence the old traditions and customs of the country were entirely lost; and the few who speak the Celtic language at all use a kind of mixed dialect, called here *Scotch Irish*, which is but imperfectly understood by the natives of either country.

The present possessors are in general an industrious thrifty race of people. They have a great deal of substantial civility, without much courtesy to relieve it, and set it off to the best advantage. The bold ideas of rights and privileges, which seem inseparable from their Presbyterian church, renders them apt to be ungracious and litigious in their dealings. On the whole, the middling and lower ranks of people in this quarter of the kingdom, are a valuable part of the community: but one must estimate their worth as a miner does his ore, rather by its weight than its splendor.

There are three or four old castles along the coast, situated in places extremely difficult of access, but their early histories are for the greater part lost. The most remarkable of these is the castle of Dunluce, which is at present in the possession of the Antrim family. It is situated in a singular manner on an isolated abrupt rock, which projects into the sea, and seems as it were split off from the terra firma. Over the intermediate chasm lies the only approach to the castle, along a narrow wall, which has been built somewhat like a bridge, from the rock to the adjoining land; and this circumstance must have rendered it almost impregnable before the invention of artillery. It appears, however, that there was originally another narrow wall, which ran across the chasm, parallel to the former, and that by laying boards over these, an easy passage might occasionally be made for the benefit of the garrison.

The walls of this castle are built of columnar basaltes, many joints of which are placed in such a manner as to shew their polygon sections; and in one of the windows of the north side, the architect has contrived to splay off the wall neatly enough, by making use of the joints of a pillar whose angle was sufficiently obtuse to suit his purpose.

The original lord of this castle and its territories, was an Irish chief, called M'Quillan, of whom little is known, except that, like most of his countrymen, he was hospitable, brave, and improvident; unwarily allowing the Scots to grow in strength, until they contrived to beat him out of all his possessions.

In the course of my expeditions through this country, I met with an old manuscript account of the settlement of the Scotch here, of which I shall give you a short extract. It will serve in a good measure to shew the barbarous state of the inhabitants in the sixteenth century, and the manner in which property was so readily transferred from one master to another.

The manuscript is in the hands of the MacDonalds, and therefore most likely speaks rather in their favour.

"About the year 1580, Coll. MacDonald came with a parcel of men from Cantire to Ireland, to assist Tyrconnel against great O'Neal, with whom he was then at war.



" In passing through the Root \* of the county of Antrim, he was civilly received and hospitably entertained by Mac Quillan, who was then lord and master of the Root.

" At that time there was a war between Mac Quillan and the men beyond the river Bann; for the custom of this people was to rob from every one, and the strongest party carried it, be it right or wrong.

" On the day when Coll. Mac Donald was taking his departure to proceed on his journey to Tyrconnell, Mac Quillan, who was not equal in war to his savage neighbours, called together his militia, or gallogloghs, to revenge his affronts over the Bann; and Mac Donald, thinking it uncivil not to offer his service that day to Mac Quillan, after having been so kindly treated, sent one of his gentlemen with an offer of his service in the field.

" Mac Quillan was right well pleased with the offer, and declared it to be a perpetual obligation to him and his posterity. So Mac Quillan and the Highlanders went against the enemy, and where there was a cow taken from Mac Quillan's people before, there were two restored back: after which Mac Quillan and Coll. Mac Donald returned back with a great prey, and without the loss of a man.

" Winter then drawing nigh, Mac Quillan gave Coll. Mac Donald an invitation to stay with him at his castle, advising him to settle himself until the spring, and quarter his men up and down the Root. This Coll. Mac Donald gladly accepted; and in the mean time seduced Mac Quillan's daughter, and privately married her; on which ground the Scots afterward founded their claim to Mac Quillan's territories.†

" The men were quartered two and two through the Root; that is to say, one of Mac Quillan's gallogloghs and a Highlander in every tenant's house.

" It so happened that the galloglogh, according to custom, besides his ordinary, was entitled to a measure † of milk as a privilege: this the Highlanders esteemed to be a great affront; and at last one of them asked his landlord, 'Why do you not give me milk as you give to the other?' The galloglogh immediately made answer, 'Would you, a Highland beggar as you are, compare yourself to me, or any of Mac Quillan's gallogloghs?'

" The poor honest tenant, (who was heartily tired of them both) said 'Pray, gentlemen, I'll open the two doors, and you may go and fight it out in the fair fields, and he that has the victory let him take milk and all to himself.'

" The combat ended in the death of the galloglogh; after which (as my manuscript says) the Highlander came in again and dined heartily.

" Mac Quillan's gallogloghs immediately assembled to demand satisfaction; and in a council which was held, where the conduct of the Scots was debated, their great and dangerous power, and the disgrace arising from the seduction of Mac Quillan's daughter, it was agreed that each galloglogh should kill his comrade Highlander by night, and their lord and master with them; but Coll. Mac Donald's wife discovered the plot, and told it to her husband. So the Highlanders fled in the night time, and escaped to the island of Raghery.

" From this beginning, the Mac Donalds and Mac Quillans entered on a war, and continued to worry each other for half a century, till the English power became so superior in Ireland, that both parties made an appeal to James I., who had just then ascended the throne of England.

\* A term by which this north-west part of the county of Antrim is always denominated.

† A vessel commonly used by the old Irish, formed out of one solid piece of wood, and most commonly of a triangular shape.



"James had a predilection for his Scotch countryman, the Mac Donald, to whom he made over by patent four great baronies, including, along with other lands, all poor Mac Quillan's possessions. However, to save some appearance of justice, he gave to Mac Quillan a grant of the great barony of Enishowen, the old territory of O'Dogherty, and sent to him an account of the whole decision by Sir John Chichester.

"Mac Quillan was extremely mortified at his ill success, and very disconsolate at the difficulties which attended the transporting his poor people over the river Bann, and the Lough Foyle, which lay between him and his new territory. The crafty Englishman, taking advantage of his situation, by an offer of some lands which lay nearer his old dominions, persuaded him to cede his title to the barony of Enishowen. And thus the Chichesters, who afterwards obtained the title of Earls of Donegall, became possessed of this great estate; and honest Mac Quillan settled himself in one far inferior to Enishowen.

"One story more (says the manuscript) of Mac Quillan. The estate he got in exchange for the barony of Enishowen was called Clanreaghurkie \*, which was far inadequate to support the old hospitality of the Mac Quillans. Bury Oge Mac Quillan sold this land to one of Chichester's relations, and having got his new-granted estate into one bag, was very generous and hospitable as long as the bag lasted. And so (continues the manuscript) was the worthy Mac Quillan soon extinguished."

I should not have obtruded the account of the downfall of this Irish chief, but that it affords so good a reason for the utter obliteration of every ancient record and monument in this part of the country; and will plead my excuse for not adding somewhat to our collection of Irish antiquities.

## LETTER VI.

DEAR SIR,

Portrush, August 13.

A FEW days ago, as I rode across the head-land of Bengore, a sudden shower of rain falling very heavily, compelled me to take shelter in a little cabin, which stands on a wild spot in the middle of that promontory, on a piece of land called in the Irish language *Aird*, from the loftiness of its situation. A well-looking young woman sat by the fire-side spinning at her wheel, with a parcel of children playing round her; but, notwithstanding her industrious employment, the house bore evident marks of poverty and distress about it.

As the rain still continued, I had an opportunity of asking several questions concerning the fortunes of this poor family, the history of which forms such a simple, melancholy tale, that I cannot help repeating it to you, though methinks you will accuse me of having brought it forward very *mal à propos*.

The original adventurer who settled in this solitary spot was called Adam Morning, a name which he got from some accidental circumstance, and is described by the peasants of the neighbouring hamlet as a clever fellow, and an honest man. He held his little farm, which had never before been cultivated, at the small rent of five pounds *per annum*, hoping soon to make it a valuable tenure by the probable effects of his industry; and on this he built the cottage which I have just mentioned, suited to his infant powers, but so contrived as to admit of an addition, whenever his success in improving this barren soil should entitle him to encrease his comforts.

\* It is in another place called Claneaghguikie.



By hard labour he soon reclaimed so much of the land as enabled him to sow a moderate quantity of grain; but when the toils of the year were almost over, and a plentiful harvest promised to reward his industry, a violent storm, which was severely felt over the whole kingdom, blasted his golden hopes, and the entire produce of his farm was only sixteen barrels of oats, out of twenty-four which he had sowed.

This was a severe blow to our enterprising farmer, but his resolution was not thus hastily to be vanquished; means were found to pay his rent, a second crop was sowed the ensuing year, and his land again presented the cheering prospect of approaching plenty. Once more an inclement season, bearing heavily on the unsheltered situation of his new fields, mocked his expectation, and the entire reward of the year's labour amounted only to a small increase of grain, little exceeding what he had sowed.

Few men in this lowly sphere of life would have borne up against such rude and repeated shocks of adverse fortune; but the spirit of our humble adventurer disdained to yield to misfortunes which were merely casual, and which no degree of prudence could have guarded against. His perseverance was still unshaken, his health continued vigorous, and the land yet promised to repay him, would Providence but smile on his endeavours. New ways were therefore devised to save his sinking credit; every nerve was exerted to pay his rent, and try the fortune of another year.

There is a small bay in the promontory of Bengore, called Port na Spania\*, from the wreck of one of the celebrated Spanish armada, which was here dashed to pieces. It is entirely surrounded by a monstrous precipice between three and four hundred feet high, and is accessible only by one narrow approach, which is far the most frightful of all the hazardous paths on this whole coast.

By the tenure of his farm the possessor was entitled to a quarter of this little bay, amounting to about twenty or thirty square yards of wild inhospitable rock†.

Here Adam and his family, struggling against their distresses, laboured hard to supply their wants by cutting the sea-weed from the rocks, and manufacturing it into kelp, which the linen bleachers of the country bought up at a good price; while in the mean time the farm was rising fast, and Ceres began again to smile propitious.

One morning, as Adam and his wife were descending down the dangerous path, to pursue their daily toil, while they were talking of their growing hopes, even while the cheerful prospect was smiling in their view, a sudden slip tumbled him headlong from the precipice, and dashed him to pieces on the rocks below‡.

His son David, the heir of his humble fortunes, had just then returned from the West Indies, still crippled under a wound which he received in the service of his country, on board a man of war, but prepared to assist the distresses of his father with the little prize-money which had fallen to his share during his voyages.

The tar had married a pretty young woman before he went to sea, (the same whom I saw busied in spinning,) but instead of returning to a quiet happy family, he found nothing at home but misery and distress, and saw himself almost entirely adrift in the world, with a mother, a wife and children to maintain. The death of his father had brought all the hungry creditors forward, so that he became heir only to the poor cot-

\* The path of descent to Port na Spania lies in the land of a peasant who is not entitled to any part of the sea coast, but he receives, as a toll on his highway, every third hundred of kelp manufactured below; and this path, dangerous as it is, yet being the only one, makes it necessary to comply with the demand.

† The whole bay generally produces about four tons of kelp, which is sold at the rate of from five to six pounds per ton.

‡ This melancholy accident happened in the summer of 1783, when I was in this neighbourhood.



tage itself, and the naked land which surrounded it. However, it was his inheritance, and as such he would not part with it.

The prize-money which he had got on his cruize was, for the convenience of carriage (as his wife told me), mostly converted into plate, that is, he returned home with a silver watch, a large pair of silver knee and shoe buckles, and such other little matters of ornament, as the vanity of a sailor, who pays a visit to his old friends after a long absence, commonly delights to exhibit. With these David set out for the first fair that happened in the neighbourhood, to buy a horse, which was absolutely necessary for the cultivation of his farm; but he was not in his own element: a jockey soon fell in with him, and the tar gave his silver watch, the chief fortune of the family, for a jaded horse, which he afterward found, on enquiry, old enough to have seen the days of Lord Hawke and Conflans, being upwards of twenty years of age.

Our young farmer, alarmed at the marks of debility which too manifestly shewed themselves in his new horse, and terrified lest he might hastily give him the slip, and die in his hands, set out with all expedition to try his fortune at market once more; where, with the assistance of another piece of plate, he soon bartered his antiquated steed, and, under the influence of his late misfortune, purchased a colt, almost as unserviceable from his youth, as the former had been from extreme old age.

These calamities of the son were little less ruinous than those of the father, but with this difference, that the misfortunes of the latter being such as no human foresight could have prevented, he was universally esteemed and pitied by the neighbourhood; while every body laughed at the simplicity which involved poor David in his distresses.

However, some peasants of the next village, pitying his situation, admitted him into what is here called a *neighbour dealing*, that is, he was allowed to join his colt in the team with three of their horses, and the plough was alternately employed in each man's farm; by this means David has been enabled to till his inheritance, and this year a harvest of rich hope seems to promise a reward—whether it shall or not, rests with Providence.

Such is the simple unadorned history of this poor family, affording an artless affecting picture of the accidents and distresses of humble life, which I am sure will interest your feelings, and make you forget the tediousness of this digression from my main subject.

## LETTER VII.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, August 20.*

IT is a pleasing, as well as an interesting pursuit, to observe the gradual advancement of mankind in any particular object of enquiry; to trace the wild shoot of infant philosophy, from the natural soil in which it has grown, rank and uncultivated, to the garden of science, where it blooms in all the improved beauty and vigour which the hand of art and industry can add to it. In this point of view, a little history of the opinions which have prevailed concerning the curious combination of pillars in this neighbourhood, called the Giants' Causeway, may perhaps afford you some amusement; and if it do not bring with it much solid information concerning the operations of nature, yet it may be pleasant enough to see the various attempts which men have made to explain them.

The native inhabitants of the coast, as they were the earliest observers of this wonder, so were they the first to account for its production; and however rude and simple their theory may be, yet a little consideration will satisfy us that it does not deserve the ignominious



minious appellation of being grossly barbarous and absurd. The Causeway was observed by the fishermen whose daily necessities led them thither for subsistence, to be a regular mole, projecting into the sea, which answered for several convenient purposes; on closer inspection, it was discovered to be built with an appearance of art and regularity somewhat resembling the works of men, but at the same time exceeding every thing of the like kind which had been seen: and it was found that human ingenuity and perseverance, if supported by sufficient power, might be abundantly adequate to its production.

The chief defect in this simple analogy seems to have been the want of strength equal to the effect; but this was soon supplied in the traditions of a fanciful people, and Fin ma Cool \*, the celebrated hero of ancient Ireland, became the giant under whose forming hand this curious structure was erected.

It was afterward discovered, that a pile of similar pillars was placed somewhere on the opposite coast of Scotland, and as the business of latitudes and longitudes was not at that time very accurately ascertained, a general confused notion prevailed, that this mole was once continued across the sea, and connected the Irish and Scottish coasts together.

Near the end of the last century, when this kingdom began to revive from its misfortunes under the regulations of William III., the spirit of enquiry, which the Royal Society of London had just then called forth, began to busy itself about this singular and original wonder. At this period we find, among the papers of the Society, a letter from Sir Richard Buckley to Dr. Lyster, on this subject, dated in the year 1693, of the merits of which you may judge by the following extract:

“ Concerning the Giants’ Causeway:—Prolixity in a philosophical description I am sure you will pardon, for I was very exact in getting it from a person that was *rei compos*, perhaps *peritus*; a scholar, a master of arts in Cambridge, and a traveller, who went on purpose with the bishop of Derry to see it, &c.

“ This whole Causeway (says the scholar) consists of pillars of perpendicular cylinders. The pillars do not consist of joints, as you were informed, but each cylinder is one solid piece, only indeed in breaking, it breaks crosswise, and not lengthwise, which we commonly call splitting; and all the stones that rise up on the strand are all cylinders, though of never so many different angles, for there are also four-squared upon the same shore †. That the cylinders do not consist of joints is evident from hence, that the pieces so broken off have their bottom as often convex or concave, as flat or even.”

Thus has this intelligent traveller demonstrated that these pillars have no joints, from the very circumstance which of all others renders their articulation most curious and surprising.

In consequence of the information which this gentleman gave of the want of joints, people began to compare these pillars with the regular fossils then best known, the eutrochi, asteriæ, and the rock crystal, which, on a diminutive scale, seemed to bear resemblance with the larger masses in the Giants’ Causeway; and to this end a number of queries were drawn up by Sir Richard Bulkley, which, with their answers by Doctor Samuel Foley, are published in the Philosophical Transactions of that period.

Such are these following:

“ Are any of the pillars hexagons, or squares? or be they pentagons only?

\* Mr. Mac Pherson’s more modern Fingal.

† With all due deference to this Cambridge master of arts, who so scientifically describes these four-squared cylinders, he must have made some very unaccountable mistake, or else matters have been strangely altered since his time, for there is not now a single pillar to be found in the whole Causeway which is not clearly separable into very many distinct joints.



" Have the tops of the pillars any gravings or striate lines on them ?

" Is the superficies caniculate or otherwise grooved ?" &c. &c.

All which queries, though truly enough answered, yet produced very little useful information ; being entirely directed to the mere exterior appearance of the Causeway itself, without paying any attention to the general features of the coast, to the attendant fossil substances, or even to the nature and chemical properties of the stone itself, which is utterly different from those fossils with which it was then compared. However, the British philosophers seem to have pursued the analogy of this species of chrySTALLIZATION with very great confidence ; so that the authors of the late appendix to their *Encyclopædia*, have endeavoured to give it an air of probability, by delineating many of the basalt pillars as terminating in pyramids, like the common rock crystal, and some species of salts\*.

To these answers a sketch was added, of which an engraving is published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, entitled " A Draught of the Giants' Causeway, which lies near Bengore Head, in the county of Antrim, by Christopher Cole, A. D. 1694." Of this drawing and its imperfections, the account which Doctor Foley himself gives will be the best description : " He tells me he has not drawn the Giants' Causeway as a prospect, nor yet as a survey or platform, for this he thought would not answer his design ; and that he has no name for it but a draught, which he took after this sort. He supposed the hills and Causeway to be epitomised to the same height and bigness the draught shews them, and this he fancied the most intelligible way to express it."

Doctor Thomas Molleneux was the first person who took any very considerable pains to procure information concerning the Giants' Causeway, and we have reason to lament that the necessary attendance of his profession prevented him from making his observations in person, for which he seems to have been well qualified : however, his intelligence was the best that had yet been collected. It was found that this species of stone was not confined to the Giants' Causeway alone, but might be discovered in the mountain of Dunmull ; nay that it was certainly of the same species with the lapis misneus, or basaltes of Stolpen, in Saxony, of which a slight description had been given by Agricola, in his *History of Fossils*.

By the influence of this gentleman in the Dublin Society, that body employed a painter of some eminence to make a general sketch of the coast near the Causeway ; but neither the talents nor fidelity of the artist seem to be at all suited to the purpose of a philosophical landscape.

An engraving of this is published under the following title :

" A true Prospect of the Giants' Causeway, near Bengore Head, taken from the North-west, by Edward Sandys, A. D. 1696, at the Expence of the Dublin Society.

" Right Hon. Sir Cecil-Week, Knt. President.

" Rev. Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Cloyne, Wm. Molleneux, Esq., Vice-Presidents."

In this true prospect, the painter has very much indulged his own imagination, at the expence of his employers, insomuch that several tall pillars in the steep banks of this fanciful scene appear loaded with luxuriant branches, skirting the wild rocky bay of Port Noffer †, with the gay exhibition of stately forest trees. In the back ground he

\* This representation of the pillars has probably been taken from a drawing of the basaltes of Saxony, sent many years ago to Gesner, together with a description of that species of stone by Kentman. This drawing contains many errors, and among the rest exhibits pillars of basaltes with conical terminations.

† This bay lies immediately eastward from the Causeway. I have here written the name nearly as it is pronounced by the natives, who have scarce any knowledge of the Irish language ; but the proper mode of writing it should be Port na Bfathach, which signifies the Giants' Port.



discovered a parcel of rude and useless materials, which his magic pencil soon transformed into comfortable dwelling-houses, and for chimnies he has happily introduced some detached pillars of basalt, which, from their peculiar situation, and the name given to them by the peasants of the country, naturally excited the attention of this extraordinary artist. And thus were concluded the labours of the last century, concerning this curious work of nature.

From that period the basalt pillars of this kingdom passed almost unnoticed for half a century, and seem to have been viewed cautiously, and as it were at a distance, by men of science, who appeared slow to engage with an object which had hitherto entirely baffled the attempts of every theorist.

In the year 1740, Mrs. Susannah Drury made two very beautiful and correct paintings of the Giants' Causeway, which obtained the premium appointed for the encouragement of arts in Ireland; and these drawings being soon after engraved by the hand of an eminent artist, and published, the attention of the world was once again directed toward this antiquated subject.

Shortly after this, Doctor Pococke, a gentleman of considerable industry in philosophical pursuits, made a tour through the county of Antrim, and was the only person who appears to have taken a general view of the coast, of which he has given a cursory description. But not content with a plain history of matters of fact, the learned Doctor ventured to start a new theory of his own, which I fear will not stand the test of a critical examination: to say the truth, it is little else than the doctrine of the atoms of Epicurus in a modern dress\*.

He conceives that the basalt, once suspended in a watery medium, either in solution, or as a kind of mud: that at certain times, accidental fits of precipitation took place, in such manner as to form a range of short cylinders, whose upper ends should chiefly be convex: that as these joints became somewhat solid, a second fit of precipitation took place, forming a second range of incumbent joints, which must generally be concave, adapted to the convexity of the lower order, and thus, by successive fits of precipitation, he supposes a set of erect cylinders might be generated in contact with each other. Now a set of cylinders can touch only in right lines, and therefore must leave empty spaces between them; but the pillars being yet soft, and yielding to the increasing pressure from above, should, he imagines, dilate, and spread themselves out so as to fill up the vacuities. And thus he conceives may the polygon articulated pillars, of the Giants' Causeway, be generated.

I shall not delay you by any commentary on this unhappy theory, only to observe, that a more accurate enquiry would have discovered horizontal and even curved pillars, for the production of which this cause is utterly inadequate†.

Such is the history of the Giants' Causeway, and such have been the labours of the learned, and their various opinions concerning its structure, in which, whatever may have been already accomplished, much certainly remains to be done, towards a judicious

\* "Ille censet, in infinito inani, in quo nihil nec summum, nec infimum, nec medium, nec ultimum, nec extremum sit: ita ferri ut, concursionibus inter se coherescant: ex quo efficiantur, ea quæ sint, quæque cernantur omnia."

† Mr. D'Acosta, who has published this account of Doctor Pococke's in his History of Fossils, strangely ranges the basalt among the class of marbles, or stones allied to marbles, with which it has not any one common feature of resemblance, except that it will receive a polish; so that he might with equal propriety have classed it with any other hard substance in nature. In truth he seems to be very ill informed on the subject imagining this to be the only stone of the kind ever discovered, and is in amaze to think how far it may extend into the sea.



arrangement of a sufficient number of materials, whereon to build any general theory to satisfy a reasonable mind with respect to its formation.

In my last letter I mentioned that the extent of country contiguous to the Causeway, through which all the varieties of this species of stone prevailed, was much greater than had been imagined: and within these few years it has been discovered abroad, that the basalt is a common fossil through every part of the world, there being few kingdoms where it may not be found under one shape or another. Hence it has come to pass that the observations of men of science in distant places have been united on this subject; different theories have been compared together; and more general analogies suggested, on which to build some rational conjectures, concerning the cause that might have produced these wonderful pillars.

It is somewhat singular, however, that during these enquiries abroad, all appeals which have been made to the Giants' Causeway, in favour of any particular system, have always proved fallacious; and still more extraordinary, when one considers that these errors should have principally arisen from the extreme pains employed in describing it, particularly from those two accurate and beautiful drawings executed by Mrs. Drury, which have really been a stumbling block to most of the foreign writers on this subject. Thus Mons. Demarest, the ingenious father of the volcanic theory of basalt, strangely imagines that the Causeway has been a current of lava erupted from the side of a conical mountain, though there is not a mountain of any sort in its vicinity, nor one of that particular shape within a great many miles of it. The truth is, that gentleman saw these much celebrated drawings, and has mistaken the segment of a shelving cape, at whose base the pillars stand, for a portion of a conical hill cut down in the direction of its axis; and this error has been confirmed by the prevailing custom of putting those pictures together in the same frame; so that the two segments, standing back to back, exhibit the appearance of an entire conical mountain, such as Mr. Demarest describes\*.

It was also observed by foreigners, that in every drawing and description of the Giants' Causeway, particular attention was paid to the circumstance of its projecting into the sea; hence a crude and indefinite opinion was adopted by many writers, that the pillars of basalt were produced by the refrigeration of a liquid body of lava, in consequence of being suddenly plunged into water. Such is the theory of a Mr. Raspe, who has published an account of the valley of Hesse Cassel, in Germany, and such are the sentiments advanced by Mons. de Luc, in his excellent Letters addressed to the Queen of England, in which he gives as his opinion, that the ancient volcanos were formed in the ocean, where the sudden cooling of the melted mass (not to count on the presence of the marine salt) might have determined a regularity of figure in the cooling body†.

Though this opinion does with much ingenuity assign a reason why the basaltic pillars are not produced at this day, as they were formerly, yet a little consideration will shew that it ought not hastily to be adopted, since general experience teaches us that all

\* "Je tirai de cette conformité reconnu une conséquence que la force de l'analogie m'autorisoit à tirer: cette conséquence me fit voir, dans la Chaufée de Géans, et dans toute les masses prismatiques que se montrent sur le bord escarpés de la mer en Irlande, et un mot dans le sommet tronqués, qu'on y apperçoit, l'ouvrage des éruptions, d'un ou de plusieurs volcans qui se sont éteints, comme ceux des Auvergne."—See Mons. Demarest's Memoir on the Basalts of Auvergne, in the volume of the French Academy for 1771.

† "Or, on voit une cause de plus, dans les volcans anciens, que dans les modernes, pour produire cet effet; c'est de s'être formés dans la mer, ou, sans compter la présence du sel, l'attachement seul de l'eau, en produisant une condensation plus subite, a pu être une circonstance déterminante." De Luc Lettres à la Reine de Grande Bretagne.



tumultuary causes are only adapted to produce tumultuary effects: every species of regular figure produced by crystallization, or any mode whatever analogous to it, being always more perfect, in proportion as length of time and rest have allowed the different particles to unite gradually; indeed a moment's reflection must satisfy any one, that the furious encounter of a river of liquid fire with the waters of the ocean, so far from being suited to form the neat and elegant arrangement of our pillars of basalt, can only tend to introduce confusion and irregularity. But in truth, any arguments derived from the particular situation of the Giants' Causeway will be found extremely erroneous, because the circumstance of its standing in the sea is purely accidental; similar pillars being often discoverable on the summit of the highest grounds in its neighbourhood, many hundred feet above the level of the beach.

I shall no longer weary your patience by a more minute account of the opinions to which this celebrated Causeway has given birth, but shall hasten to a general view of the bold volcanic theories that have been advanced to explain the production of the pillars of basalt.

## LETTER VIII.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, August 24.*

THE vicinity of the little fishing village of Portrush to the Giants' Causeway, has afforded me, during my stay here, ample opportunity to visit that curious work of nature, and to examine, with a good deal of attention, the features of the adjoining country, which has hitherto been very imperfectly known.

The Causeway itself is generally described as a mole or quay, projecting from the base of a steep promontory, some hundred feet into the sea, and is formed of perpendicular pillars of basalt, which stand in contact with each other, exhibiting an appearance not much unlike a solid honeycomb. The pillars are irregular prisms, of various denominations, from four to eight sides\*; but the hexagonal columns are as numerous as all the others together.

On a minute inspection, each pillar is found to be separable into several joints, whose articulation is neat and compact beyond expression, the convex termination of one joint always meeting a concave socket in the next; besides which, the angles of one frequently shoot over those of the other, so that they are completely locked together, and can rarely be separated without a fracture of some of their parts.

The sides of each column are unequal among themselves, but the contiguous sides of adjoining columns are always of equal dimensions so as to touch in all their parts.

Though the angles be of various magnitudes, yet the sum of the contiguous angles of adjoining pillars, always makes up four right ones. Hence there are no void spaces among the basalt, the surface of the Causeway exhibiting to view a regular and compact pavement of polygon stones.

The outside covering is soft, and of a brown colour, being the earthy parts of this stone nearly deprived of its metallic principle by the action of the air, and of the marine acid which it receives from the sea†.

\* Monsieur Faujas de St. Fond took much pains to search for pillars of nine sides among the basalt of Vivarais, in consequence of the account which Mr. Molleneux and Monsieur de Lisle gave, that such were to be found; but there is little doubt that both these gentlemen were mistaken, as none of that denomination are to be discovered at the Giants' Causeway or its neighbourhood. Indeed octagonal pillars are very rarely to be met with.

† This coating contains iron which has lost its phlogiston, and is nearly reduced to a state of calx; for with a very moderate heat it becomes a bright red ochre colour, the attendant of an iron earth.



These are the obvious external characters of this extraordinary pile of basaltes, observed and described with wonder by every one who has seen it. But it is not here that our admiration should cease; whatever the process was, by which nature produced that beautiful and curious arrangement of pillars so conspicuous about the Giant's Causeway, the cause, far from being limited to that spot alone, appears to have extended through a large tract of country, in every direction, insomuch that many of the common quarries for several miles round, seem to be only abortive attempts towards the production of a Giant's Causeway.

Basalts

From want of attention to this circumstance, a vast deal of time and labour have been idly spent in minute examinations of the Causeway itself; in tracing its course under the ocean, pursuing its columns into the ground, determining its length and breadth, and the number of its pillars, with numerous wild conjectures concerning its original; all of which cease to be of any importance, when this spot is considered only as a small corner of an immense basalt quarry, extending widely over all the neighbouring land.

The leading features of this whole coast are the two great promontories of Bengore and Fairhead, which stand at the distance of eight miles from each other; both formed on a great and extensive scale; both abrupt toward the sea, and abundantly exposed to observation, and each in its kind exhibiting noble arrangements of the different species of columnar basaltes.

The former of these lies about seven miles west of Ballycastle, and is generally described by seamen, who see it at a distance, and in profile, as an extensive headland, running out from the coast to a considerable length into the sea; but, strictly speaking, it is made up of a number of lesser capes and bays, each with its own proper name, the *tout ensemble* of which forms what the seamen denominate the headland of Bengore.

These capes are composed of a variety of different ranges of pillars, and a great number, of strata; which, from the abruptness of the coast, are extremely conspicuous, and form an unrivalled pile of natural architecture, in which all the neat regularity and elegance of art is united to the wild magnificence of nature.

The most perfect of these capes is called Pleaskin, of which I shall attempt a description, and along with it hope to send a drawing which my draftsman has taken from the beach below, at the risk of his neck; for the approach from these promontories down to the sea, is frightful beyond description, and requires not only a strong head, but very considerable bodily activity to accomplish it.

The summit of Pleaskin is covered with a thin grassy sod, under which lies the natural rock, having generally an uniform hard surface, somewhat cracked and shivered. At the depth of ten or twelve feet from the summit, this rock begins to assume a columnar tendency, and forms a range of massy pillars of basaltes, which stand perpendicular to the horizon, presenting, in the sharp face of the promontory, the appearance of a magnificent gallery or colonade, upward of sixty feet in height.

Upper pillars 60 ft

This colonade is supported on a solid base of coarse, black, irregular rock, near sixty feet thick, abounding in blebs and air holes, but though comparatively irregular, it may be evidently observed to affect a peculiar figure, tending in many places to run into regular forms, resembling the shooting of salts and many other substances during a hasty crystallization.

what is

Under this great bed of stone stands a second range of pillars, between forty and fifty feet in height, less gross, and more sharply defined than those of the upper story, many of them, on a close view, emulating even the neatness of the columns in the

Lower 45 ft

Giants'



**Giants' Causeway.** This lower range is borne on a layer of red ochre stone, which serves as a relief to shew it to great advantage\*.

These two admirable natural galleries, together with the interjacent mass of irregular rock form a perpendicular height of one hundred and seventy feet; from the base of which, the promontory, covered with rock and grass, slopes down to the sea for the space of two hundred feet more, making in all a mass of near four hundred feet in height, which in beauty and variety of its colouring, in elegance and novelty of arrangement, and in the extraordinary magnitude of its objects, cannot readily be rivalled by any thing of the kind at present known †.

Though there are but two complete ranges of pillars which appear in any of the promontories, yet is not improbable that there may be many more in succession, at various depths under ground; and this opinion is confirmed by columnar marks which may be traced in several rocks that lie in the sea. The Causeway itself, which is situated at the base of one of those promontories, on the level of the beach, is one of those columnar beds that has been accidentally stripped and washed by length of time and storms.

The pillars of this whole headland appear naturally to affect a perpendicular situation, and in the few places where they lie in an inclined posture, it seems to be the effect of some external cause, which has deranged them from their original disposition. Indeed where the forms of crystallization are imperfect, they may be seen to shoot in various directions, and sometimes in irregular curves, but in most of these instances the columnar outline is very rude and unfinished.

It is worth remarking, that the ranges of pillars are more perfect in proportion as they lie deeper under ground; the second range in Pleasskin is evidently better finished than the upper one, and contains much fewer irregularities in the grain of its stone; while the pillars of the Causeway, which runs into the sea itself, have still a greater sharpness in their figure, and are more close and uniform in their texture.

Such is the general outline of this great headland, which affords objects extremely interesting to every one who may wish to study Nature in her bold and uncommon works.

At the distance of eight miles from hence (as I mentioned before) the promontory of Fairhead † raises its lofty summit more than four hundred feet above the sea, forming the eastern termination of Ballycastle bay. It presents to view a vast compact mass of rude columnar stones, the forms of which are extremely gross, many of them being near one hundred and fifty feet in length, and the texture so coarse §, as to resemble black schorle stone, rather than the close fine grain of the Giants' Causeway basalt. At the base of these gigantic columns, lies a wild waste of natural ruins, of an enormous size, which in the course of successive ages have been tumbled down from their foundation by storms, or some more powerful operations of nature. These massive bodies have sometimes withstood the shock of their fall, and often lie in groupes and clumps

\* The only instances of different ranges of basalt that have hitherto been discovered, occur in the valuable work of Mons. Faujas de St. Fond, on the volcanos of Vivarais, &c. but the arrangement which appears there, even with the neatness that always attends an engraving, is greatly inferior to that of Pleasskin.

† Mr. Pennant is much mistaken in his opinion that the little island of Staffa, whose greatest height is but one hundred and twenty-eight feet, contains any object equal to the bold promontories of Bengore. Neither are the best specimens of pillars at Staffa at all comparable to those of the Giants' Causeway, in neatness of form, or singularity of articulation.

‡ This is the Rhodogium Promontorium of Ptolemy the geographer.

§ These pillars do not, at first view, appear to have any marks of articulation; but, on observing such as have fallen down from the top of Fairhead, they are found to be often separated into pretty regular joints by the force of the fall.



of pillars, resembling many of the varieties of artificial ruins, and forming a very novel and striking landscape.

A savage wildness characterizes this great promontory, at the foot of which the ocean rages with uncommon fury. Scarce a single mark of vegetation has yet crept over the hard rock to diversify its colouring, but one uniform greyness clothes the scene all around. Upon the whole, it makes a fine contrast with the beautiful capes of Bengore, where the varied brown shades of the pillars, enlivened by the red and green tints of ochre and grass, cast a degree of life and cheerfulness over the different objects.

Though I have particularly described the basalt pillars of these two magnificent promontories, yet there are many other similar arrangements through this country, which, though less worthy of admiration as great objects, yet become extremely interesting when one wishes to search minutely into the natural causes which might have produced these extraordinary pillars.

The mountain of Dunmull, lying between Colerain and the river Bush, abounds in this species of stone, particularly at the craigs of Islamore, where two different ranges of columns may be discovered; and at most of the quarries which have occasionally been opened round the mountain. They may be seen also at Dunluce-hill, near the castle of Dunluce: in the bed of the river Bush, near the bridge of Bushmills: on the summit of the mountain of Croaghmore: in many parts of the high land over Ballintoy: in the island of Raghery, and various other places, through an extent of coast about fifteen miles in length, and two in breadth\*.

I shall not at present delay you with a minute description of each of these, but may, in the course of my letters, take an opportunity to mention the general character of the face of this country, and any singularities worthy of notice, in the forms and situation of its basaltes. Yours, &c.

## LETTER IX.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, August 13.*

IN my last letter I described the external character of the Giants' Causeway pillars, which will abundantly serve to discriminate the columnar basaltes from any other fossil of a different species at present known. But as this stone does not always appear in its prismatical form, it will be convenient to take notice of some other properties, not immediately derived from its figure, by which we shall be enabled to distinguish it in those instances where it may be disposed in more rude and irregular masses.

The basaltes of the Giants' Causeway† is a black, ponderous, close-grained stone, which does not effervesce in any of the mineral acids.

Its specific gravity is to that of water, nearly in the proportion of 2.90 to 1.00; and to that of the finest marble, as 2.90 to 2.70.

Though its texture be compact, it is not absolutely homogeneous; for if ground to a smooth surface, its bright jet-black polish is disfigured by several small pores.

\* Beyond this tract, which abounds in perfect pillars, an attentive observer will be able to trace the same species of fossils in very distant parts of the country, as far as the northern shore of Loughneagh, and the mountains of the county of Derry; in many places of which imperfect columnar forms may be observed, so that the great cause which generated this species of stone, has been exerted through a space of more than forty miles in length and twenty in breadth; that is, through above eight hundred square miles.

† I have intentionally confined this account to the stone of the Giants' Causeway, because it seems as perfect in its kind as any hitherto discovered, and may in some measure serve for a standard, with which to compare other stone of the same species.



It strikes fire imperfectly with a steel.

When exposed to a moderate heat in a common fire it assumes a reddish colour, which is more vivid on its natural outside covering, and loses about  $\frac{1}{3}$  part of its weight\*.

In a more intense heat it readily melts, and is, as the chymists express it, fusible *per se*.

With the assistance of an alkali flux it may be vitrified, and forms an opaque glass of a black or bluish colour.

Its principal component parts are iron in a metallic state, combined chiefly with siliceous and argillaceous earths.

Its metallic principle may be demonstrated by a very simple experiment: let a small fragment of basalt, in its natural state, be brought into contact, or very near to a good magnetical needle, and it may be made to detain the needle at a considerable distance from its meridian. Let this fragment be touched by a magnet and it will acquire pretty strong polarity, capable of attracting or repelling the needle, at the distance of an inch or more. From hence it is proved to contain iron in a metallic state, because the calx of that metal is incapable of producing any magnetical phenomena whatever.

To determine the quantity and quality of each constituent part, requires a very slow and laborious operation, which would be almost equally tedious in the description. I shall therefore just mention the results from the experiments of that able chymist, Sir Torbern Bergman, whose authority you will not readily question:

Basalt 100 parts.		
Contains siliceous earth	-	50 parts,
Argillaceous earth		15
Calcareous earth		8
Magnesia	-	2
Iron	-	25
		<hr/>
		100
		<hr/>

From these elements we shall easily be enabled to account for several of its properties.

Hence it comes to pass that its specific gravity is so considerable, exceeding that of many stones, which, when polished, appear much more compact, the quantity of phlogisticated iron easily making compensation.

We see also why it answers so well for a touchstone, the hardness of its iron particles easily rubbing and fretting off the parts of any softer metal which may be applied to it, and its black ground serving to display these to greater advantage.

Hence too arises its fusibility without addition; for though flint, clay, and calcareous earth, are separately refractory, in any degree of artificial heat, yet when mixed together they are readily fusible, and still more easily when united with phlogisticated iron.

From the metallic state of its iron element we are enabled to infer, *a priori*, that the columns of the Giants' Causeway are all natural magnets, whose lower extremity is their north pole, and the upper extremity their south pole. For having stood during many ages in a perpendicular position, they must have acquired that polarity which is peculiar to all iron substances in a similar situation; and like natural magnets, every fragment,

\* This loss probably arises from water expelled by the heat. For in the course of twenty-four hours after, it will nearly have recovered its former weight, particularly if it be moistened.

when



when broken, will have its north and south pole. And this I have found true by experience; each pillar of the Giants' Causeway, and each fragment of a pillar, which I applied near to the needle, having its attractive and repellent point.

Hence likewise it follows that the great capes in the neighbourhood of the Causeway, must possess a similar property; and, accordingly, in the semicircular bays of Bengore-head, I have often found the compass very much deranged from its meridian.

The magnetism of these capes may perhaps be an object of some curiosity; it might be well worth inquiring, how far such masses of phlogisticated iron within the earth may produce those sudden and unaccountable deflexions of the needle, which are always inconvenient, sometimes so dangerous to seamen; and whether that still more mysterious and inexplicable phenomenon of the annual variation, may not arise from the gain or loss of the principle of metallity, which in the slow and regular course of nature, may possibly take place by the various action of heat and moisture.

We have proof sufficient on a diminutive scale, that iron may by a variety of artificial means lose or gain that principle on which alone its magnetical property depends; and the decomposition of the basaltes enables us to affirm, with reasonable certainty, that such changes do actually take place in nature, and that the magnetical phenomena of the promontory of Bengore, for instance, must now be different from what it was some ages ago, or from what it will be some ages hence: it may, therefore, deserve consideration, how far this analogy could be pursued with respect to the whole mass of the earth, particularly as we have evidence of the existence of a natural agent abundantly adequate to this effect, I mean subterranean fire, whose extensive dominion is indisputably proved by those numerous volcanoes that have been discovered in so many distant parts of the world, and whose sources must lie at very considerable depths below the surface of the earth, if we may argue from the vast quantity of different substances which they have vomited forth in their various eruptions.

From a knowledge of these elementary parts of the basaltes, we are furnished with an analogy tending to throw some light on the regularity of its form. One of its principles is found to be siliceous earth, and we have very numerous proofs that this substance does, in other instances which come within our observation, frequently affect a regular figure, variable however under various circumstances. Thus rock crystal, which is a very pure flinty earth, is commonly disposed in the form of hexagonal prisms, the denomination of sides which chiefly prevails among our basaltic pillars. Thus variety of crystallizations are found to take place in the metal of glass-houses, where the furnace has been suffered to cool gradually.

Iron is another of the principles which enter into the basaltes; and this metal is found to crystallize in regular figures, when all fit circumstances concur to permit the due arrangement of its parts. This is sometimes discoverable in the ores of that metal, and may be observed to take place imperfectly even in our founderies; in what is commonly called the grain of cast iron, generally presenting to view a striated appearance: but, in cases where the pains and ingenuity of the chemist has been exerted to exhibit this phenomenon more decisively, very regular cubical figures have been produced, clearly ascertaining the existence of this tendency toward a peculiar disposition of its parts.

In truth, the particles of every substance in nature appear to possess private laws and affinities, whereby they proceed to unite, and to arrange themselves in regular forms, when all things necessary combine to assist this tendency; that is, when by any means whatever, the particles are removed to a sufficient distance, and afterwards suffered to approach slowly and regularly according to their various laws of action.

Thus



Thus it appears to be in the case of saline substances, which have been held in solution in a watery medium; for if by the uniform evaporation of the fluid, or any other slow and regular cause whatever, time and space be allowed in which the dissolved particles may exert, without disturbance, their private laws of affinity, these particles will be found to affect an arrangement peculiar to that species of body to which they belong. Thus again, all bodies which have been dissolved by the medium of heat, when suffered to cool equably, and without the rapid afflux of fresh portions of air, do universally exhibit a peculiar disposition of parts, of which instances enough occur in every species of metal, in sulphurs, in glasses, and, in short, in all substances capable of a perfect fusion.

Since therefore we have sufficient evidence, in such instances as come within the reach of human powers and observation, that the elementary parts of the basalt do affect a specific form of crystallization, and that this form is always more and more perfect, in proportion as our experiments are made with greater regularity, and on a larger scale, it may not appear unreasonable to pursue the same analogy in the extensive operations of nature, where those laws, which are but imperfectly exerted in our diminutive experiments, may act with full and undisturbed vigour, capable of producing the beautiful symmetry and arrangement of a Giants' Causeway. And though crystals have probably never been produced from any simple substance, precisely answering to the articulated basalt pillars, yet no very important objection can be derived from hence, since it is well known that elements which separately form specific crystals, may, when united, constitute by their compound laws, bodies different from either figure. Thus melted glass, through which scorizæ of iron had been accidentally mixed, was found to affect a columnar shape\*.

These are the chief matters worthy notice, which have come under my own immediate observation with respect to the perfect stone of the Giants' Causeway. I shall next mention some of the leading varieties of its different species.

First, With respect to form and magnitude: the pillars of the Causeway are small, not very much exceeding one foot in breadth, and thirty in length, sharply defined, neat in their articulation, with convex or concave terminations to each joint. In many of the capes and hills they are of a larger size, more imperfect and irregular in their figure and articulation, having often flat terminations to their joints: at Fairhead they are of gigantic magnitude, sometimes exceeding five feet in breadth, and an hundred in length; oftentimes apparently destitute of joints altogether. Through many parts of the country this species of stone is entirely rude and unformed, separating in loose blocks, in which state it resembles the stone known in Sweden by the name of Trappe.

Secondly, With respect to situation: the pillars at the Giants' Causeway stand on the level of the beach, from whence they may be traced through all degrees of elevation, to the summit of the highest grounds in the neighbourhood, as at the old fort of Dunmull, and on the top of Croaghmore, six hundred feet at least above the level of the sea.

Thirdly, With respect to disposition and arrangement: At the Causeway, and in most other places, they stand perpendicular to the horizon; in some of the capes, and particularly near Ushet harbour in the isle of Raghery, they lie in an oblique position; at Doon Point, in the same island, and along the Ballintoy shore, they form a variety of regular curves.

The little point of Doon is indeed extremely curious, containing at once perpendicular, horizontal, and bending pillars. Its base resembles a mole composed of erect co-

\* Vide Ker's Observations on the Crystallization of Glass. Phil. Trans. vol. lxx.



lums like those of the Giants' Causeway; over the extremity of this mass others appear in a bending form, as if they had slid over in a state of softness, capable of accommodating themselves to the course of their descent, and thus assuming the figure of various curves, in consequence of the action of gravity; over all, several pillars are disposed in an horizontal position, such as would accord with an hypothesis of their having just reached the brink of the descent where they were suddenly arrested, and became rigid, lying along with their extremities pointing out toward the sea.

Fourthly, With respect to colour and grain: the Giants' Causeway stone is black, close, and uniform; its varieties of colour are blue, reddish, grey; and of grain, all that can be supposed from extreme fineness, to the coarse granulated appearance of a stone which resembles imperfect granite, abounding in crystals of schorle, chiefly black, though sometimes of various colours.

Fifthly, With respect to texture: we must observe, that though the Giant's Causeway stone be in general compact and homogeneous, yet it is remarkable that the upper joint of each pillar, where it can with certainty be ascertained, is always rudely formed and cellular\*: the gross pillars also, in the capes and mountains, frequently abound in these air holes through all their parts, which sometimes contain fine clay and other apparently foreign bodies: and the irregular basaltes, beginning where the pillars cease, or lying over them, is in general extremely honey-combed, containing in its cells crystals of zeolyte, little morsels of brown clay, sometimes very pure steatite, and in a few instances bits of agate.

The fossils attendant on the basaltes are, First, Extensive layers of red ochre, varying in all degrees from a dull ferruginous colour, to a bright red, answering well for coarse paint.

Secondly, Veins of iron ore, sometimes very rich, commonly of a brown or reddish cast, at other times of a changeable blue colour.

Thirdly, Steatites, generally of a greenish soapy appearance, more rarely of a pure white; it raises an imperfect saponaceous froth when agitated with water.

Fourthly, Zeolyte, of a bright and purest white colour; in masses varying in weight from a grain to a pound; generally disposed in cavities of the cellular basaltes; often affecting a crystallization, in which the fibres radiate out from one center, in some instances resembling a beautiful spangled appearance of thistle down. The most remarkable property of this fossil is that it forms a gelatinous mixture in the course of a few hours with any of the mineral acids, most readily with spirit of nitre†.

Fifthly, Peperino stone, a friable matrix of indurated clay and iron, studded with little morsels of zeolyte, and other substances. It is often of a reddish burnt colour, corresponding accurately with the peperino stone of Iceland.

Sixthly, Pumice-stone, of a deep black colour, containing iron not entirely dephlogisticated, but still capable of acting on the needle; sometimes found on the shore of the island of Raghery.

\* Vide pillars at the Museum of Trin. Coll. Dublin.

† Zeolyte is said by the chymists to be composed of argillaceous, siliceous, and calcarious earths, united in certain portions to water (vide Kirwan's Mineralogy, page 65). Now, that these elements may possibly be found in it, I do not deny, but that its singular properties can be accounted for from this union alone, seems not likely. In truth, chymical tests depending only on affinities already known, cannot always discover the presence of that element on which the chief phenomena of bodies may often depend. A chymical analysis can then only be esteemed perfectly decisive when it is supported by a fair synthetical proof, demonstrating that the component parts discovered by the analysis may be so united as to form a substance possessed of all the properties of the original.



The following fossils seem to have existed in their present form, independent of, and perhaps antecedent to the basalt.

First, Chalky Limestone: the whole country appears to have been originally formed of this substance, to the height of several hundred feet above the present level of the sea. It lies in beds nearly parallel to the horizon, and contains some scarce petrifications, particularly belemnites, more rarely *asteria*.

Secondly, Flints: these are disposed in great abundance, and in various shapes, through the chalky limestone; sometimes, however, they are found loose through the ground; at other times they may be discovered among the basalt\*: but in all these instances the limestone appears to be their proper matrix, from whence they have been only accidentally dispersed; for the vegetable mould (in which they are never found, except near the limestone) most commonly abounds in calcarious earth, as if it had been principally formed by the decomposition of that substance, while the harder texture of the flints, suffering little change, were scattered in their original state irregularly through it. As for the basalt, it only contains them at or very near to the place of contact with the inferior mass of calcarious stone, bits of which still continue to adhere to the flints in many parts. The substance of the flints too seems to have undergone some change in this situation, their transparency, hardness, and colour being often considerably altered.

Thirdly, Sandstone: a great mass of this forms the eastern side of Ballycastle bay, and in one part the basalt pillars of Fairhead rest on it.

Fourthly, Pit-coal: it lies in beds between the layers of sandstone at Ballycastle, and appears to continue under the sea to the island of Raghery.

Fifthly, Martial Vitriol: this is formed among the coal-pits, by the union of the sulphureous acid of the coals with a stratum of iron.

Sixthly, A very singular range of calcarious phosphoric rocks; these lie on the shore of the island of Raghery, nearly where the vein of the Ballycastle coals might be supposed to reach. Close to the shore it resembles a hard white limestone, of a blueish cast; a little further inland it becomes softer, and whiter; by and by it assumes the appearance of a calcarious sand-stone; in each of which states it produces a vivid yellowish light when sprinkled on coals, or a hot iron. It does not emit a sulphureous smell in burning, nor does it discolour vitriolic acid in solution†.

I have here given you a summary of the principle varieties of the basalt and its attendant fossils; perhaps you will say that my brevity does not help to make me intelligible, but to this I must answer first, that if fossils cannot be ascertained by a few general characteristics, a more laboured description of minute circumstances will do little else than perplex any person who is not a very good mineralogist, in which case we have no resource but in actual observation. And secondly, that such circumstances as I have here mentioned, will probably afford a foundation broad enough on which to build any analogical reasoning that may be derived immediately from the nature of the substances themselves.

As I should be sorry to have given you the trouble of reading this letter only for the unprofitable labour of learning uncommon names, which would certainly be the case did this account terminate the subject; I shall, in my next letter, candidly apply such arguments as can be derived from the nature and properties of these fossils, to explain

\* For instance, under Dunluce Castle.

† Specimens of all these fossils may be seen in the Museum of T. C. D., under the description of Irish Fossils, County of Antrim.



the volcanic theory of the production of the basalt; at the same time, however, I hope to be able to state, with equal honesty, such objections as seem most substantially to militate against this favourite hypothesis; leaving it to your own excellent judgment to decide on a subject, where, as Sir Roger de Coverly would observe, "much might be said on both sides."

## LETTER X.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, August 31.*

THERE are few things that can affect a contemplative mind with more surprise, than the numerous and signal changes which appear to have taken place in the form and arrangement of our earth, at some very distant age. It is a subject which has at all times engaged the attention of mankind, and certainly constitutes the most interesting department of natural history.

*Hyphantoids.* From the frequent and unequivocal vestiges of marine productions, which are found in the midst of our most extensive continents, and on the summit of several of the loftiest mountains, some philosophers have been induced to attribute the formation of the present habitable world, to the violent and tumultuary fury of the ocean, agitated by some uncommon cause\*: Whilst others† have thought, that the gradual but unceasing efforts of its heaving billows were abundantly adequate to account for these appearances on more common principles.

But variety of natural phenomena occur to an attentive observer, which are deemed incapable of being reasonably explained by these hypotheses; whether we regard the general features and elevation of many of our continents, or the nature and situation of the fossils which they contain.

*Volcanists.* Hence it has come to pass, that a new and more powerful principle, esteemed entirely equal to those effects, has been adopted, and many of the most surprising phenomena of nature are held to be explicable by the potent agency of subterranean fire.

To this latter cause the formation of our pillars of basalt has been attributed with some appearance of probability; and though much has been said on this subject with vagueness and indecision, concerning the manner of their production, yet the principal facts that have been adduced in favour of the general opinion are worthy of attention, and open to view a very novel and important object of enquiry.

*Auvergne's breadth.* The first person who took a decided part in favour of the volcanic theory of the basalt was M. Desmarest, a French gentleman, whose memoir on that subject may be seen in the publication of the Royal Academy of Sciences for the year 1771. Mr. Desmarest made a tour through the county of Auvergne, one of the southern provinces of France in the neighbourhood of the Rhone, where he discovered many piles of basalt, with more variations of magnitude, figure, and arrangement, than was at that time known about the Giants' Causeway in Ireland. By his means a geographical survey was made of this part of France, and a map delineated in which the direction of the mountains, and the situation of its basalt, were supposed to be accurately projected.

From this map, and his own personal observations of the nature of the soil, and the general species of its fossils, he conceived that this country had once been ravaged by subterranean fire, of whose wasteful dominion undeniable vestiges still remained; and that the bold inequalities of its surface, its hills and vallies, were formed by vast heaps of

\* Burnet, Whiston, Woodward, &amp;c.

† Buffon, &amp;c.



scoriæ, and different melted substances, which had issued from its volcanic mountains, spreading themselves in every direction from these flaming centers.

He imagined also, that many of these melted torrents might be traced through their whole extent, from the side of the great volcano which gave them birth in the mountains of D'or, to their remotest extremities where they terminated in banks of prismatical basalt. From all these circumstances he concluded, that the basaltic columns were formed by the gradual refrigeration of a mass of fluid lava; during its flow progress over the subjacent soil, and that most of its varieties of shape and situation might naturally be attributed to the different interruptions of its course, or to the alterations introduced by the successive ravages of volcanic fire \*.

After Mr. Defmarest many writers both foreign and domestic pursued this interesting subject with great ardor. Among the English authors we are principally indebted to the labours of Sir William Hamilton, whose valuable collection of facts relating to those places which are at this day the seat of living volcanos, afford the surest rules of judgment concerning such countries as do yet bear strong marks of a volcanized appearance without any direct evidence of the existence of subterranean fire.

But the person to whom we owe the most ample compilation of materials immediately relating to the basalt, is Monsieur Faujas de-St. Fond, who has lately published a voluminous work on the extinct volcanos of Viverrais and Velay, counties adjoining to Auvergne, which had before been described by Mr. Defmarest. In this work the author has given a particular memoir on the basalt, to which he has annexed descriptions, and engravings of the most remarkable banks and mountains of basaltic columns in these two countries. But what renders his work still more valuable, are the minute and accurate accounts which it contains of the attendant fossils, particularly zeolyte, schorl, and puzzolane earth; because we are from thence enabled to decide whether these substances be universally connected with the basalt, or are only the accidental attendants of it in a few particular counties; and where such fossils are found together, we have it in our power to estimate fairly the force of those arguments derived from their nature and connection in any one country, by considering candidly, how far they should weigh with us in those instances which come immediately under our own particular observation.

In my last letter I enumerated the chief varieties of the basalt and its attendant fossils, as they occur in the northern parts of Ireland; and I shall now briefly state to you such arguments as may be derived from them, in proof of the ancient existence of subterranean fire in their neighbourhood.

First, The basalt itself is esteemed to be nothing else than lava; and its varieties are attributed entirely to accidental circumstances attending its course, or the manner of its cooling.—In support of which opinion it is affirmed that the basalt agrees most ac-

\* "A mesure qu'on parcourt ces Cantons, en faisant la recherche & l'énumération des masses prismatiques, qu'on étudie les courants, sur tout vers leur extrémité, qu'on suit leur marche depuis le centre des éruptions, leur échagement & leur distribution à la superficie des plaines hautes qui séparent les vallons, qu'on examine les différentes espèces des pierres dont ils sont composés, on reconnoît à chaque pas que ce sont des hors d'œuvres établis sur le sol naturel. On distingue les produits du feu des substances intacts & l'on apprécie du même temps les transports immenses des matières fondues, dont les prismes sont toujours partie.—Defmarest sur l'origine & la nature du Basalt. See Memoirs of the French Academy for the year 1771.



curately with the lava in its elementary principles \*, in its grain, in the species of the foreign bodies which it includes †, and in all the diversities of its texture ‡.

Secondly, The iron of the basaltes is found to be in a metallic state capable of acting on the magnetical needle. The same is true of the iron contained in the compact lava.

Thirdly, The basaltes possesses the remarkable property of being fusible per se; this property is also common to the lava and most volcanic substances.

Fourthly, The basaltes is a foreign substance, superinduced on the original limestone soil of the country, in a state of softness capable of allowing the flints to penetrate considerably within its lower surface.—It is hardly necessary to add, that the lava is an extraneous mass, overspreading the adjoining soil in a fluid state; that it is often born on a limestone base, or that flints and other hard matters do frequently penetrate into its substance. In short, the circumstances of agreement are so numerous, and so clear, as to create a very reasonable presumption that they are one and the same species of substance.

But the evidence derived from the nature and properties of the attendant fossils, seems also to contribute largely in support of this opinion.

Those extensive beds of red ochre, which abound among our basaltes, are supposed to be an iron earth reduced to this state of a calx by the powerful action of heat; for such a change may be produced on iron in our common furnaces, provided there be a sufficient afflux of fresh air; and the basaltes itself in such circumstances is easily reducible to an impure ochre, exactly similar to that found at Bengore. This phenomenon is also observed to take place more or less in the present living volcanos, particularly within their craters, and is therefore held to afford a presumptive argument of the action of fire in the neighbourhood of the basaltes.

I remarked to you the frequent bits of zeolyte which abound in the county of Antrim, and these, though not the immediate product (as far as I know) of any living volcano, are yet thought to countenance the general system, because zeolyte is found in countries where subterraneous fire is still visible, and where there is great reason to apprehend that the whole soil has been ravaged by that principle. Thus it abounds in Iceland, where the flames of Hecla yet continue to blaze §; and in the Isle of Bourbon, which is said to bear undeniable marks of a volcanic character ||; this substance is therefore supposed to arise from the decomposition of the volcanic products, in places whose fires have been long since extinct.

\* This will appear pretty evident, from stating the products of each substance according to the analysis of that able chymist, Sir Torbern Bergman:

Basaltes 100 parts.		Lava 100 parts.	
Contains	parts	Contains	parts.
Siliceous earth	50	Siliceous earth	49
Argillaceous do.	15	Argillaceous do.	35
Calcareous do.	8	Calcareous do.	4
Magnesia	2	Iron	12
Iron	25		100
	<u>100</u>		

† Bits of limestone, flints, schorl crystals of various colours, morsels of pure clay, &c. are common to the basaltes, and to lava.

‡ All the varieties of texture which take place in lava, from the compact close grained kind to the spongy lava, may also be traced among the basaltes.

§ Vide Van Troil's Letters on Iceland.

|| Vide Messrs. Desmarest, Faujas de St. Fond, Raspe, &c.



Crystals of scori appear in great plenty among many kinds of our basaltcs, and these, though not absolutely limited to volcanic countries, yet being found in great abundance among the Italian \* lavas, in circumstances exactly corresponding to our's, are thought to supply a good probable argument in the present instance.

The substance which I mentioned under the name of peperino stone, is believed to be the undoubted offspring of fire; it has frequently the burnt appearance and spongy texture of many of the volcanic products, and agrees accurately with the peperino of Iceland and Bourbon islands, which still contain burning mountains. *peperino*

Puzzolane earth is not immediately found in that state in Ireland, but it is discovered among the basaltcs of France, and there is very little doubt that our basaltcs, if pulverized, would agree with it in every respect; that is, it would produce a fine sharp powder, containing the same elementary parts, and most probably answering all its valuable uses as a cement †. Puzzolane earth is found in the Canary islands, which are esteemed to have other characteristics of the effects of fire; it is met in abundance through all the volcanized parts of Italy; it is never discovered except in places which have other strong marks of the ravages of fire. *clase*

The discovery of this earth is therefore thought to add great weight to the many other proofs which have been mentioned in favour of the general system.

Pumice-stone is a substance so generally acknowledged to be the product of fire, that I need not be at any trouble to enforce it; indeed it bears the character of a cinder so obviously in its external appearance, that one must be convinced at first view of its original. This fossil is sometimes found on the shore of the island of Raghery, among the rounded stones on the beach of the sea ‡, and being supposed an unequivocal test of the action of fire, is imagined to complete all that could be desired in this kind of reasoning. *peperino*

Such are the internal arguments in support of the volcanic origin of the basaltcs, immediately derived from the nature and properties of that substance and its attendant fossils compared with other substances which are the certain products of fire; and it must be confessed, there appears throughout such a remarkable coincidence of circumstances, as raises a strong presumption in favour of the opinion that they have been produced by similar causes; but there still remains other external proofs, which when added to the former are supposed to form a demonstration almost as perfect as the nature of such analogical reasoning will allow.

In the beginning of this letter I mentioned that Messrs. Desmarest and Faujas de St. Fond had described the basaltic provinces of France, its containing mountains, whose exterior appearance was such, that they readily pronounced them to be extinct volcanos. One of these, on the banks of the river Ardesche, called the Montagne de la Coupe, seems to exhibit the proofs of its origin in characters peculiarly clear and distinct. It is of conical form, exactly corresponding in shape with the present living volcanic mountains, and like them it contains a large crater nine hundred and fifty feet in diameter, and six hundred feet in depth §. The substances that have been discovered through all

\* Vide Ferber's Letters on Italy.

† A few experiments on this subject might perhaps be worth the attention of the gentlemen concerned in the inland navigation of Ireland; and there is more reason for hope of success in this enquiry, as the Swedes have already applied their pulverized trappe (much resembling our coarse basaltcs) as a good substitute for the puzzolane, formerly brought at great expence from Italy and the Canary islands.

‡ Pumice-stone occurs so rarely, that I have been often induced to doubt whether it might not be a foreign substance accidentally driven here by the waves from Iceland, or some other volcanic country. However, on trial, it is found too heavy to have floated thither, its iron not being entirely dephlogisticated, as is evident from its deep black colour, and a small degree of magnetism which it still possesses.

§ Vide Mons. Faujas de St. Fond, sur les Volcans, &c.



its parts, particularly in a deep ravine formed on one side by torrents, bear a strong resemblance to many of the Vesuvian products. In fine, the volcanic features of this mountain are so strongly marked, that an accurate account of it would afford no very unsuitable description of Vesuvius itself during the intervals of its eruptions. Now the Montagne de la Coupe contains at its base abundance of basaltic pillars, which have been exposed to view on one side by the impetuous torrents of this mountainous country, particularly of the river Ardesche, whose banks are formed of columnar basaltes. And thus are two characters of a basaltic and volcanic mountain esteemed to be decisively united in the Montagne de la Coupe\*.

There are three living volcanos at present known, within whose neighbourhoods the basaltes, and most species of its usual attendant fossils, have been observed. The first is situated in the island of Bourbon, off the southern coast of Africa†; the second is *Ætna*‡ in the island of Sicily, and the third is *Hecla* in the island of Iceland§. To which it may be added, that the basaltic is found in the volcanized parts of Italy, as at Bolzena||, and other places; though not (as far as I have been informed) any where immediately contiguous to Vesuvius. Thus (say the naturalists) do the argument derived from the situation of this species of fossil, with respect to mountains which yet continue to burn, coincide with those other clear and satisfactory proofs, which were drawn immediately from its nature and properties, in proof of its volcanic origin.

In addition to what has been here stated I shall mention another plausible argument in support of the opinion, deduced in some measure a priori.

It is well ascertained by experience, that there are vast beds of pyrites dispersed through the interior parts of the earth at all depths; and it is a certain fact, that this compound substance may, by the accidental affusion of a due quantity of water, become hot, and at length burn with great fury. This, therefore, is one principle to which we may, with the strongest probability, attribute the origin of subterranean fire, more especially as the present living volcanos do actually pour forth in abundance all the component parts of the pyrites, the chief of which are sulphur, iron, and clay. Now among the superinduced substances of the county of Antrim (and I believe the same may be said of every other basaltic country) it is certain that the quantity of iron and clay, diffused through almost every species of fossil, amounts to more than one half of the whole materials, so that two of the principal elements of the pyrites are still found here, reduced in many instances to a state of slag or scoræ; and the third principle, namely the sulphur, cannot in the nature of things be expected to remain, because sulphur does in a great measure perish during the act of inflammation; and what might perchance escape or be sublimed, would no doubt have long since perished by decomposition, in consequence of being exposed to the air.

Thus in fact every part of the pyrites which could reasonably be expected to survive, does at this day actually exist in form extremely similar to the products of *Ætna*, *Vesuvius*, and *Hecla*, the three most celebrated volcanos of Europe.

\* I have been more particular in mentioning this mountain, because my information concerning it has been confirmed by the account of my intelligent friend Doctor Percival, of Dublin, whose accurate observations and excellent judgment can only be exceeded by the uncommon candour of his mind.

† Vide Messrs. Desmarest, Faujas de St. Fond, Raspe, &c.

‡ The island of Castell-a-mere, near Catana, off the Coast of Sicily, is entirely basaltic. — Vide Sir Wm. Hamilton's *Campi Phlegreæ*.

§ Vide Von Troil's Letters on Iceland.

|| Vide Sir William Hamilton's *Campi Phlegreæ*, Ferber's Letters, &c.



## LETTER XI.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush September 3.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the numerous and specious arguments which are urged in defence of this volcanic theory of the basaltés, yet many difficulties and objections have been raised against it by men of excellent understanding; some of these are of considerable force, and as I do not wish to dictate any opinion to you, but rather modestly to offer what information has come in my way on the subject, I shall candidly state those objections, together with the most reasonable answers. It is said, that this theory does rashly attribute some of the most regular and beautiful phenomena of nature to one of the most tumultuary and irregular causes that can be imagined; ascribing the exquisite arrangement of a Giants' Causeway, which almost emulates the laboured works of design, to the blind fury of a burning volcano.

This objection, which is pretty strong in itself, has certainly received very considerable support from the various unsuccessful attempts that have been made to explain the manner in which the pillars of basaltés were produced: one person \* wildly attributing their formation to the refrigeration of a current of lava, suddenly plunged into the ocean: another obscurely hinting that some occult quality in the sea salt might have had its share in the business: a third † supposing, contrary to experience, that the melted mass of lava might in its liquid state have been capable of a considerable diffusion or solution in water, by which means the particles had an opportunity of arranging themselves in regular crystallizations: a fourth ‡ conceiving that the basaltés was originally a bed of iron and other substances, gradually moistened, and softened in the streams of water heated by subterranean fire and afterwards assuming its regular figure during the time of drying and hardening.

It is pretty plain, that none of these indefinite explanations can at all satisfy a thinking mind, and as an unfortunate argument generally tends to encrease the apparent weakness of a cause, in defence of which it is brought forward, it has hence come to pass, that many persons of good sense have held the whole volcanic system to be extremely fallacious.

In truth, there seems to be but one operation of nature, which affords any rational principle of analogy, by which we can attempt to explain the formation of the basaltic pillars. It is certain that the particles of most bodies, when removed from each other to a proper distance, and suffered to approach gradually, assume a peculiar form of arrangement, as if the parts of each species of matter did, independent of their general properties of cohesion and gravity, possess also private laws and affinities tending to produce these specific forms. However, let the cause be what it may, the fact at least is sufficiently certain: and it does not appear to be a matter of any importance by what medium the particles are disunited, provided only, that a sufficient separation, and a gradual approximation, be allowed to take place.

Thus, whether bodies be dissolved by fire, or by a watery medium, the phenomena of crystallization is equally observable when proper art has been applied to render its effects visible.

I mentioned, in a former letter, that the basaltés was capable of a very perfect fusion, and that two of its elementary parts were such, as, by experience, we know to possess the property of crystallization by fusion, both in their separate and combined states.

\* Mr. Raspe.

† Mr. Kirwan.

‡ Bègnan.



Since therefore the basaltes, and its attendant fossils, bear strong marks of the effects of fire, it does not seem unlikely that its pillars may have been formed by a process exactly analogous to what is commonly denominated crystallization by fusion.

The only apparent specific difference between the basaltic crystals, and those which are produced in our diminutive laboratories, seems to be in the complete disunion of the pillars, and in the articulated form which they sometimes exhibit. But this will not appear to be a matter of any importance, when we reflect, that in natural operations of the same kind, but differing in magnitude, the same proportions are commonly observed between the different parts: thus, the same ratio which the diameter of a basaltic pillar bears to the diameter of one of our diminutive crystallizations, will the interval between the pillars of basaltes bear to the interval between the parts of our crystal; and whoever will take the trouble to calculate this distance will find it so very small, as easily to admit the different surfaces within the limits of cohesion; so that no separability of crystals into joints can possibly take place, from their smallness, though they often bear marks which might lead one to imagine them capable of disunion.

If this reasoning be allowed to have weight, the objection derived from the irregularity and confusion of a volcanic cause will not appear unanswerable. For though, during the moments of an eruption, nothing but a wasteful scene of tumult and disorder be presented to our view, yet, when the fury of those flames, which have been struggling for a passage, has abated, every thing then returns to its original state of rest, and those various melted substances, which but just before were in the wildest state of chaos, will now subside, and cool with a degree of regularity utterly unattainable in our laboratories, and such as may easily be conceived capable of producing all the beauty and symmetry of a Giants' Causeway.

A second objection arises from hence, that the currents of lava which have issued from *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, within the memory of man, have never been known to exhibit this regularity of arrangement. It is therefore said that experience does abundantly prove the fallacy of the volcanic hypothesis.

In reply to this we are told, that it is not in the erupted torrents of these volcanos we are to look for the phenomena of crystallization, but in the interior parts of the mountains themselves, and under the surface of the earth, where the metallic particles of the lava have not been dephlogisticated by the access of fresh air, and where perfect rest, and the most gradual diminution of temperature, have permitted the parts of the melted mass to exert their proper laws of arrangement, so as to assume the form of columnar lava: that we must wait, until those volcanic mountains which at present burn with so much fury, shall have completed the period of their existence; until the immense vaults, which now lie within their bowels, no longer able to support the incumbent weight, shall fall in, and disclose to view the wonders of the subterranean world: and then may we expect to behold all the varieties of crystallization, such as needs take place in these laboratories of Nature; then may we hope to see banks and causeways of basaltes, and all the bold and uncommon beauties which the abrupt promontories of *Antrim* now exhibit.

It is stated as a third objection, that, according to this hypothesis, the basaltes must have been reduced to a perfect state of fluidity, in order to permit the phenomena of crystallization to take place, but, that there is no reason for believing it ever could have been subjected to any intense action of fire, so as to be reduced to a state of thin fusion, because it does not contain air holes, like the lava, nor possess those marks of vitrification, which attend a very moderate heat in our laboratories.



The first part of this objection is ill founded, though advanced by Wallerius, and other eminent mineralogists. All the basalt, which I have ever seen, does, in one part or another of its substance, always exhibit air holes; and it is remarkable that even the pillars of our Giants' Causeway, which are singularly compact, have their upper joints constantly more or less excavated, so that this part of the argument does rather plead in defence of the volcanic origin of the basalt.

With respect to the want of all marks of vitrification, we are to consider that substances in fusion are very differently affected, in proportion as they are more or less exposed to the access of fresh air, the presence of this element being absolutely necessary in order to deprive a body of its phlogiston.

Thus, metals which may be readily vitrified by exposure to heat, and the free afflux of air, will yet bear the most intense action of fire in close vessels, without being deprived of that principle on which their metallity depends, and are therefore in this situation incapable of being vitrified. The basalt may therefore have been subjected to a very great degree of heat, within the bowels of the earth, and yet shew no marks whatever of vitrification, and hence it may be explained, how it comes to pass that the iron principle of the basalt still retains its phlogiston, acting so sensibly on the magnetical needle.

A fourth objection is derived from hence, that in many of the countries where the basalt most abounds, there are no traces whatever of those bold and decisive features which constitute the distinguishing characteristic of a volcanic mountain; its lofty pointed form, its unfathomable crater, and many other circumstances that strike the senses very forcibly at *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*.—The basalt, therefore, is affirmed to be a fossil extensively spread over the surface of the earth, and where it is found in the neighbourhood of volcanic mountains, it is said we should suppose these to be accidentally raised on a basaltic soil, rather than to have created it.

It must be confessed that volcanic mountains are not always found to attend the basalt, at least there do not appear any direct vestiges of them in the neighbourhood of the Giants' Causeway in Ireland.

But the advocates of the system are not much embarrassed with this difficulty; according to them, the basalt has been formed under the earth itself, and within the bowels of those very mountains, where it could never have been exposed to view, until by length of time, or some violent shock of nature, the incumbent mass must have undergone a very considerable alteration, such as should go near to destroy every exterior volcanic feature. In support of this it may be observed that the promontories of Antrim do yet bear very evident marks of some violent convulsion which has left them standing in their present abrupt situation; and that the island of Raghery, and some of the western isles of Scotland, do really appear like the surviving fragments of a country, great part of which might have been buried in the ocean. It is further added, that though the exterior volcanic character be in a great measure lost in the basaltic countries, yet this negative evidence can be of little avail since the few instances where the features have been preserved afford a sufficient answer to this objection.

Thus the *Montagne de la Coupe* in France still rears its pointed top to the Heavens, retains its deep crater, and bears every characteristic of its volcanic origin; and this mountain is observed to stand on a base of basaltic pillars, not disposed in the tumultuary heap into which they must have been thrown by the furious action of a volcanic eruption tearing up the natural soil of the country, but arranged in all the regularity of a Giants' Causeway, such as might be supposed to result from the crystallization of a bed of melted lava, where rest, and a gradual refrigeration, contributed to render the phenomenon as perfect as possible.



*5th Letter*  
Fifthly, It is observed by Monsieur Faujas de St. Fond, that at the foot of the mountain of Mezinc, in the province of Velay, a range of basaltic pillars stands supported on a bed of fossil coal, with a very thin stratum of clay not more than a few inches thick interposed; now, that this inflammable body of coal could have remained uninflamed under a mass of melted lava, thirty feet thick, seems highly improbable, and therefore it is evident, say the adversaries of the system, that the basaltes could not have derived its origin from fire.

*Fire*  
*7*  
In answer to this plain and weighty objection, it is affirmed, that no substance in nature can be consumed by fire without the access of atmospheric air; that fire may be passed through inflammable air itself, without exciting actual inflammation, unless the atmosphere lend its assistance. Hence it cannot appear strange that a bed of coal might have survived in the neighbourhood of a volcano, and even under a mass of fluid lava, which, by resting on it, would prevent every possible approach of fresh air, so absolutely necessary to its being inflamed. It is certain that coal may be exposed to the violent action of fire, in a close vessel, without being consumed, or even suffering any material alteration, and therefore it is believed that this particular instance ought not to be held of weight sufficient to overturn a system, in support of which so many reasonable and almost certain proofs concur.

Such are the difficulties which are thought to embarrass the volcanic theory of the basaltes. In your excellent judgment I am certain they will bear their just value, founded on an extensive knowledge of nature and her operations. But among the generality of mankind their weight will be exceedingly various. In reasonings concerning natural phænomena, the standard of truth is extremely vague and equivocal. Climate bears here a more powerful influence than can well be imagined; so that it is not uncommon to find an opinion universally adopted by the inhabitants of one country, while those of the neighbouring kingdom shall join as universally to reprobate it.

Thus the Neopolitans, accustomed from their infancy to the wild scenes of horror and desolation which abound in a soil ravaged by volcanic fire, and to see as it were a new world suddenly raised on the ruins of their country, have their warm imaginations filled with the gigantic idea of this powerful principle, which to them appears adequate to the production of every thing that is great and stupendous in nature. How different are the sensations and opinions which prevail in the native of our temperate island! To him the sound of thunder is uncommon, an earthquake is almost a prodigy, and the fury of the subterranean fire is utterly unknown. He beholds nature pursue her calm and steady course with an uniformity almost uninterrupted; he views the same objects unchanged for a long series of years; the same rivers to water his grounds, the same mountains supply food for his flocks, the same varied line of coast continues through many successive ages to bound his country, and to set the foaming ocean at defiance: hence he naturally proceeds to extend his ideas of regularity and stability over the whole world, and stands utterly uninfluenced by those arguments of change in the earth, which to the inhabitant of a warmer climate appear absolutely decisive.

In this manner are the prevailing opinions, even among the philosophers of most countries, generally founded on partial analogies; and it requires a vigorous mind, as well as an extensive and clear understanding, to prevent our being misled by the specious arguments and dangerous conclusions which have been derived from such deceitful sources, many of them plainly tending to multiply false opinions, and to subvert the only true principles of religion and morality.



## LETTER XII.

DEAR SIR,

*Portrush, September 10.*

IF the volcanic theory of the basaltic be well founded, and no doubt many of the arguments in favour of it are extremely plausible, a scene of horror is presented to our view, which must surely fill us with astonishment; since on this system it will be found, that there is hardly a country on the face of our globe which has not at some time or other been wasted by the fury of subterranean fire. *Volcanic*

If, again, those apparent vestiges of marine productions, which are observed indiscriminately scattered through the earth, at all depths below the surface, and on the summits of its highest mountains, be esteemed sufficient proofs of the presence of the ocean in those places, a scene, no less wild and uncommon than the former, rises before our imagination; in which the products of the equator and the poles appear to be jumbled together in a manner incapable of being explained by any of the known analogies of nature. *Neptunian*

From observations such as these, where in truth every thing is inexplicable, many of the modern philosophers, chiefly indeed of the French nation, have become warm admirers of the old brute atoms of Epicurus, or the mysterious plastic principle of the Stoics, forming to themselves systems of nature, in which an intelligent cause seems to be of all others the least necessary; systems in which blind destiny alone is the active spring of life and motion.

Thus are the sources of religion and morality effectually cut off at one blow, and mankind deprived of those present blessings, and that most delightful hope of future happiness, which they fondly imagined to be rightly founded on their natural instincts, and supported by the fairest deductions of reason.

It is the business of natural history to collect, as extensively as possible, all the phenomena of nature, to compare such of them as bear any reasonable similitude, and from their general analogies to derive conclusions which may benefit our fellow-creatures, either as discoveries useful in common life, or as speculative truths suited to improve and enlarge the understanding. In this point of view it is a science which merits the honourable praise of mankind, and is certainly inferior to none in the copious sources of delight and improvement which it may afford to a rational mind.

Surely it is most unaccountable, that a study, which in this character appears so lovely and engaging, should nevertheless have been pursued upon such perverse principles, and with such misguided views, as to lead to consequences equally false in their own nature, and ruinous to the welfare of any society where they may become universally prevalent.

I have been accidentally led to make a few reflections on this subject, by the perusal of some foreign writers on natural history, who have unfortunately applied the proofs of those inexplicable changes which may possibly have taken place in the earth, and indeed all their negative knowledge of nature, for the purpose of disproving the existence of its admirable author; as if arguments derived from the depths of human ignorance, could, with any reason, be esteemed capable of overturning such positive truths as the faculties of mankind are entirely adequate to apprehend.

When men choose to build their opinions on things which they do not rightly understand, rather than on truths which come clearly within their comprehension, it can hardly happen that they will not run into very gross mistakes; because, as the number of errors on any subject is plainly without limits, the chance is little less than infinite, that such reasoners will fall into the unfathomable abyss of falsehood.



Such has been the fate of the author of a French work, *Sur la Nature*, and indeed of every follower of that pernicious school of modern philosophy, which, rejecting all consideration of final causes, and despising those simple and obvious analogies that lead to the most useful and satisfactory truths, has chosen rather to pursue others, which neither its disciples, nor the rest of mankind, are in any respect suited to investigate \*.

Perhaps an example may serve to render me more intelligible, and to point out the general fallacy of this unhappy species of reasoning.

There can be no doubt that the telescope, with all its present improvements, is the result of a most happy application of uncommon skill and ingenuity, contriving and combining all the various parts and movements of that curious machine, for the excellent purpose of assisting vision.

In proportion as these movements were gradually invented and applied to use, during a long series of years; when each successive discovery was brought to the utmost extent of its perfection, mankind then observed that the human eye, in a very superior manner, enjoyed that particular advantage which they had sought for with so much art and industry, exhibiting to view a perfect achromatic instrument of vision, adapting itself with surprising facility to the different brightness of its objects, and to a vast variety of distances.

At the last, a defect was discovered in the telescopes, arising from the spherical figure of the glasses; in consequence of which the focus of those rays which fall near the limb of the glass, and of such as pass near to its center, do not coincide. This defect, after various fruitless attempts to obviate it, has for many years been given up by the most ingenious as irremediable †. But though men have, in this instance, found that there are bounds placed to their utmost skill and ingenuity, yet have they learned this useful truth, that there are no discoverable limits set to the powers of that admirable Cause which formed the human eye; this error being there entirely corrected, in the curious construction of the crystalline humour, the principal refracting lens of the organ of vision; which gradually increasing in density from the limb toward the middle, does by this wonderful variation of its refractive power in one respect, counteract the errors which would have arisen from the other consideration.

This happy union of different parts and movements, as well in the natural as in the artificial machine, each attaining its own particular end, and all together without confusion or interference, compleating one greater and more excellent effect, this, I say, reasonable men denominate a work of design; and as they affirm that the telescope is an instrument formed to assist vision, in consequence of various means duly connected, by an invisible cause: (for it is plain that there is some moving principle in man, which is neither eyes, ears, hands, or head, neither the *tout ensemble* of all these, nor in any respect the object of our senses :) so do they believe that the human eye is an instrument made for the use of man, by an exceeding apt combination of intermediate causes, wonderfully and most unaccountably connected together, by one great, wise, and good cause; who is neither the eye itself nor any part of its mechanism, nor at all

\* "Il est au dessous de Dieu d'agir pour une fin." Vide Des Cartes Philosoph. Maupertuis Essai de Cosmologie. Buffon Theorie de la Terre. Robinet Sur la Nature, &c. &c.

† The most probable means discovered of late years, for correcting these spherical errors, has been offered to the public by that excellent British artist Mr. Ramsden, who conceives them capable of being in great measure removed in the eye-glasses of telescopes (where they are most sensibly felt) by such an adjustment of the instrument as that the image formed by the object glass shall fall as near as possible to the eye-glass. See Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, A. D. 1782.



the object of our senses, but only visible to us through the beauty and wisdom of the works of creation, in the same manner as thought and intelligence in man are known to us through those motions and effects daily produced before us, which we do always suppose to result, originally, from a principle in some sort resembling our own minds.

From hence, and a thousand other similar analogies, for apprehending which our faculties are admirably suited, mankind have reasonably inferred the existence of one superior, intelligent, good Being, who is every where present; whom we see, and feel, and hear, every moment of our lives, in the visible works of nature, as we do in particular circumstances hear and feel, and see other beings whom we denominate men.

To this reasoning, which does not in any respect appear uncandid or delusive, the author of the treatise *Sur la Nature* warmly objects.—What! the eyes made for vision, which in many instances fail and become blind?—The teeth and jaws made to grind food, which so often loose, and refuse to perform their office?—The earth formed to support its inhabitants, while it contains volcanos which may have destroyed them by fire? Or an ocean, which has overwhelmed them under its waters?

These are some of the objections of that extraordinary writer, and this the general mode of argument, unhappily adopted on the continent by too many of those who have obtained the honourable title of philosophers: a false species of reasoning, in which the positive parts of human knowledge are most sophistically supplanted by what is purely negative; in which a man is required to judge of the truth of what he knows, by those other parts of nature where he is avowedly ignorant.

From principles such as these the Christian religion has been hastily rejected; because the population of America, and the accidental qualities of its inhabitants, could not immediately be explained by speculative men, who had no other data whereon to reason except the imaginary extent of their own genius, together with an entire ignorance of the situation of that continent, and the qualities of its inhabitants\*.

From the same deceitful source of reasoning this beautiful world, so aptly formed, so wisely moved, so bountifully and yet so variously adapted to maintain its different inhabitants, that the native of every country from the equator to the poles, finds cause to bless his situation, and to boast of comforts unknown in other climates. This curious structure, the delight and wonder of the best and wisest men in every age, has been condemned by a few presumptuous sophists, as the work of blind destiny, acting through the present elements of nature, because there are many of its principles and movements of whose use they are ignorant; because there appear to be vestiges of the ravages of fire, or the inundations of the ocean, which they are not able to explain.

It is most certain, that the laws of motion which now exist, could have produced this world in the beginning, neither are they capable of continuing it for ever in its present state.

The interior structure of the earth, whereby its various fossil substances, though differing exceedingly from each other in specific gravity, though not arranged according to any regular law of situation, do yet constitute a world self-balanced, a sphere whose centre of

\* The proximity of America to the continent of Asia is now perfectly ascertained by the British navigators. The confident assertion of modern philosophers, that its inhabitants were beardless, is from many quarters proved to be false; and there is every reason for believing that their copper colour, and other peculiarities, are altogether the effects of the soil and climate, since the progeny of the Europeans has been found to suffer very considerable changes in all these circumstances, even during the course of those few generations which have passed since their first establishment there. So that in these instances revealed religion, so far from apprehending danger from the discovery of truth, and the improvement of human knowledge, has only suffered from the ignorance or misinformation of philosophers.



gravity coincides with its centre of magnitude (without which all its motions must have been in an extreme degree irregular), evidently demands a first cause, which neither acts blindly, nor of necessity. A blind principle is not wont to labour in defiance of all chance; neither do mechanical causes usually produce their effects in contempt of the established laws of matter and motion.

The gradual ascent of our continents from the shores of the ocean, toward their mediterranean parts, so necessary for collecting the rains of heaven, and giving birth and course to those rivers which beautify and fertilize the earth: this exterior form, without which the vapours of the sea would have ascended to the clouds in vain, plainly requires the interference of some principle superior to any of the known elements of nature. Whatever the followers of Epicurus may think of these elements, no reasonable man will believe that the waves of the ocean could have created a country whose soil lies far above the level of its waters; or that the fury of volcanic eruptions could have produced an effect, so general, that we are rather led to infer the casual existence of former volcanoes in particular places, because of some apparent universal interruption to this regularity of form.

The projectile force by which the earth was in the beginning made to move round the centre of light and heat; its diurnal rotation, duly diffusing this light and heat over the surface; the inclination of its axis to the plane of the ecliptic, whereby the tropical climates receive fewer of the sun's rays, while the inhabitant of the polar circle enjoys a much larger share\*: all these effects, far surpassing the present powers of nature, most aptly combined together, working in concert without interference or disorder, for the attainment of one great, and good, and excellent end, clearly prove that this world has been produced by one powerful, intelligent, and benevolent principle, utterly unlike to any mechanical cause which now does exist, or that can be conceived to exist.

Mechanical causes, such as we are acquainted with, evidently tend to destroy the present form of the world; and thereby afford the strongest proof that it is not by its constitution immortal.

Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated, that the perturbing forces which take place in the solar system, must in due time destroy the planetary motions, unless the first mover of all things shall chuse to interfere. And it is sufficiently evident, that the slow but certain operations of heat and cold, together with the continued action of the air and storms, are capable of breaking and changing the most firm bodies, even the hardest rocks; while the numerous rivers on the earth's surface, and the waves which wash its shores, perpetually labour to bear all these substances into the bottom of the ocean, and thereby to reduce all things to a level situation.

Since then the earth yet continues to circulate with regularity round the sun, notwithstanding the perturbing forces of the planets; since all the countries on its surface still retain their elevated form, in opposition to those boasted mechanical causes, that labour incessantly to destroy it; since its impetuous rivers which pursue their course toward the ocean, have not yet smoothed those abrupt and precipiceous cataraets, over which they rush with such unbridled fury, it is plain, either that the world, as we now see it, is but of a short duration; or else, that some saving hand has interfered to retard the progress of causes which in sufficient length of time must needs produce their effects.

If we cast our eyes over the annals of the world, we shall find in the history of the human race a clear and decisive evidence in favour of those general truths which our religion teaches, concerning the duration of the earth and its inhabitants. The evident

\* Vide Keil's *Phyf. Essays*.



marks of novelty in all those arts and sciences that are the offspring of experience : the wonder and terror with which the earlier philosophers (though in other respects well informed men) were wont to behold many of those natural appearances, which longer observation has shewn to be neither uncommon nor dangerous : the general defect of all histories and traditions antecedent to a certain period at which the Jewish writings affirm the world to have been destroyed by water : these cogent circumstances afford the plainest proof that the human race has not existed here for many ages.

There is not now a nation on the earth, neither has there been one for these two thousand years past, whose remote traditions extend, with any degree of probability, beyond that memorable period of the universal deluge, which is recorded in the sacred writings ; so that whatever Mons. Voltaire and others may assert concerning the eternity of the world, its motions, or its inhabitants, they will find but few rational men to adopt his wild system of astronomy, or who can be persuaded to believe that the sun ever rose in the west, or that the Babylonians made observations on that luminary some millions of years ago, when it was at the north pole \*.

Perhaps you will say, that such language as this is silly and childish, beneath the name of philosophical, and unworthy of any answer — yet I can assure you it is the general language of that miserable school of modern philosophy, which searches for the most unknown motions in nature, to explain those that are best known ; which breaks fragments from the sun by chance, and then mysteriously forms them into habitable worlds ; — which makes the ocean to act where it is not † ; — which quotes the fables of Ovid, or the tales of the Egyptians, as its best authority in natural history ‡ ; — which utterly rejects the delightful and profitable pursuit of final causes § ; — and holds the most precious moments of life to be well employed in endeavours to discover the thoughts and amusements of trees and stones ||.

If this be wisdom, we, my friend, have reason to boast that we are not wise : if these be the vaunted fruits of freedom of thought, we have good cause indeed to rejoice that we are not free ; that we still retain our dependance on a wise and bountiful Providence ; and have not yet fallen into that universal anarchy of opinion, where each individual labours to enthrone and to adore every wild phantom of his own wandering imagination, just as folly or caprice may chance to direct his choice.

\* Mons. Voltaire, and after him the Abbe Reynall, believes that the earth has an unknown motion round one of its equatorial diameters, in such sort that its axis performs an entire revolution in the space of four millions of years. Voltaire's proofs of this motion are founded on an observation of the obliquity of the equator and ecliptic, said to have been made by Pythais about two thousand years ago ; on the general accounts to be met with in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of strange revolutions having formerly taken place on the earth's surface ; and on a wild fable of the Egyptians, affirming that the sun rose twice in the west within the memory of their nation. Nay, this extraordinary philosopher seems to imagine it not very improbable that the poles themselves may travel over different parts of the earth's surface : and it seems but a slight objection to this belief, that the oldest monuments in the world, the pyramids of Egypt, are accurately situated to face the cardinal points of the compass, the stability of which cardinal points entirely depends on the continuance of the poles of the earth in the same precise spot of the surface.

† Vide Buffon's *Theorie de la Terre*.

‡ Vide Voltaire's *Period of four thousand Years*.

§ Vide Des Cartes, Maupertuis, &c.

|| Vide Robinet sur la Nature.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

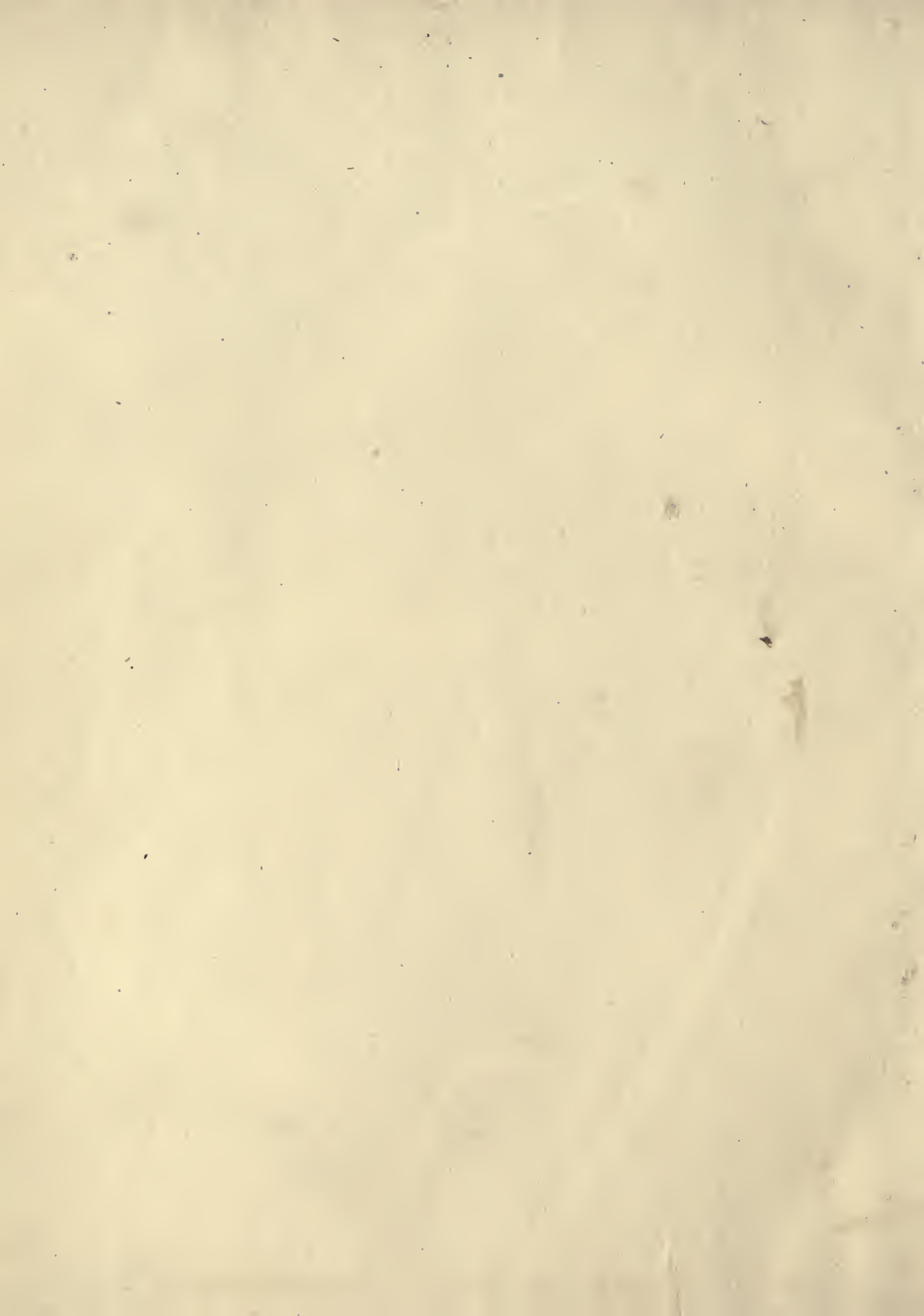




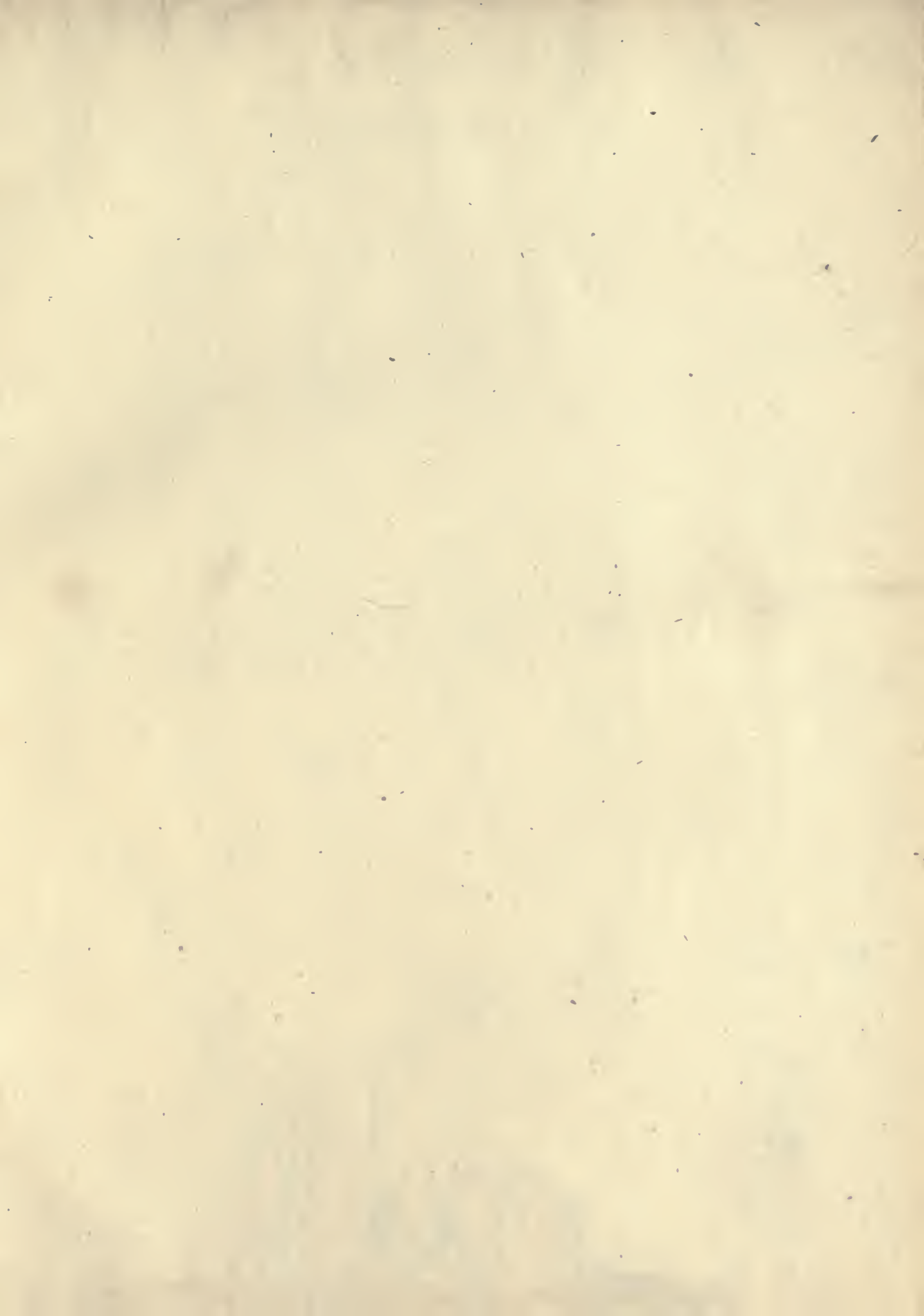














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